

JIMMA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**ETHNIC INTERACTION BETWEEN THE JIMMA OROMO AND THE
SURROUNDING OMOTIC STATES, 1880s -1974**



Students from Simret Merha Tibeb Academy Present for Ethiopian Nation and Nationalities Day

By

Werkitu Ketema

October 2014

JIMMA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**ETHNIC INTERACTION BETWEEN THE JIMMA OROMO AND THE
SURROUNDING OMOTIC STATES, 1880s -1974**

By

Werkitu Ketema Shumi

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of History and Heritage
Management in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of
the Degree Master of Arts in History**

Advisor:

Ketebo Abdiyo (PhD)

Tsegaye Zeleke (MA)

October 2014

GRADUATE STUDIES PROGRAM

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND LAW

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Approved By:

Advisor

Signature

Date

External examiner

Signature

Date

Internal examiner

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

To my husband, Mr Shimelis Mitiku, who has suffered much in his life for the sake of educating me. This work is also dedicated to the memory of my mother, *W/ro* Aberu Gudisa and my father, *Ato* Ketema Shumi who lost their lives at a very young age.

PREFACE

The present MA thesis was focused particularly on ethnic interactions between the Jimma Oromo, Dawuro, Kafa and Yem people from 1880s to 1974. This work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter consists of a general background of ethnic groups in Jimma which includes the theoretical considerations and aspects of ethnicity in Ethiopia, historical background of Jimma Oromo, their settlements and ethnic interactions in Jimma. The second chapter deals with Jimma Oromo-Kafficho interactions which are more discussed on the cooperation of people to people and king to king. The historical information, socio-economical interactions through trade, the socio-cultural practices as inter-ethnic marriage and the 1880s to 1897 conflicts were deeply discussed in detail in this paper. The third chapter states about Jimma Oromo and Dawuro inter-ethnic interactions that concentrated on socio-economic, political and cultural interaction of the Dawuro and Jimma Oromo. Means of trade, agriculture and cultural practices through marriage were listed in some among both ethnic groups. Besides this, the compositions of the different name of Dawuro people in different time are discussed. The last chapter talks more about Jimma Oromo and Yem interaction which deals with the society of Yem, socio-economical interaction through migration and slave trade, inter-ethnic marriage and political interactions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Jimma University Graduate School and Department of History and Heritage Management for funding this study and for giving me the opportunity to go for further historical studies of ethnic interaction.

My heartfelt and deepest thanks go to my advisors Dr Ketebo Abdiyo and Mr Tsegaye Zeleke, for their close follow up and help given in each step of this work and for their valuable advice and suggestions.

I am also very grateful to Jimma Zone Administration Office, Jimma Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau, Kaffa Zone State Communication, Culture and Tourism Department, Yem Special Woreda State Communication, Culture and Tourism Department, Addis Ababa University and my informants for their assistance throughout the period of data collection.

My gratitude also goes to Mr Biruk W/Michael, Mr Abdo Adem, Mr Alemayehu Abera, Mr Nugusu Adem and to my family for their persistent cooperation, help, encouragement and provision of necessary material during my study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	II
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	III
ACRONYMS	VI
GLOSSARY	VII
List of Tables.....	IX
List of Figures	X
ABSTRACT	XI
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
BACKGROUND OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN JIMMA, 1880s-1974	
1.1. Theoretical Considerations and Aspects of Ethnicity in Ethiopia.....	1
1.2. Ethnic History in Ethiopia to 1974.....	6
1.3. Historical Background of Jimma Oromo and Their Settlements	10
1.4. Historical Overview of Ethnic Interaction in Jimma from 1880-1974	19
CHAPTER TWO	
JIMMA OROMO-KAFFICHO INTERACTION.....	25
2.1. Brief Background of Kafa	25
2.2. Socio-economic Interactions	29
2.2.1. Trade.....	32
2.3.Cultural Practices as Inter-ethnic Connections	34
2.3.1. Inter-ethnic Marriage.....	37
2.4. Socio-political Interactions	41
2.4.1. The 1880- 1897 Conflict.....	44

CHAPTER THREE

JIMMA OROMO AND DAWURO INTER-ETHNIC INTERACTION 47

3.1. Background of Dawuro People 47

3.2. Socio-Economic Interactions 50

 3.2.1. Slave Trades 51

3.3. Cultural Practices as Inter-Ethnic Connecting Bonds 55

 3.3.1. Inter-Ethnic Marriage 55

3.4. Socio-Political Interactions 59

 3.4.1. Governmental Structures 62

CHAPTER FOUR

JIMMA OROMO-YEM INTERACTION 66

4.1. Background of Yem Society 66

4.2. Socio-Economic Interactions 70

 4.1.1. Migration 73

 4.1.2. Slave Trade 75

4.3. Cultural Practices as Inter-ethnic Connections 79

 4.3.1. Inter-ethnic Marriage 82

4.4. Socio-Political Interactions 85

 4.4.1. The 1880-1894 Conflict..... 90

REFERENCES 96

LIST OF INFORMANTS 99

ACRONYMS

AAU	Addis Ababa University
CSA	Census Statistical Agency
EPDRF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESM	Ethiopian Student Movement
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
SNNPRS	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
YSWAO	Yem Special Woreda Administrative Office

GLOSSARY

The meaning of Afan Oromo, Kafinono, Yemsa and Amharic words and phrases not listed in the Glossary are explained in the text.

<i>Abbaa</i>	Father, title particularly to a priest or a monk
<i>Addee</i>	A civil title given to women
<i>Akko</i>	Grand mother
<i>Atete</i>	The Oromo goddess of fertility
<i>Ato</i>	A civil title given to ordinary people, equivalent to Mr
<i>Balabat</i>	Individual with the hereditary owner of <i>rest</i> land
<i>Ekke-nayo</i>	The one who hosts spirit
<i>Dabo</i>	Cooperative labor institution
<i>Dejazmach</i>	A military title a step below <i>Ras</i>
<i>Fitawrari</i>	A military title below <i>Dajjazmach</i>
<i>Gadaa</i>	Socio-political organization of the Oromo people
<i>Gasha</i>	A unit of local measurement; one <i>Gasha</i> is approximately 40
<i>Genne</i>	Lady or madam
<i>Grazmach</i>	Commander of the left, politico-military title above <i>balambraras</i>
<i>Hadha</i>	Mother
<i>Halaala Kella</i>	Built stone ramparts in Dawuro
<i>Iddir</i>	A form of self-help association
<i>Iqub</i>	Traditional raising capital
<i>Kebele</i>	Lowest administrative unit
<i>Kaffecho</i>	The people of Kafa
<i>Kaffi-nono</i>	Kafa language
<i>Kaffi-yaro</i>	The clan of Kafa or Kafa descent
<i>Kella</i>	Illegal trade controlling place
<i>Kegnazmach</i>	Commander of the right, politico -military title above <i>grazmach</i>
<i>Mahiber</i>	A collection of people celebrating the Holy Spirit
<i>Moti</i>	King
<i>Senbate</i>	Sunday, common among Ethiopian Orthodox Church

<i>Mikerecho</i>	State councillors of Kafa
<i>Ogiyo</i>	A type of expensive spice'
<i>Qoro</i>	Political title equivalent to <i>ceqa shum</i>
<i>Ras</i>	The highest traditional title below Negus'
<i>Ras bitweded</i>	A rare title combining the power of <i>Ras</i>
<i>Shanan</i>	Gibe the five Gibe states
<i>Tato/Amno/Negus/Katis</i>	All expressing 'king'
W/ro	A title name given to married women, equivalent to Mrs
<i>Yakuto</i>	A kind of crop sharing arrangements b/n <i>balabats</i> and peasants
<i>Zar</i>	Traditional spirit

List of Tables

Table 1: Language similarities between Afan Oromo and Kaffinono.....	40
Table 2: Language similarities between Afan Oromo and Dawuro.	57
Table 3: Language similarity between Afan Oromo and Yem	79

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Kafa <i>Teklay Gizat</i> (Province) from 1942 - 1987	13
Figure 2: Long Trade Route of the Kafa Kingdom	221
Figure 3: (a) The mother of Coffee (<i>Coffee arabica</i>) in Kafa (Mankira); (b) Establishment stone of Museum in Kafa by former President Girma Woldegiorgis; (c) The first International Museum on Progress in Kafa.....	30
Figure 4: The Gojeb River	31
Figure 5: Cultural Expression of Jimma and Kafa	35
Figure 6: Gaki Sharochi (The last Kafa King from 1896 to 1897)	45
Figure 7: Halala Kella of Dawuro	60
Figure 8: Bridle Harness for Save's head in Yem.....	78
Figure 9: Massera (a fortified house) of Yem	91
Figure 10: The last King of Jimma Kingdom, Abba Jifar II (1878-1932)	92

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the ethnic interaction between peoples of Kafa, Yem and Dawuro with Jimma Oromo in Jimma from 1880s to 1974. Jimma ethnic diversity and its neighbours are popular for their substantial diversity in religion, language, culture, socio-economic activities and traditional governance structures. Jimma on its own has been famous for diversity. 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 manouvers. 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 Jimma. Jimma had experienced a process of special ethnic interaction since the 1880s due to the continuous influx of immigrants. This occurred because of coffee and other peasants, migration due to population pressure, famine and land degradation in the north in 1964/5. Jimma was the center of slave trade centers especially at the place called Hermata. Jimma and Kafa had substantial interactions through trade through local and long distance trade route. The conflict between Jimma and Kafa from 1880 to 1897 was very serious. The existence of Yem people in Jimma zone were due to geographical proximity, the effect of the elongated war between the two states, the absence of difficult natural barriers like big rivers, high mountains between the two states, the existence of cash crop like coffee in Jimma, and the existence of fertile land in Jimma that attracted not only the Yem immigrants but many others as well.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN JIMMA, 1880s-1974

1.1. Theoretical Considerations and Aspects of Ethnicity in Ethiopia

A number of literature have been written and debated on ethnicity concept, wisdoms, group interaction, the role it plays in group mobilization for ‘common ends’, and so forth. But, there is no universal accepted theory of ethnicity. According to Berhanu and Asebe, the term ‘ethnicity’ could be described in different ways, such as a modern cultural construct; a universal social phenomenon; a personal identity; and a peculiar kind of informal political organization or affective association. Moreover, ethnicity simply refers to interactions between groups whose members consider themselves distinctive, and these groups may be ranked hierarchically within a society. Similarly, ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity that can be used to construct internal unity and differentiate themselves from other groups.¹

Besides, there are two theories of ethnicity, which are primordialists and instrumentalists. These two approaches are debated in the following ways: Berhanu argue that, primordialist conceptualization of ethnic community is established on the belief of the ‘overpowering’ and ‘ineffable quality’ of primordial attachments that arise from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices. It has also unique and very close nurturing relationships that make a bond from generation to generation with an experience of deeply rooted, intimate and eternal

¹Berhanu Gutema Balcha, “Restructuring State and Society: Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia,” Series No. 8, Aalborg University, (PhD Dissertation) ,2007, PP. 34-35; Asebe Regassa Debelo, “Ethnicity and Inter-ethnic Relations: the ‘Ethiopian Experiment’ and the Case of the Guji and Gedeo”, University of Tromsø Norway, 2007, PP, 11-12

belonging. In other words, Ethnicity is continuity within the self and within the link to a common ancestor by experiencing being ‘bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, and blood of their blood.’²

Whereas, instrumentalists are highly differ from the primordialist conception of ethnicity. They grasp ethnicity as a social construct that emphasizes the sharing of cultural and linguistic characteristic, and kinship roots for the purpose of group mobilization. As well as, ethnicity is constructed by particular elite or group driven by competition for political power, economic benefits, social status or other objectives.³

Moreover, instrumentalists describe ethnicity as a sense of ethnic identity, consisting of the subjective, symbolic or emblematic use by a group of people of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups, the process and benefit of modernization could unleash ethnic self-consciousness and ethnically based demands.⁴

According to instrumentalists, in many of ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa, historical memories and ideology based on real historical event or myths such as population movements, conflicts, alliances and other similar events were also played an important role in the creation and maintenance of ethnic identities. It is obvious that, an ethnic group is not a separate and impervious unit; but, one that is in a constant state of flux in relation to its neighbors, merging with one, separating from another over the course of time. Ethnic groups’ sense of sharing the same material and social prospects are more important than ethnic identity; because, identity is

²Berhanu. pp. 36-37.

³*Ibid*, p.37.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 40.

defined in the process of interaction, cooperation, competition, confrontation, even war among groups.⁵

The core argument of instrumentalism is that ethnicity is flexible and changeable; circumstances can shape or change the symbolic and social boundaries that define the ethnic group. Ethnicity is a dynamic and changes according to new circumstances; groups shift their content and boundary according to circumstances. Individuals or groups do not belong to a particular ethnic group on a permanent basis. Through the process of fission and fusion, and other considerations like sense of security or material interests, people change their ethnic affiliation or can belong to more than one ethnic group at the same time.⁶

Merara Gudina also stated about the two theories of ethnicity as follows: the primordialists take ethnicity as a collective identity; so, deeply rooted in historical experience that it should properly be treated as a given in human relations. Whereas, the instrumentalists hold that ethnicity is not a historically given at all; but, it is a highly adaptive and malleable phenomenon. The instrumentalist approaches can even be created and recreated at will. Identity of people may shift over time and/or ethnic consciousness may develop through time with the imperatives of the resistance against domination and in response to changing needs of people.⁷

Asebe argued that, the primordialist approach describes ethnicity as a group's self-identification by others to belong to a certain ethnic group on the basis of common primordial ties such as kinship, language, culture, customs and sometimes religion.

⁵*Ibid*, pp. 42-45.

⁶Dagne Shibru, "Ethnic Conflict in East Africa: An Over View of Causes and Consequences". *National Monthly Refereed Journal of Research in Arts & Education, Volume No.2, Issue No.4*, 2009, pp.17-18; Berhanu Gutema, pp.44-45.

⁷Merara Gudina, *Competing Ethnic Nationalisms and the Quest for Democracy, 1960-2000*. Published by shaker (Netherlands), 2003, p. 23.

Whereas, an instrument of groups' mobilization for political or economic purposes. For primordial theorists, the primordial attachments inherent in ethnicity cause an action or conflict; whereas, for instrumentalists, actions have material causes and ethnicity, seen as a primordialist theoretician argues states with homogenous societies are more stable than the heterogeneous ones; because, the latter lack common feeling among the members. However, argument baldly ignores historical coexistence of diversified ethnic groups: On the other hand, the roles played by external forces against such harmonious inter-ethnic relations could manipulate differences for political, ideological and economic motives.⁸

Regarding Merera's idea, there are two aspects of ethnicity: positive and negative aspects. The positive aspect of ethnicity argues that 'post-traditionalism' is a form of ethnic identification, is forward looking in that, it tries to cope with modernity at the same time defining one's identity for needs of stability and self-definition. In addition, ethnicity is a positive step forward in the sense that necessity can lead people to go back to their own culture as a last resort for resisting the tyranny of the modern elite and the repressive state under its command. Whereas, the negative aspect of the ethnicity were described as '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 in the states.'⁹

Furthermore, the issues of ethnicity and ethnic relations in Ethiopia are concerned with the notions of 'integration.' Some argue that the social interaction through political, administrative and economic systems under the previous dominant Amhara group led to acculturation/'integration' of diversified group. For these groups of scholars, in Ethiopia, it is

⁸Asebe, pp. 12-13.

⁹Merera, p. 24

hardly possible to identify or classify people into this or that ethnic group as a result of integration/assimilation. As analytical concepts go, integration and assimilation refer to different processes. Assimilation means vertical relationship between minorities and majorities in which the latter incorporates the former. Integration is supposed to take place in horizontal relationship when groups at equal level tend to integrate into the culture, values and ways of living of the other and vice versa.¹⁰

Besides, in Ethiopia politicized ethnicity generated in the 1960s when the Ethiopian Students Movement (ESM) for the first time rose up with ethnic questions against the century old one ethnic hegemony. Since then, they are already existed elements of ethnic characteristics, common language, psychological makeup and history, experience of suppression, customs and sometimes myth of origin were activated as strong engines of group mobilization by different elites. What makes the political change in 1991 rather unique is that, the government officially introduced ethnicity as a fundamental instrument of ‘addressing nationalities’ questions as well as half of harassment of certain ethnic group.¹¹

¹⁰Asebe, p. 15

¹¹*Ibid*, p.14

1.2. Ethnic History in Ethiopia to 1974

Like other African countries, Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic state inhabited by above eighty ethnic groups speaking different languages. There are also overlap of cultural and religious values among different ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Moreover, the ethnic groups inhabiting Ethiopia in some areas overflow into the neighbouring 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. They can be classified following the linguistic pattern into four main groups: Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic families and Nilo-Saharan superfamily.¹²

The Cushitic speakers were the Oromo, Afar, Agaw, Alaba, Gedeo, Dasanech and others. The Omotic speakers are Kafa, Yem, Dawuro, Konta, Walayta, Bench, and etc. The Semitic speakers constituted of the Tigreans, Argobba, Gurage, Harari, Silte and Amhara in the northern and central parts of the country; and in the southern and eastern parts of the country, like other super family language Nilo- Saharan is also spoken by the number of Ethiopia ethnic groups, for instance, by the Anuak, Kunama, Mursi, Surma, Gumuz and others.¹³

As mentioned above, Ethiopia is a combination of more than eighty ethnic groups. From this ethnic group, the Oromo represent about 40% of the population; whereas, the Amhara and Tigrean groups constitutes 32% of the population and have been traditionally and politically dominant. From the southern region, Sidama account for 9% while, Benishingul Gumuz account for about 6% of the population. The Somali (6%) and Afar (4%) are live in the arid regions of the east and southeast. Nilotic peoples live in the west and southwest along the Sudanese border.

¹²Saheed A. Adejumobi, *the History of Ethiopian*, Published by Green Woodpress, 2007, pp.6-7.

¹³John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional polity*, Addis Ababa Oxford Press, Nairobi, New York, p. 61; Saheed, p. 7.

The Gurage account for 2% of the population; the remaining 1% is made up of other ethnic groups of Ethiopia.¹⁴

However, the Oromo people constitute the largest ethnic groups within the empire. As well their historic movement, beginning in the 16th c, carried them from the lowlands to the highlands of the plateau where they settled. While the northern limits of the Oromo movement reached the borders of Tigray on the eastern side of the plateau; and, in the small numbers crossed the Abbay River into Gojjam, the major Oromo group occupied and settled in territories to south of the Abbay in the west and south of Christian Shoa.¹⁵

Among the Oromo groups which settled in northern Ethiopia before Menelik's expansion, the Raya, Yeju and Wollo occupied the eastern edge of plateau as far as the southern district of Tigre province. These groups retained their ethnic identity, despite considerable admixture with the Amhara-Tigre of the area and some intermarriage with the Afar nomads in the lowland.¹⁶

According to Levine sources, after they had separated into different ethnic group with unconnected cultures the peoples of Ethiopia did not live isolated units for the last more than two millennia, at least, they have been in more or less constant interaction through trade, warfare, religious activities, migration, intermarriage and exchange of special services. What must be brought more sharply into focus is the network of interactions which the diverse peoples of Ethiopia have rotated among themselves. It was this relation of network, now thin and localized,

¹⁴Saheed, p. 3.

¹⁵Markakis, p. 52.

¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 53.

extensive and profound, but never absent, which provides the background justification for an effort to conceptualize macroscopic Ethiopia history.¹⁷

Ethiopia of different ethnic groups has been brought into contact directly through local and regional markets, indirectly through long distance traders. Most of Ethiopian were/are not limited to a single market. They have been an uninterrupted interaction through different ways.¹⁸

Ethiopia's historic depth stands as a testimony to the centuries of experience in the peoples of differing language, religion, religion identity and ethnic affiliation worked on the lineaments of a genuinely multi-ethnic society; an achievement that permitted ethnically diverse Ethiopians to mobilize in common front that produced at Adwa, the major military victory of non-white peoples over Europeans.¹⁹

Furthermore, the collaboration at Adwa was the most dramatic achievement of the multi-ethnic society that took shape in historic Ethiopia. One should also note a number of modest areas of mutually beneficial relations among diverse regional and ethnic groups. They appear, for example, at 'Timqat' (Ethiopian Epiphany) and other festivals when different groups take turns enjoying one another's songs and dances. They appear in the extensive networks of that knit different groups together.²⁰

Ethnic relations can be deep as interactions among diverse ethnic groups (inter-ethnic) or within the same ethnic group (intra-ethnic) were/are still common. Each ethnic group defends its own norms and freedoms, and therefore, creates a "social border." This "social border" could lead to ethnic tension and conflicts. The multi-ethnic populations live together and work together in

¹⁷Levine, N. Donald, *Greater Ethiopia: Evolution of a Multi-ethnic Society*, Chicago, 1980, p.40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, , p. 41; Informant: Dajitinu Hararu

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.27

²⁰ *Ibid.*

realizing the country's overall objectives of growth and prosperity. On record, the history of Ethiopian in terms of ethnic interaction has been commendable when it is compared to other countries with mixed populations of ethnic groups.²¹

The history of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during different Ethiopian emperors such as Tewodros, Yohannes and Menelik had been proclaiming unity of languages and religions among the various ethnic groups. They naturally perceived national unity in terms of religious unity within Christianity and ordering all non- Christian in the empire to join the Orthodox Christian Church. In addition, Muslims were ordered to build Church in their districts and to pay tribute to the Christian clergy.²²

To strength the above idea, John Markakis stated that “Muslim groups in Ethiopia had led isolated lives with little communication among themselves and only a dim awareness of each other's existence. Islam had not transcended ethnic and cultural barriers to bring a measure of unity to the diverse and widely distributed groups which adhere to faith.”²³

Regarding this Seid also asserts “the incorporation was also followed by the rapid expansion of an alien Orthodox Christian Church in the newly conquered areas. It is reported that wherever the Amhara garrison went into the conquered territories, churches and priest allowed at once. The natives were obliged to construct churches in these areas. The native people were forced to convert to Christianity.”²⁴

²¹*Ibid*, p.42; Informants: Asrate Woleda Mariam and Habte Gebra Iyesus.

²²Markakis p. 67.

²³*Ibid*, p.69.

²⁴Seid Ahmed Mohammed. “A Historical Survey of Dawuro, South West Ethiopia (up to 1974).” MA Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University, Arts in History and Heritage management, 2007, p.69.

Similarly, during the time of the last Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Sillasse I (1930-1974) nothing had been done for ethnic groups rather than persecution. During the *Derg* Regime, it appears that the right of different ethnic groups was given by proclamation of “land to tillers” and other measures. Furthermore, during the current government ethnic groups are considered as citizens and they gained what they lost in the previous period.²⁵

In Ethiopian history, all Ethiopian ethnic groups had no equal right; especially, during the dominant ethnic group led by Emperor Menelik II and Emperor Haile Selassie I had been reacting so cruelly against the native peoples of the south, south west and eastern Ethiopia.²⁶

At the present time, the Ethiopian people are termed by substantial diversity in religion, language, culture, socio-economic activities and traditional governance structures. Moreover, a combination of ethnic-based liberty movements, declared their aim of radically breaking with a strategy of nation building based on ethnic discrimination. But, the structure of an Ethiopian national identity was depending on the recognition of the ethnic multiplicity of Ethiopia’s population.²⁷

1.3. Historical Background of Jimma Oromo and Their Settlements

Jimma Zone is one of administrative units which are presently located in Regional State of Oromia. Administrative Jimma town is situated at 352 Kilometers away from Addis Ababa in the

²⁵Informants: Asafa Wolde, Merga Solomon.

²⁶Dagne, p.22.

²⁷Beken, Vander. Christophe, “Ethiopia: Constitutional Protection of Ethnic Minorities at the Regional Level.”, Belgium, Ghent University, Africa Focus, Vol. 20, Nr. 1-2, 2007, p.106.

southwest of Ethiopia. Its relative location is west of Tambaro, southwest of Yem, north of Dawuro and Kafa, south of Limmu, and east of Gomma and Gera Oromo kingdoms.²⁸

Jimma is one of the five Gibe Oromo states (*Shanan* Gibe) and it was under the process of formation since early 18th century. The five Gibe states were: Limmu-Enarea, Gumma, Gomma, Gera and Jimma. It is difficult to know an exact date of founding of these kingdoms. Rather, their existence was probably the conclusion of a process by which the authority of successful war leaders or traditional office holders like the *Abba Dula (Moti)* was gradually strengthened.²⁹

As Ketebo stated Jimma kingdom stretched from 7^o 14' to 8^o 8' N latitudes and from 36^o 14' to 37^o 36' E longitudes. It had an area of about 20,000 to 25,000 km² largely of plateau land. "With this area, Jimma kingdom was the largest state in the region. The total number of Jimma kingdom's population was estimated differently at various times." In 1925, the population number was estimated to be between 300,000 and 350,000.³⁰ As Huntingford reported, the population of Jimma in the 1880 was estimated at about 30,000 and 35,000.³¹ But, as the recent Statistical data indicate, the population of Jimma was reached 2,486,155 escalations.³²

Based on the altitudinal and temperature variations, the agro-ecology of Jimma zone can be categorized into three, namely, *Badda (Dega)*, cold, *Badda Dare (Waina Dega)*, midland and *Gammojjii (Kola)*, lowland. Like other Ethiopian people, Jimma are also the followers of

²⁸Ketebo Abdiyo, *Abba Jifar II of Jimma Kingdom 1861-1934: A Biography*. Jimma University, 2012, p.1; Abraham Alemu, "Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative: A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis." (MA, Thesis Department Arts in Literature, A. A.U, 2000, p. 51.

²⁹Mordechai, Abir, *The Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes: The challenge of Islam and the re-unification of the Christian empire 1789-1855*, Published by Institute of Asian and African studies, 1972, p.75.

³⁰Ketebo, p. 1-2.

³¹Huntingford, et al., *History of the [Oromo] of Ethiopia with Ethnology and History of Southwest Ethiopia*. Published by African Sun, 1993, p.29.

³²The Census Report Entitled "The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Statistical Report for Oromiya Region" p. 253.

different religions such as, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Islam, Protestants, Catholic and other religions.³³

According to written material, current Jimma's area covers 15,568.58 square kilometers. The Jimma zone consists of seventeen local administrative districts (*wäräda* or *anaa*) including the earlier independent kingdoms of the five Gibe states, which are Jimma, Gera, Gomma, Gumma and Limmu. However, the name Jimma refers to both the old kingdom of Jimma Abba Jifar and the present day Jimma Administrative Zone of Oromia. In addition, the name Jimma refers to both the people and the land they inhabit.³⁴

Like other states, Jimma's economy was mainly based on agriculture. Agriculture is still the backbone of Jimma's economy and more than 90% of its economy is depend on mixed agriculture. Jimma has fertile soil and tropical highland climate, it makes possible for the people to produce various crops like tef, maize, sorghum, barley, coffee and wheat among the main crops.³⁵

The kingdom of Jimma was annexed to the Ethiopian Empire in 1882 when its King Abba Jifar II submitted peacefully to Menelik's force led by *Ras* Gobana Daci who was responsible for the conquest of the southwest Oromo regions at large. During Italian occupation (1936 - 1941), Jimma town became the capital of one of the six administrative colonial divisions, that is, for southwest and southern regions of the country. This was what Italian termed as "[Oromo] and Sidama."³⁶

³³Seyoum Merga, "An Archaeological Survey of Islamic Shrines in Jimma Zone, South Western Ethiopia," MA thesis in Arts of Archaeology in Department of Archaeology and Heritage Management, Addis Ababa University, 2012, p.41.

³⁴Abraham, "Narrating Local Identity..." p. 23; Seyoum, p.32.

³⁵Seyoum, p. 38; Informants: Jämale Abba Bulgu and Getchew Zeru.

³⁶Ketebo, p.3.

Jimma lost her autonomy in 1933 under the last Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Sillassie I. Later, “Jimma became an *awraja* (sub-province) after the Italian occupation came to an end roughly with its former boundary lines.” Before the outbreak of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, Jimma was one of the six *awraja* of Kafa *Taqlaya-Gezat* (province). Under the *Derg* regime, Jimma had also continued as an *awraja* (sub-provinces) in Kafa *Kifla-Hager* (province). The following map shows the six *awraja* of Kafa *Taqlay- Geza*.

Figure 1: Map of Kafa *Teklay Gizat* (Province) from 1942 - 1987



Source: የከፋ ልማት መፅሔት፣ 1965 እ.ኤ.አ

Following the downfall of the *Derg* Regime in 1991, the *awraja* administrative structure was made to phase out and *woreda* (district) structure was introduced with the new Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. This administrative structure formed Jimma into administrative zone units own.³⁷

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.4.

As written materials state, the movement of Oromo people began a successful expansion from an area called Madda Wallabu. The name Madda Wallabu means home of freedom which was derived from two Oromowords, *Madda* (source) and *walabuma* (freedom). Moreover, “in the first half of the 16th century, the Oromo began mass expansion from today’s south central Ethiopia (*Madda Walabuu*) area in order to react against the expanding Christian and Muslim neighboring states of the time as well as to recover the lost lands since the days of the Cushitic dispersal.”³⁸ Similarly, in the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, the Oromo were well consolidated under the *gadaa* system and had obtained an upper hand against all their competitors and had settled in the wealthy lands of present Oromia and beyond.³⁹

Moreover, before the Oromo conquest in the 16th century, southern Ethiopia was settled by people called Sidama. By the beginning of the 18th century of constant wars, Sidama resistance was broken and the Sidama plateau was overrun by the Oromo. The Oromo gradually absorbed the people left in the area they had conquered, and in their turn largely gave up the pastoralist life and slowly adopted the Sidama customs, cultural features and forms of social and political organization.⁴⁰

Before the Oromo expansion to the Gibe region, the area was inhabited by Kafa ethnic group, who ruled themselves on tribal basis where the southeastern part of the region was pre-occupied by Garo Boshu people. Furthermore, the source notes that the area around the Gibe region was

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.5.

³⁹ Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*, Cambridge press, 1994, p.9; Tesema Ta’u, “The Oromo of Wallaga: Historical Survey to 1910.” MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1986, p.5.

⁴⁰ Huntingford, p. 2; Markakis, p. 58; Mordechai, p. 73.

occupied by the kingdoms like Ennarya, Kafa and Garo long before the deep conquest of the Oromo into the Gibe region.⁴¹

Garo was thus another small ethnic entity with which Oromo confronted in the Gibe region. The expansionist Oromo crushed this ethnic group and pushed into far away areas. After they expelled out the Garo peoples, the Oromo predominantly occupied the area today called Omo Nada including Hulle and established their *gadaa* center and they were set different guidelines and laws. The other Garo people who were left on their original land were fused with the Oromo people and even ignored their mother tongue and fully adopted the Oromo language. When the Oromo of Jimma accepted Islam, these Garo people were also Islamized and more Oromized.⁴²

In the first half of 16th century, most Oromo recognized a common genealogical relation, speak one mutually intelligible language and retain many features of their original culture. But, as a result of the effects of ecology of time and interaction with other people and cultures, they were found great diversity among Oromo ethnic groups, especially concerning to political organization and religion.⁴³

After the Oromo conquest, Sidama were assimilated into Oromo System and the Oromo took over many of the institutions of the Sidama including that of monarchy and a territorial system of rule. True history does not better known as *Abba Jifar II* or Muhammad Ibn Da'ud (1861-1932) who succeeded to the throne at the age of fifteen.⁴⁴

⁴¹Mordechai, p.105.

⁴²Deressa Debu, *Agro-Ecological History of Omo- Naadaa in Jimma zone of Oromia from 1900 to 2007*, Germany, 2010, p.23.

⁴³Lewis, Herbert Samuel, "1934- Jimma *Abba Jifar*: A Despotism Galla Kingdom." PhD dissertation, Anthropology, Columbia University, 1963, p.16.

⁴⁴Trimingham J. Spencer, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Cumberlidge, 1952, p. 203.

Jimma *Abba* Jifar was zealous in developing Jimma commercially. So, Jimma became the chief slave market for south-western Ethiopia where the light brown Oromo girls who commanded such a high price in the slave-market of Arabia could purchase. The country divided following the Sidama system into seventy districts (*Koro*), each governed by *Abba Koro* and the whole area was surrounded by a thorn fence (*Gudema*) pierced by gates (*Kela*). *Abba* Jifar tried to make Jimma a centre of Islamic studies, for he was regarded as strict Muslim, and encouraged Fuqara to settle there.⁴⁵

According to written sources, the name Jimma is inventing with a man called Jimma ‘Sirba’ who was the first to settle in the area. Although, today the name Jimma bring up to all of the five Gibe states, it was said to have originally referred only to five clans (*gosa*), the offspring of Jimma ‘Sirba,’ who happened to be the first to arrive and settle in the Jimma area, in the 19th century. These were: the Qore, Harsu, Lalo, Bilo, and Badi.⁴⁶

These five clans had been combined into the kingdom of Jimma Kaka in the early 18th century which was later named after its founder, Jimma *Abba* Jifar. The other four clans, namely Hagalo, Sadacha, Hariro, and Batu were said to have arrived later and settled in distant areas that were to become the small kingdoms of Gera, Gomma, Guma, and Limmu. These kingdoms together Jimma, constituted the Five Gibe States (*Shanan* Gibe) in the 19th century.⁴⁷

The southwestern part of Ethiopia was controlled by the *Macha* and *Tulama* moieties of Oromo during *Gadaa Birmaji* (1579-1586). Tessema’s source claimed that these two groups of Oromo had practiced *gadaa* system in common until the beginnings of the 17th century and their *gadaa*

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p. 204.

⁴⁶*Ibid*.

⁴⁷Abraham, “Narrating Local Identity...,” p. 21

center was called *Oda Nabe* with its seat at Akaki. Later, the *Macha* Oromo established its own separate *gadaa* centre known as ‘Oda Bisil’ with its centre around Gedo and occupied the southwestern Oromia.⁴⁸

The *Macha* Oromo were also divided themselves into two groups: *afre* and *sadacha* (which means the confederacies four and the three, respectively). In the first half of the 19th century, the *afre* group established the two Leqa states in Wollega known as Leqa Qellem and Leqa Nakamte. The *sadacha* group of *Macha* expanded in Gibe region.⁴⁹ According to Guluma, *Macha* Oromo started their settlements in the Gibe region they carefully observing the suitability of the lands. Then, decisions were made to occupy the land.⁵⁰

On other hand, as Huntingford states, the Jimma people have five grade sets; *Dulo*, *Milkile*, *Mudana*, *Horata* and *Kilole* a sixth *Robale* was in reserve, having been abolished because during two successive periods of its rule no rainfall. After Jimma submission to Menelik’s of between 1891 and 1900, the Abyssinians suppressed the public celebration of the *gadaa* ceremonies, though they continued to be held, with only two grades, *Raba* and *Luba*.⁵¹

However, the traditional political organization of the Oromo people was based on the age set system known as *gadaa*, with five grades and each lasting eight years. The most important officials were the *Abba Gada* (Father of the *gadaa*), the *Abba Boku* (father of the scepter) who

⁴⁸ Tesema, p.8.

⁴⁹ Seyoum, p.45; Huntingford, 1993, p. 26.

⁵⁰ Guluma Gameda, “Goma and Limmu: The Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region C.1750-1889.”, MA Thesis Addis Ababa University, History, 1984, p.21.

⁵¹ Huntingford, G.W.B, *The [Oromo] of Ethiopia: The Kingdom of Kaffa and Janjero*, Vol.6 part, 2. 1955, p.53.

presided over tribal assemblies, proclaimed laws, and acted as a judge and the *Abba Dula* (father of war) who aided the *Abba Boku* in times of war.⁵²

Besides, the *gadaa* was not only provided the structure of tribal government, but also regulated every aspect of a man's life. In the western Oromo states of the Gibe region, the *gadaa* system was replaced by a hierarchical system of authority based on hereditary monarchy. The king (*Moti*) exercised absolute authority within their domain. The state was divided into districts called *Koro*, which were governed by royal appointees, entitled *Abba Koro*.⁵³

Formulating of rules and regulations (*sera tuma*) at *Oda Hulle* began by a man called *gadaa Unta*. He was from the *sadacha* clan of Guta lineage (*balbala*). But, the family of Abba Bosso migrated from Hulle *gada* center to Tiro Afata district of Abulu *kebele* and Dedo district of Qore Manxa *Kebele*. Generally, *Oda Hulle* had different set of laws like laws of *Guma* (blood payment), law of marriage and how to keep local property.⁵⁴

Later, through the passage of time, this confederacy center began to decline due to various factors. The first factor was supposed to be the development of sedentary agriculture that led to the formation of monarchical states. Another factor was said to be the emergence of trade in the Gibe region trade also created a sense of competition among the leaders to control the trade routes. This competition also leads to war which facilitated the rise of powerful war lords in the first half of nineteenth century who began to disobey the authority of *Gada* system.⁵⁵

⁵²Markakis, p.55

⁵³*Ibid*

⁵⁴Lewis, " Jimma Abba Jifar...", pp. 26-29.

⁵⁵Assefa Jalata, *Oromia and Ethiopia State Formation and Ethno-national Conflict (1868-1992*, London, 1993, P. 23

1.4. Historical Overview of Ethnic Interaction in Jimma from 1880-1974

This thesis tried to explore ethnic interaction in Jimma. Like other peoples of Ethiopia, the Jimma Oromo were formed through integration of indigenous and migrant group of peoples living together for a long period of time in the region and formed common identity through constant economic, social, cultural and political interaction.⁵⁶

As Yonas reported “Jimma town is made up of a diverse occupational and ethnic group.”⁵⁷ It is true for the other remaining part of Jimma region. On the other hand, every Ethiopian nation and nationalities live in Jimma and the initial people were mostly immigrants who came to the area for different reasons. Among the earliest settlers, the occupational groups of Jimma were Oromo speaking traders collectively known as *afkala*. These *afkala* traders dominated trade in the Gibe region, but they also traveled as far as Baso, Gondar and Massawa in the north; and to Bale and Ginir in the south to sell their products.⁵⁸

Moreover, Iddir, Iqub and Mahber have been the most important social activity in Ethiopia as well as Jimma is no exclusion in this concern. *Iddirs*’ are the natural outgrowth of a common historical background and of the process of assimilation and acculturation among the diverse ethnic groups of Ethiopia. *Iddir* is a form of self-help association established for the purpose essentially of mutual support at times of bereavement, but also for coordinating efforts to address a variety of community concerns.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Informants: Marga Solomon, Dajitinu and Mitiku Lemma.

⁵⁷Yonas Seifu. “A Historical survey of Jimma Town 1936-1974,” MA Thesis, A AU, 2002, p.56.

⁵⁸*Ibid*,pp. 57-59

⁵⁹*Ibid*, p.80; informant: Mamo Haile Mariam.

In addition, the way the ethnic groups in Jimma interact also involved *Iqub*. It is a form of traditional capital-raising or saving organization in which weekly or monthly payments of stable amount of money are put together to raise capital for personal use. As a result, it serves as a center of an ethnically mixed population with all concomitant diversity of culture and wide range of languages spoken. The people of Jimma described by its relatively greater heterogeneity in terms of linguistic group, occupation, social status and religion like other Ethiopian people.⁶⁰

Culturally, one ethnic group share from the other ethnic group through their daily activity, such as language, religion, wedding ceremony, mourning ceremony, dressing style, hair style, feeding style, and others. Jimma people interact without segregate of ethnic groups; they have a lot of social activity like *iqub*, *iddir*, *mahibar* and *senbate*. *Iqub* and *iddir* included local population without considering religion of every ethnic group.⁶¹

There was a great deal of neighborly cooperation among the local community. The activity which drew each person of the area was grave-digging. A funeral could attract neighbors from some distance, but only the men of the community had duties to perform. Another activity which involved the whole community was the collection of funds to aid a person whose house burned down by fire.⁶²

Historically, Jimma was one of the most important centers of commerce in the country and controlling the local markets and long-distance trade route that connected the southwestern region with the north. Trade between the northern parts of the country passed through Jimma to the south; particularly, into Kafa, Maji, Gimira, Bench, Dawuro and Illubabor regions. The local

⁶⁰Yonas Seifu, p. 84-85.

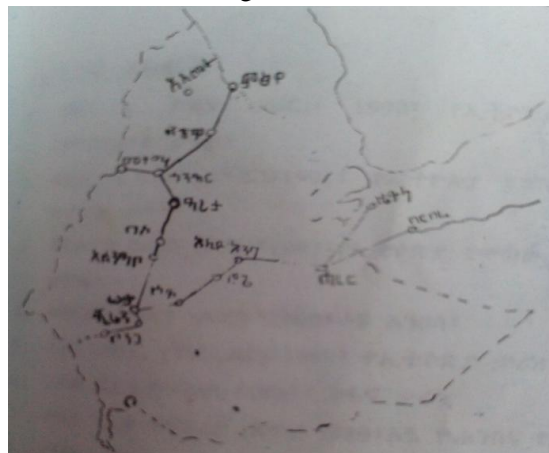
⁶¹Informants: Mitiku and Jamal Abba Garo, Mamo.

⁶²Lewis, "1934- Jimma Abba Jifar...", p. 75.

items such as coffee, civet, elephant trunks and gold were exported; and foreign items such as glass, weapons, clothes, perfume, ornaments and others were imported to Jimma and other states. As a result, Jimma established a strong relations with received a number of immigrants and cultural influences from Arabia, India, Sudan, Egypt, Greek, Yemen, Zanzibar and some other European countries.⁶³

In addition, Jimma kingdom had in a constant interaction with Oromo groups; and had strong interaction with other ethnic groups, such as Gurage, north Shewas (Guwa-Tsion, Debre-Tsege, Chancho, Muka Ture), Gojjam; and other Semites of the north and also without side world, particularly, in the end of the 19th century. The long distance trade of the 19th century had facilitated not only Jimma's contacts; but also it linked it with the northern Ethiopia and entire southwest with the north regions. Beginning from Bonga in Kafa, the trade route had tied together notable trade centers like Jiren in Jimma, Saka in Limmu-Enarya, Assandabo in Horro-Guduru, Basso in Gojjam; and Darita in Begemidir.⁶⁴

Figure 2: Long Trade Route of the Kafa Kingdom



(Source: Book of Bekele W/Mariam, 2004, p.235)

⁶³Lewis, "1934- Jimma Abba Jifar...", p. 67; Abraham, "Narrating Local Identity...", p. 22; Yonas Seifu, p.61.

⁶⁴Ketebo, pp. 2-3.

Matsumura reported that coffee growing village had experienced a process of ethnic interaction due to the continuous influx of immigrants during the 20th century. As a result, socio-economic relationships between various ethnic groups had changed in the last several decades. For instance, with creation of wealth land owning class in Jimma, others were also attracted to the area. In case, large number of people from Dawuro, Yem, Kafa, Hadya and Kambata living in the surrounding of Jimma, as well as, far away from Jimma like Shawa, Gojjam and Wollo moved to Jimma in search of wage labor. Some came only to earn money during coffee harvest; but others stayed and found work as servants or manual laborers for landlords.⁶⁵

According to Yonas and Deressa, almost all of the people came to Jimma to live better in their new homes compared to their birthplaces. They were able to minimize their vulnerability and enhance their food security status. Actually, travelers to Jimma were not only due to coffee, but also many peasants migrated to Jimma because of population pressure, famine and land degradation in the north around 1964/5. The peasants who came from various areas not only settled in coffee growing *woreda* of Jimma *awraja*, but also settled in cereal crops producing *woreda* like Dedo, Sokoru, Saqa Chekorsa, Tiro Afeta and Omo Nada. All of these districts were suitable for grain production more than coffee.⁶⁶

In fact, the arrival of different ethnic groups not only increased population density of the area; but also diminished land holding system. Since the land reform of proclamation, labor movements from one area to another were banned. A number of ethnic groups come to Jimma every year for coffee picking. Many of ethnic groups came from Eastern Gondar and some came from Wollo and Tigray. Generally, labor migration to coffee producing region improved the life

⁶⁵Matsumura Kelichero, "Changes Beyond the State Institutions: Socialist Policies and Land Tenure in Coffee-Growing Village, Southwestern Ethiopia," Kyoto University, 2003, p.23.

⁶⁶Yonas Seifu, p.45; Deressa, p.60.

of many peasants of Jimma, and it had also been caused the fragmentation of lands and ethnic diversification in the study area.⁶⁷

According to the 2007 Population and Housing Census Statistical Report for Oromia Region, among the ethnic groups of Jimma Zone, out of the total population of Jimma Zone (2,486,155) the Oromo constituted about 2,177,836 (87.6%), Kefficho 24,463 (0.98%), Dawuro 31,842 (1.28%), Yem 77,615 (3.12%) and the rest 174,399 (7.02%) were the other ethnic groups.⁶⁸

Regarding their languages, more than half (2,248,247 (90.4%)) populations in Jimma Zone spoke Afan Oromo, 11,559 (0.46%) were Kefinonon, 18,357 (0.74%) were Dawurogna, 27,636 (1.1%) were Yemsa and (7.36%) all other secondary language.⁶⁹ Religiouswise, out of the total population 2,486,155, 277,917 (11.2%) were Orthodox Christians, 73,843 (3%) were Protestants, 2,017 (0.08%) Catholics, 2,129,321(85.6%) were Muslims, and 3057 (0.12 %) were others.⁷⁰

As it has been mentioned earlier, the Dawuro, the Yem, the Kafa and others intermingled with the Jimma Oromo without apparent distinction on the basis of ethnic group affiliation. This does not mean that the ethnic and linguistic difference has been recognized among the people.⁷¹ It is simply to suggest that, little importance is placed on ethnic or descent group affinity as a basis for social interactions. Jimma has long been a busy cross road. It links the central Ethiopian provinces with the south-west principal towns of the present Kafa-Shaka, Bench-Maji, Illu abba Bor, Wallaga, Gurage administrative zones and Gambella regional state. Jimma is generally

⁶⁷Informants: Meserati Dhadhessa and Hassen Abba Zinabi.

⁶⁸ Statistical report 2007, pp. 253-254.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 295-296.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 340.

⁷¹ Abraham, "Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative...", p.40.

known for its better social infrastructural facilities and socio-economic activities compared to the other zones of south-western Ethiopia.⁷²

In Jimma, there are no major group distinctions on the basis of ethnic origin. This became to be generally true in all Oromo areas, and may be one aspect of the ‘universalistic’ nature of the Oromo society and culture. An ethnically distinct immigrant who settled down in the Oromo country whether as an in-law of the king or as a slave or renter is very soon given the Oromo name. Even the kin group to which the king belonged has certain branches which are said to be derived from “men found in the forests when Diggo came to Jimma.”⁷³

⁷²*Ibid*, p. 41.

⁷³Lewis, “1934- Jimma Abba Jifar...,” p. 45.

CHAPTER TWO

JIMMA OROMO-KAFFICHO INTERACTION

2.1. Brief Background of Kafa

Kafa is one of the thirteen administrative units found in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State which is one of the nine regional states of the FDRE. It has emerged as a Zonal administrative unit since 1992, after the down fall of Derg regime.⁷⁴

As Yonas Abate stated, the term 'Kafa' has been differently spelt from time to time. For instance, it is common to find written as 'Kaffa,' 'Kefa,' 'Keffa' and 'Kafa' in many of the literature referring to both the area and the people. However, the correct name for the land and the people are Kafa and Kafecho respectively. As a result, this work addresses the geographical area as Kafa and the people as Kafecho meaning the native of Kafa and the ethnic group. Kafa had its capital at Jimma and Mizan Teferi during the period of Emperor Haile Sillassie I and the Derg Regime.⁷⁵

Kafa was bordered by Dawuro in the east, Sheka in the west, Jimma in the north, and Bench in the south and southwest. Kafa is located at 6⁰N to 8⁰N latitudes, and 35⁰ E to 35⁰ E longitudes the latitudinal extensions indicate that kafa is located near the equator which is characterized by very high temperature and abundant rainfall. It is one of the regions of Ethiopia which gets heavy rainfall throughout the year. Kafa is endowed with a considerable number of large and Small

⁷⁴Yonas Abate Shibeshi, "Community Values and *Natural Resource Management: The case off Indigenous and Settler Communities in Kaffa, with particular reference to forest resources,*" MA thesis in the of Department of Regional and Local Development Studies (Rlds), A.A.U, 2005, p.44.

⁷⁵*Ibid*, p.45.

rivers. It is covered with very dense forests of different variety.⁷⁶ Hence, there was a big difference in the size between the old kingdom and present day Kafa. Perhaps the only thing remaining is the name, Kafa. During the Imperial and the *Derg* Regimes (until 1991), Kafa was one of the administrative regions of Ethiopia. Bonga is the capital town of Kafa.⁷⁷

The economy of Kafa like Jimma and other societies was based on mixed agriculture and trade. Traditionally the land was said to be the property of the king. The peasants cultivated different crops including cash crops like coffee and spices. The most expensive type of spice which the people collected from forests is cardamom, *Ogiyo* or *Korrorima*. *Korrorima* is the Amharic name for cardamom; and *Ogiyo* or *ofiyo* is also the Kafa name for it. This type of the spice is found only in Dawuro, Gofa, Sheka, Gore (western tip of Oromia), Bench and Kafa.⁷⁸

Like Jimma and other regions, Kafa has three conventional climatic zones based on altitude and temperature. These are ‘Dega’ (cold zone), ‘Woina Dega’ (semi cold zone) and ‘Kolla’ (hot zone).⁷⁹ “Kafa had gone through dynamic changes since 1880s and after the fall of its last kingdom. After the conquest of Minelik II, local people who collaborated with the invading forces joined the ruling central government and filled the vacant political positions to become *Melkegna, Balabat* and *Balambaras*.”⁸⁰

The ruling class uniformly claimed descent from immigrants of northern Ethiopia origin; the ruled were indigenous to the Kafa highlands. The ruling classes were generally adhered to

⁷⁶Workneh Abebe, “Religious History of Kaffa,” BA thesis in arts in History, Addis Ababa University, p. 1.

⁷⁷Bekele Woldemariam, *The History of the kingdom of Kafa, The Birth Place of Coffee 1390-1935*, Hawassa. 2009, p.11.

⁷⁸Bekele, p.54.

⁷⁹Yonas Abate, p.46.

⁸⁰*Ibid*, p.66.

Christianized forms of religion; whereas, the ruled maintained more traditional, non-Christian forms of worship; members of the ruling class invariably belonged to culturally defined 'high' status groups. Those of the ruled sectors belonged to 'low' status social groups; and lastly, the ruling class showered itself with a variety of political title and offices, while denying the same to members of the ruled class.⁸¹

The people of Kafa believed in different traditions and religions. Before the introduction of Christianity and Islam, each Kafa clan and tribe (Gumbo) had been one or two traditional spirits. This traditional spirit is called "ekko." The man who hosts this spirit is also known as "Medium" or "Alamo" and referred to as *ekke-nayo*. This *alamo* or medium had a special talent of healing sick people by giving traditional medicines and by forecasting the future luck of an individual.⁸²

The province of the organized traditional religious institutions was an important factor for Kafa's strong resistance against Shawan attacks and Jimma kingdom in the 1880s and 1890s. Even, after the defeat of the kingdom in 1897, these various beliefs and practices had continued with little or no change. The other important religion of Kafa is Christianity. It was after Kafa was brought under the control of the Ethiopian empire in 1897 that Orthodox Christianity revived and expanded all over the region.⁸³ The Ethiopian Orthodox followers were 72%, traditional religion followers were 13%, Muslims were 5.7%, Catholic followers 8%, and Protestant 2.3% and the number of Protestants were steadily increasing from time to time. On the other hand, on present days, the Manjas or Manjos are converted into the Protestant religion. Few are converted to Catholicism and to the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity.⁸⁴

⁸¹Werner Lange, *Relation of Production in Feudal Kafa and Sheka*, 2003, p.195.

⁸²Bekele, p.61.

⁸³Workineh, p.7.

⁸⁴Bekele, p.120.

Generally, the state councilors, the *mikerecho* had participated in the political, social and economic affairs of the kingdom as a whole and at an individual level or they dealt with judicial, administrative, military, political and economic affairs of the kingdom. The state councilors, the *mikerecho* had more political power than the king in the previous time.⁸⁵

The most detailed accounts which we possess of any southern state relate to kingdom of Kafa, which later conquered in 1897 by the Abyssinians, which ruled by King Tato was claimed his background from Solomon and the Queen of Saba, a claim due to Amharic influence and linked with another tradition that the ancestors of the Kafa spoke Tigregna when they arrived and had to learn the Kafa language. The kingship was hereditary and the king belonged to a family called *Bushasho* of the Minjo group.⁸⁶

Generally, like other Ethiopian people, Kafa are also the intermixture of many nationalities or tribes. Thus, the present people of Kafa are a mixture of Enarya /Hinnario/, Oromo, Amhara, Agew, Gurage, Bosh/Garo/, Boro-Shinasha, Sheka (Shekecho), Yem, Bench, Dawuro, Konta and Arab.⁸⁷ “Kafa has been inhabited for the most by the Kafecho ethnic group which was a significant majority (71.8%) of the population and the Amhara (6.7%), the Shekacho (6.4%), the Bench (5.2%), and the Oromo (4.8%) consecutively followed by the Dawuro, Sheko, Chara, Nao, Me'en and Mezengir ethnic groups share the remaining small proportion in the area.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶Huntingford, p. 5.

⁸⁷Bekele, p.81.

⁸⁸Yonas Abate, p.49.

2.2. Socio-economic Interactions

According to my informants, sometimes it was difficult to discuss in separate way Jimma from Kafa because for a century, Jimma was part of Kafa province. But starting from the beginning, the people of Jimma and Kafa had strong interaction through social, economic, cultural and political aspects.⁸⁹

The Jimma people and Kafa had uninterrupted relation through a century and their might be conflict and cooperations. Infrequently, there is conflict between Jimma kingdom and King of Kafa was shaped for the purpose of political agenda. But, it was not concerned the people of Kafa and Jimma for their self benefit. Particularly, through social interactions, they had sharing one other's sorrow or happiness. They also interact through economical aspects in which one depends on the other or they have been economic interdependence.⁹⁰

However, there were economical controversial issues between them on the birth place (origin) of coffee. A number of scholars described that the birth place of coffee was Kafa province specifically at a place known as *Mankira*.⁹¹ Whereas, a number of informants in Jimma were claimed that coffee was our own property, its origin place is Jimma were originated at a place known as *Choche*. Jimma was established museum of coffee at the place mentioned above.⁹²

In addition to this, the present government of Ethiopia to achieve the Millennium Developmental Goals, put corner stone for five regions; such as Afar as human being museum; Arsi as museum of Atletes at Bokoji, Kafa as museum of coffee birth place at Bonga, Aksum as museum of

⁸⁹ Informants: Asafa wolde mariam, Abersh Argaw and Mamo Haile Mariam.

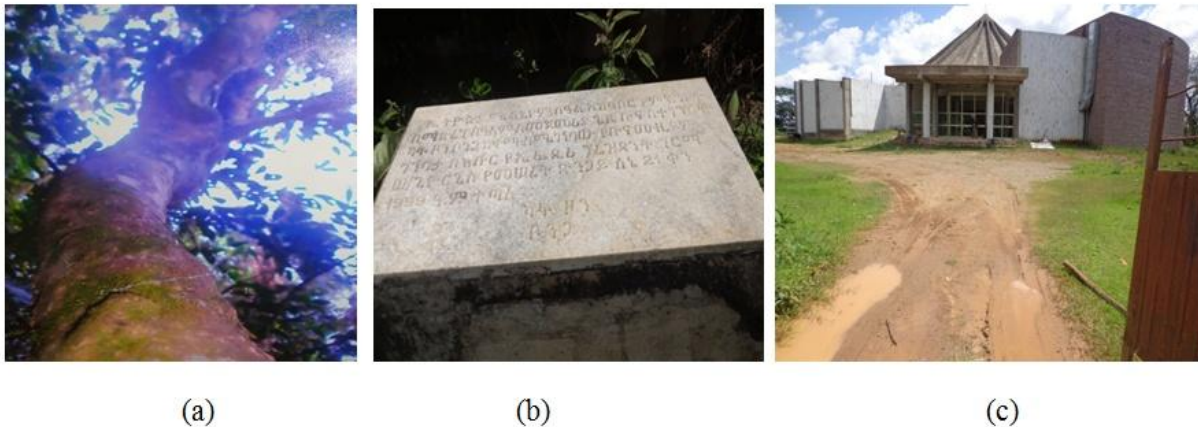
⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Laurent Bossolasco, *A Study Case on Coffee (Coffee Arabica L.) Limu Coffee*, 2009, p.65; Bekele, p.39.

⁹² Informants: Abdo Adem, Sharafu Abba Macca, and Shito Abba Gisa.

heritage, and last one was museum of youth center at Addis Ababa. This corner stone was approved by Girma Woldegiorgis who was the former president of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia on 21 June, 1999 with the former prime minister of Ethiopia Melese Zenawi as international coffee museum.⁹³ The following pictures briefly show these aspects.

Figure 3: Shows (a) The mother of Coffee (*Coffea arabica*) in Kafa (Mankira); (b) Establishment stone of Museum in Kafa by former President Girma Woldegiorgis; (c) The first International Museum on Progress in Kafa.



Source: Kafa Coffee Museum

According to Abraham, Jimma's basic cash crop was coffee (*buna*), for which the zone known. Coffee is not only a cash crop; but, also a favorite drink of Jimma. It is involved in most of the social interaction. Adult members of neighboring families' daily meet at least once or twice to share a pot of coffee (*buna wal-waamuu*) still continued. In Jimma, the few months during and

⁹³Informants: Asafa Woldemariam, Ayimiro Geses and Ayele Asafa.

after the coffee harvest, from December to February, tend to be much more dwellers than the other months of the year.⁹⁴

Beside, the work of picking coffee beans draws numerous (thousands) of labor forces from different parts of the region to Jimma. The other cash crop of the region is khat or *Jima* (*Catha edulis*). In addition to its economic values, *khat* had also plays a great role in the social life of ethnic groups in Jimma.⁹⁵

Besides the Ethiopian coffee ceremony, women commonly prepare the traditional coffee ceremony which can last for hours aiming to bring people closer in a comfortable atmosphere. This ceremony especially, takes place in private homes; but, it is part of the daily routine of *Buna Bets* (coffee houses, drinking bars) and Hotels. In this way, coffee ceremony is first of all a social phenomenon linking friends and neighbours. It is deeply rooted in Jimma culture and beliefs.⁹⁶

The Gojeb is the major river for Kafa. The main tributary of the Gibe is the Gojeb River, and and it is the line of demarcation between Jimma, and Gera from Kafa.⁹⁷

Figure 4: A figure showing Gojeb River



Source: Photograph by Researcher

⁹⁴ Abraham, “Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative...,” p.46.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp.46-7.

⁹⁶ Laurent, p. 62.

⁹⁷ Bekele, p.83.

2.2.1. Trade

Jimma and Kafa have been substantial interactions through trade by local and long distance trade route. They have been imported and exported commodity in previous history as well as present. A number of items were imported from Kafa; especially, raw materials like, slave, cattle, spice, coffee, ivory, butter, enset and others were exported from Kafa and sometimes finished materials were exported from Jimma like clothes, house tools and others were imported from Jimma.⁹⁸

Furthermore, interaction through local market may draw no more than two hundred people at a time. In those markets, most of the buyers and sellers were women who are the wives of the farmers, and artisans. Farmer's wives bring small amount of grain, legumes, enset, dough, butter, milk products, and other foods.⁹⁹

Women potters bring pots and round baking trays. Some women make the rounds of the local markets selling the flouring of grain they have had ground or imported curry, ground pepper, flax seed, ginger, or manufactured goods as soap, pins, matches, razors blades, beads and other. A few men near to Jimma often from Gurage, Kafa, Yem and Dawuro attend small market bringing onions, potatoes, garlic, lentils and chick-peas.¹⁰⁰ Kafa also exports gold products to Enareya conjoined with Jimma and Wollega where gold was panned from river beds by slaves.¹⁰¹

Herbert states that, in the previous period people around Jiren can go to Serbo town on Sunday, to *Jiren* market on Monday, *koci* market on Tuesday, a different market in Jiren on Wednesday, the great market Hermata on Thursday, and so on. Similarly, market days along caravan routes

⁹⁸Informants: Mamo Haile Mariam, Kenea Alamayu, Elifensh Kanefesha and Hassen Abba Ooli.

⁹⁹ Informants: Aberash, Addis and Kenea.

¹⁰⁰Informants: Addisu sahile, Demisew Mebratu, Adanech Bahru and Mekuria Kidane.

¹⁰¹Mordechai, pp.81-85.

are so coordinated that long-distance merchants can attend different markets on almost every day. Merchants going from Jiren to Anderacha in Kafa could stop at the Sunday market in Seka, the Monday market in Sombo and the Tuesday market was in Shebe.¹⁰²

Moreover, on their return from Kafa, they once again stopped their market at Shebe on Tuesday, at Waka on Wednesday, and arrived in Hermata for the great Thursday market. There was a similar pattern on each of the major roads from Jiren.¹⁰³

Different trade centre in the south western Ethiopia was emerged in the 19th century. Among these local centre of trade, the famous were Bonga (in Kafa), Seka (in Limmu), and Hermata (in Jimma). These market towns, located on the busy long distance trade routes, also served as political centres. They had both administrative and economic significance. Bonga was the capital of the Kingdom of Kafa and the biggest centre of exchange in that empire. According to the importance of trade in Bonga, they attracted the *Jabarti* traders from the north, the Omotic traders from the south and the Surrounding *afkala* traders. This implies that Bonga became important commercial center of south western Ethiopia in the 19th century like Jiren or Hermata in Jimma.¹⁰⁴

Slaves like animals and the highly valued trouser (*shenafallo*) were exchanged for salt bars (*yemmo* or *shenago*) at selected markets such as Tefi, Kay, Kella, Muti and Bonga within the kingdom. Bosh's primary market was Gabo, Heto and Sheka-Gecha filled this function in the extreme western regions of the Kafa highlands prior to the 20th century.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²Lewis, "1934- Jimma Abba Jifar...", pp. 64-65.

¹⁰³*Ibid*, p.65.

¹⁰⁴Seyoum, p.38; Yonas Seifu, pp.5-6.

¹⁰⁵Lange; 2003, p.197.

2.3. Cultural Practices as Inter-ethnic Connections

As my informant stated, two ethnic groups have their own beliefs, culture, values and norms. Obviously, both immigrants as well as the natives had their own socio-political and economic background. Due to their daily contact, they share one another's culture. This two people interacted through several ways; for instance, in the way of tradition coffee ceremony, wedding ceremony, mourning ceremony, hair style, dressing style, inhabiting mode, religion festival, and so on.¹⁰⁶ To strengthen the above cultural interactions between Jimma and Kafa, Ketebo's source stated as the following:

...There is no doubt that Jimma took some cultural elements of kingship from its neighbors. For instance, Abba Jifar II had two servants who carried him when he was not on horses or mule's back anywhere so as not to touch the ground. This element of kingship was perhaps borrowed from the Christian empire kings. Gold ring was the major insignia of Jimma kings borrowed from Kafa. Special umbrella of the white silk was another element of the symbol of kingship crown, gold chains on their neck, earrings and had silver stuff and a unique drum. These were absent with Jimma and Gomma kings. The other element of kingship which put Jimma kings and all other Oromo kings in the Gibe region in African monarchical edifice was two headed spears, Gonfo, which agents of the king carried wherever they did go to convey messages of the Moti. Although the Jimma kings, particularly, Abba Jifar II had certain kingship elements borrowed from the neighboring states, largely, Kafa.¹⁰⁷

In addition, interaction can be seen through the practice of giving peace among them, regardless of whether they know each other or not. Even they interacted by tools serve in home among both ethnic groups.¹⁰⁸ The below figure express that both societies use calabash [*kulu*] for drinking

¹⁰⁶Informants: Asafa Gebra Mariam, Kenea, Ashiya and Kelalichu.

¹⁰⁷Ketebo p. 80-81.

¹⁰⁸Informants: Asafa and Mamo.

coffee and the unique coffee cup of Kafa respectively; but, in present time the use of this tools are rare in urban and it is highly accessible around country side of Kafa.

Figure 5: Shows (a) cultural expression of Jimma and Kafa (b) Unique to Kafa Coffee Cup.



Source: Kafa Coffee Museum

They do not only interact through economic and social aspects, but also they interact in the way of religion. People of Kafa had practicing different kinds of traditional beliefs and practices which have shaped the socio-economic and political life of their society. Most of Kefficho believe in a supernatural being called ‘Yero’ which could be described as a ‘Sky God.’ It was associated or equivalent with the Oromo supernatural being called *Waaqaa* who could be express as a Sky God.¹⁰⁹

As Workineh states, at the end of the independence of the kingdom and the replacement of the local rulers by Christian governors in 1897 created some favorable conditions for Kafa Muslims. Unlike the Catholics and traditional religious believers who were forced to convert Monophysite Christianity by Woldegiorgis, the Muslims were permitted to practice their faith without much

¹⁰⁹Workineh, p.12; informants: Abdisa Abba Rago, and Kamal Hussien.

intervention, but they were prevented from converting non-Muslims to Islam. The period of Italian occupation was an important period for the expansion of Islam in Kafa. The same is true to Jimma Oromo at the time of Italian encourages the expansion of Muslim. Similarly, for the remaining part of the country, Muslims in Kafa enjoyed a considerable privilege through both spiritually and materially. In order to legitimize their power and influence in the country, the Italian tried to encourage conflicts between the Muslims and Orthodox Christians. They helped the Muslims financially to expand their religion and to build mosques.¹¹⁰

On the other hand, Kafa was the seat of a strong alternative of the sky-god of which the Kafa people here called *yero*, and since there seems also to have been in ancient times a goddess equivalent to the Oromo *Atete* who became identified with ‘Virgin Mary’ under the Saint of Astario Mariam. “The Kafa have no *gadaa* or age-system like that of the Oromo; but they practice circumcision (males at eight weeks, girls between four and twelve months) and infibulations.”¹¹¹

However, the Oromo people used and still use to consume a typical coffee preparation called *Buna Qala* which is coffee cooked with butter; melt with different species and salt. Whereas, in the 1920’s the traditional way of coffee preparation in Kafa was a boiling spices with pellets made of roasted coffee powder mixed with butter and honey. In the second half of the 18th century, the Oromo people living in Kafa kingdom were used to eat roasted coffee powder pellets mixed with butter.¹¹²

¹¹¹Huntingford, pp. 4-7.

¹¹²Laurent, p. 65; Informants: Jämal and Kenea.

“Another preparation currently found in Oromo regions and very spread in the whole Limmu in Jimma region were the coffee husk decoration known as *hogga* or *qasara*. Afar people were also consumed coffee in this way, even more commonly. *Mahlé*, Omo people, infuse coffee with parchment. It is interesting to note the similarity between these people name.”¹¹³

As written source shows, “The *zar* ceremony has inherited power. The Oromo had introduced into both pagan and Muslim elements. The drinking of the blood of the sacrificial victim may be Oromo elements. The girding of the head with its peritoneum is commonly known among Oromo people.” The *zar* ritual was called *wadaaja*, the Oromo name for mutual prayer, khat is used during the performance, and some of the *zar* spirits called up. *Atete*, the Oromo goddess of fertility was a kind of minor deity and the cult survives amongst the Muslim and Christian Oromo alike. Some Sidama people also practiced this *atete*. In general, Kafa and Jimma people were directly or indirectly interact for several years and still.¹¹⁴

2.3.1. Inter-ethnic Marriage

Jimma and Kafa have had and still have strong interactions. This should be reflected in inter marriage starting from the early time. These two people Kafa and Jimma Oromo were marriage each other without segregation depend on ethnic. For instance, “Galli married the daughter of the Queen of Gera in 1878; *Abba* Megal was the husband of the Queen of Gera and also married the sister of Galli; and *Abba* Jifar was also married the sister of Galli. The wife of *Abba* Jifar who was from Kafa royalty was called Gene Bushaseche Bonga.”¹¹⁵

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴Trimingham, pp. 258-259.

¹¹⁵Informants: Addisu Sahile and Asafa Wolde Mariam; Bekele, pp. 75-76.

The number of wives a man can have depends up on his wealth. It is possible for a man to have three or more wives provided that he could allow each wife to maintain a separate household. In Jimma, married persons are distinguished from the unmarried ones by taking special names of honour or respect.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, women took their husbands names with a substitution of *Hadha* (mother) and *Abba* (father). For example, if a name chooses Jobir for his newly married son and his bride, they will be designed as *Abba Jobir* and *Hadha Jobir*. The very interesting things are, perhaps in Ethiopia, unique to Jimma, a married woman doesn't bear their fathers' names, but their husbands. Thus, to use the above example again, the full name of the bride becomes *Hadha Jobir* and *Abbaa Jobir*.¹¹⁷

Like Jimma, the Kafa people also married more than one wife based on their wealth in the early times certain individuals built residences in all climatic zones and had co-wives. The practice of marrying more than one wife was existed for dissimilar causes: "One indication was the wealth and power of individuals. The second was to increase the number of population which was reduced by natural calamity and by man-made problems. The third and the main purpose was that male born children could inherit their possessions."¹¹⁸

However, Jimma interact with several ethnic groups by marriage such as Kafa, Dawuro, Limmu, and Arsi and with the rest of Ethiopia ethnic groups. According to Herbert and Ketebo sources, Abba Jifar II had four wives at a time; those are *Genne Jarsiti* (Queen of Jarso clan), *Genne Limmiti* (Queen from limmu), *Genne Minjiti* (Queen from Kafa royal family), *Genne Saphertiti*

¹¹⁶Abraham, "Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative:" p.44.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*, p.44-45.

¹¹⁸Bekele, p.13.

(Queen from saphera clan of Limmu) and *Genne Hadha* Kedir. For those wives, the husband could give equal love, equal share of wealth and treat them equal without disparity.¹¹⁹

According to Bekele's book, the end of the 19th century was observed by the rapid growth of Muslim states in the north of Kafa, an isolation policy and decrease in Christian slave traders in Kafa. With Kami's assuming the throne in 1843, the isolation policy of Kafa was broken. Kami maintained good relations with his neighboring states of Jimma, Dawuro, Gera, Wolayita, and Sheka. In order to maintain good relations with these states, Kami married the daughters of these rulers. This trend also continued until the reign of his successor, Gali.¹²⁰

However, a successor to the throne could be the son of any wife; but, he had to fulfill the criterion of succession. The wives of the king of Kafa had equal status, except seniority. Very many of the kings of Kafa were married wives from the neighboring states to strength their good diplomatic relations. Most of the Kafa kings married wives from Gera, Goba, Jimma, Gomma, Guma, Yem (Dawuro and Konta), Enarya, Sheka, and Bench. For instance, Aadiyo Gali had married wives from Goba and Jimma.¹²¹

Jimma and Kafa peoples are still now interacting through culture, and interborrow one from the other it is not only for two regions ethnic group; but it is also true for others ethnic group in Ethiopia. Herbert Lewis stated that, Jimma borrowed several cultural elements relevant to kinship from its neighbors. Jimma borrowed cultural elements from the neighboring states like the double-bladed spear; the conical cap; and the custom of carrying the king from place to place it have been found in the surrounding kingdoms. The Kafa king also had crown, gold chains

¹¹⁹Ketebo, p. 86, Lewis, 1963, p.90; Informants: Shiek Aliyi Ahmed and Kibru Tesfaye.

¹²⁰Bekele, p.108.

¹²¹*Ibid*, pp.136-137.

around his neck, earrings and basic traits of kingship which the people of Jimma were borrowed.¹²² Furthermore, the same was true to other ethnic groups borrowed one another cultural element. For instance, eating forage (*marqaa*) was the cultural elements of Jimma Oromo, but today it is also used in Kafa, Yem, Dawuro and other Ethiopian ethnic groups as a favorite food. Similarly, eating *enset* was the cultural food of SNNP of Ethiopia, but it's sometimes found in the other part of the country like this a number of elements shared from the other.¹²³ Even though, they have different languages they commonly use similar words.

Table 1: Language similarities between Afan Oromo and Kaffinono

<u>English</u>	<u>Afaan Oromo</u>	<u>Kaffinono</u>
Weaver	Shamane	Shamano
Coffee	Buna	Buno
Conical Cap	Gonfo	Gunfo
Group Work	Dabo	Dabo
Tanner	Fuga	Fuk'i
Half day work	Daado	Daado

From above table, we can understand that there is a language interaction between the people of Jimma Oromo and Kafa. Most peoples of these states, who are living in the border area between the two states, can speak both Afan Oromo and Kaffinono. The common language in Kafa is known as *Kaffinono*; but, the Kafficho and Jimma people who are bordering other zones speak

¹²²Lewis, "1934- Jimma Abba Jifar...", p. 89.

¹²³Informants: Yakota Mohammed, Abdisa and Takele Ayana.

both Kafinono and other dialects like Dawuro, Bench, Meshengir, Afan Oromo, Nao and others.¹²⁴

2.4. Socio-political Interactions

Abraham stated that, Jimma stop to be an internally autonomous kingdom in 1932. After the death of Abba Jifar II, Emperor Haile Selassie I took over the administration of Jimma from Abba Jobir, the grandson of Abba Jifar, on the basis of his failure to cooperate with the central government. Consequently, Jimma assumed a new status as one district (*Awraja*) and the capital city of Kafa Province, in which the other formerly independent Gibe States were also included. Jimma was administered directly from Addis Ababa by a governor-general Wolde Emanuel appointed by Emperor Haile Selassie I. Consequently, after 1941, Jimma assumed a new administrative status called *Awraja* under *Kafa Taklay Gizat*.¹²⁵

Furthermore, from 1936-1941 Italian occupation, Jimma served as an administrative centre for the southwestern province. Due to this the Italians built the Jimma town and established numerous infrastructural facilities of which the Addis Ababa to Jimma asphalt road still remain to be important.¹²⁶

As Huntingford reported, until the middle of the 16th c, the Menelik Empire was very difficult to Kafa whose kings always feared the possibility of invasion; though, in fact they proved strong enough to maintain their independence against both Abyssinian and Jimma Oromo till the former came against them with modern weapons in the nineteenth century. After the sixteenth century, their chief enemies were the Oromo. This hostility never died out and was fostered by the

¹²⁴Yonas Abate, p.66; Informants: Mamo Haile Mariam, Abaresh Argawu, and Addis Sahile.

¹²⁵Abraham, "Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative:" p.38.

¹²⁶*Ibid*, p.40.

nearness of the Oromo in the Gibe monarchies; even, recently it was inflamed by the part played by *Abba Jifar* of Enarya when he helped Menelik to conquer Kafa in 1897. As his source stated, he was wrongly discussed on *Abba Jifar* of Enarya and the corrected one is *Abba Jifar* was the kingdom of Jimma but not the Kingdom of Enarya. At that time, the kingdom of Enarya was *Abba Bogibo*.¹²⁷

Both the Jimma and Kafa administrations were partly in the hands of local hereditary dynasties, and in Kafa, at least, clans held prescriptive rights to a great many vital positions. Clearly Ethiopia is much closer to Jimma in this matter than Kafa. There were period in history when the emperor of Ethiopia was powerful enough to shift and appoint their officials as they wished. However, Jimma was partially far from a simple copied of Ethiopia administrative aspects.¹²⁸

The following archive show as the political contact of Jimma and Kafa region and others.

...በአምስቱ የጠላት ወረራ ዘመን በየጦርሜዳው ግዳጃቸውን ሲፈፀሙ ወድቀው የቀሩት ኢትዮጵያውያን ሁሉ አጽማቸው በሚገኝበት አካባቢ እየተሰበሰበ የሞቱት ሰዎች ስም ዝርዝር መታሰቢያ እንዲቆምላቸው ለማድረግ በዝርዝር እየተጣራ እንዲቀርብ በተጠየቀው መሠረት ተፈፅሞ በአስቸኳይ እንዲገለፅላቸው ለጸቱ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤቶች እና ማዘገጃ ቤቶች ተደጋጋሚ ትዕዛዝ አስተላልፈው ነበር። እነዚህም ቀርሞ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ዴዶ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ሰኩሩ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ አሞ ናዳ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ጨቆርሞ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ጢሮ አፈታ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ጃንጅሮ ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ማና ወረደ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ሰርቦ ማዘገጃ ቤት እና ሸቤ ማዘገጃ ቤት።¹²⁹

¹²⁷Huntingford, 1993, p. 11.
¹²⁸Lewis, “1934- Jimma *Abba Jifar*...,” p. 151.
¹²⁹Archive: የጅማ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት ለከፋ ክፍለ ሀገር አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት ጅማ ቁጥር: 5283/6917 ነሐሴ 17/1967 ዓ.ም.።

Similar version of this are translated as:

...An urgent message contains to identify and list the name of the people who were died and to stand commemoration stone were sent to eight Woredas Administration Office and Jimma Town Municipality repeatedly in order to collect all Ethiopian dead body who were accomplished their duties and fallen at a battle during the five enemy warrior years. Those are Kersa Woreda Administrative Office, Dedo Woreda Administrative Office, Sokoru Woreda Administrative Office, Omo-Nada Woreda Administrative Office, Chokorsa Woreda Administrative Office, Janjero Woreda Administrative Office, Tiro Afata Woreda Administrative Office, Manna Woreda Administrative Office, and Serbo Municipality and and Shebe Municipality.

According to source, in the 1882, the Guduru Oromo was the earlier of these kingdoms to be conquered by Menelik's general called *Ras* Gobana. Soon, afterwards Abba Jifar of Jimma agreed to pay Menelik tribute and to facilitate the passage of Shoan troops through his territory. At the same time the numerous and mutually aggressive Leqa and Wallega tribes of the southwest were subjected in various expeditions between 1887 and 1894, as well as, the Sidama territories of Hadiya, Kambata and Tambaro were the east of the Gibe. Limmu, the last independent Oromo kingdom of the west fell in the 1891; and the little Sidama kingdom of Yem in the 1894; and Kafa subjected in the 1897.¹³⁰

After Jimma's incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire, soldiers of the central government were also passed through the state on their way to places, such as Kafa, Gimira, Benchi, Maji and Ilubabor.¹³¹ The relation of Kafa with Jimma was very acute in 1890 due to the excessive high tax demands placed on Jimma by Menelik II. Consequently, Jimma occasionally raided and

¹³⁰Trimingham, p. 128.

¹³¹Yonas Seifu, p.9.

looted the borders of Kafa along the Gojeb River. However, these raids ended with the victory of Kafa over Jimma.¹³²

2.4.1. The 1880- 1897 Conflict

The conflict between Jimma and Kafa during this period was very series. During the reign of Menelik the neighbouring states, the Gibe states, Yem, Dawuro, and Sheka were conquered by the force of Menelik II. The forces of *Negus* Menelik under his general *Ras Gobena, Dejazmach* Beshah Aboye, later *Negus* Tekle Haimanot of Gojjam, *Dejazmach* Lewlseged of Shewa were knocked at the doors of Kafa.¹³³

After learning of the power of the Amhara, Chini tried to make an alliance with neighboring Muslim states, particularly with Gera. Gaki Sharochi (Chini) conquered and incorporated these states into Kafa and sought an alliance with states like Jimma, Gera and Seka. However, no unification of Kafa-Oromo forces developed against the Amhara invasion. Instead the unification of Amhara and Oromo against Kafa was observed in the invasion of Kafa during 1896 to 1897. Most of the historians mentioned that the battle of Kafa and Amhara was the battle of Andiracha. During the conquest of the combined forces of Menelik II and Abba Jifar from 1896 to 1897, the king and the people of Kafa fought many battles against these forces for nine months. But, Kafa kingdom was later surrendered to the forces of Menelik in September 3, 1897. Finally from 1896-1897, Kafa was encircled and defeated by the force of Menelik. Gaki Sharochi who was

¹³² Bekele, *The History of the kingdom of Kafa...*, p.112.

¹³³ Bekele Woldemariam, *A Short History of Kafa People and Governments*, Addis Ababa, 2004, p.173.

taken as captive and in all these places he lived a miserable life and died at the age of 62, in 1919.¹³⁴

Figure 6: Gaki Sharochi (The last Kafa kingdom from 1896 to 1897)



Source: የጋራው ክፍለ ዘመን ኢትዮጵያ፣ አንደኛ መዕረግ፣ 1900-1966 (Ethiopia in the 20th century, p.45)

As written documents and informants indicate, in 1897, the force of Menelik II finally defeated the Kingdom of Kafa that had defended its independence for many centuries. The conquest of Kafa was ‘engineered’ by *Ras Wolde Giorgis*, *Ras Tesema*, *Ras Demisew* and coworkers with *Abba Jifar* of Jimma and King Kawo of Dawuro. *Abba Jifar* and King Kawo guided and supplied Menelik’s armies, and these leaders played a significant role in the conquest of Kafa.¹³⁵

The Kingdom of Kafa had defended its border by digging vertical and horizontal trenches, that is, in three different ways. One of these was dug deep, long and wide and was known as *Hiriyo*. These ditches could be not by any means easily crossed by enemy troops. The second type of ditch was known as *Kurppo*. This kind of ditch was usually prepared to mislead enemy troops. It had a widely or openly constructed road at the entrance, but slowly and gradually deepened and

¹³⁴*Ibid*, p.186.

¹³⁵Bekele, *A Short History of Kafa People...pp.* 175- 6; Informants: Asafa, Mamo Haile Mariam.

narrowed, so the troops were unable to jump out of it would easily surrender. The third type of the ditch was called *Koteno*. This ditch was deep, round and was covered by the leaves of trees or by grasses, making them difficult to be seen by enemies. The remnants of *Hiriyo* ditches are still seen in border areas near the Gojeb River such as around Diriye, Umech, and Dawuro and Konta border areas.¹³⁶

Finally, as a number of my informants and writers clarified, it is very hard to know the number of troops which had been participated in the conquest of Kafa. But, it is estimated to be the number of the invading troops was very large. The collaboration of the neighbouring states to Menelik was very significant to conquest the power kingdom of Kafa.¹³⁷ Thus, the conquest of Kafa was led by *Ras Wolde Giorgis Aboye*, with the collaboration of the war generals like *Dejazmach* later *Ras* and finally *Ras Bitweded Tesema Nadew*, *Dejazmach* later *Ras Demis Nesibu*, *Abba Jifar II*, *King Kawo* of Dawuro and other Senior and junior generals like *Fitweraris* and *Kegn Azmaches* were encircled Kafa in all directions. After strong struggle the kingdom of Kafa lost their independence since 1897.¹³⁸

¹³⁶Bekele, *The History of the kingdom of Kaffa...*, pp. 184 - 86.

¹³⁷Ibid, p.138; Informants: Asafa, Addisu, Aymiro and Elifensh.

¹³⁸Bekele, *A Short History of Kafa People...*p.175.

CHAPTER THREE

JIMMA OROMO AND DAWURO INTER-ETHNIC INTERACTION

3.1. Background of Dawuro People

Dawuro is one of the thirteen administrative units which found under the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS). Dawuro is located in South West part of Ethiopia. Dawuro is bordered by the Konta in the west, Kambata and Tambaro in the northeast, Wolaita in the east, Gamo Gofa Zone in the South, and Jimma in the north. The capital town of Dawuro is Tarcha. Tarcha is 505 km Southwest of Addis Ababa and 180 Km from Jimma. The Dawuro belong to the Omotic people of southwestern Ethiopia.¹³⁹

Dawuro Zone together with the present Konta special *woreda* was formerly called 'Kullo'-Konta *awrajja* of Kafa *Tekilay Gizate* (Administrative region) and later on, Kafa *Kifle Hagär* (province). While, the administrative regions were recognized towards the last few years of the Dreg regime, Dawuro-Konta *awrajja* was incorporated in to the newly formed "Semen Omo administrative Region." With the coming power of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPDRF) government and its subsequent emphasis to ethnic federalism, the name "Kullo" was rejected and the name Dawuro is favored by the native people. The name, Dawuro, refers to both the peoples and area of their settlement. Dawuro officially became a Zone in November 2000 G.C.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹Asrat Alemayehu Wachamo, "Cultural, Ethnic Identification, and Personal Identity Achievement among the Dawuro Adolescents: The Case of Waka Secondary School and Gojeb Teacher Education College," Paper Presented on the Language, History, and Culture Symposium at Tercha, Dawuro, 2008, pp.7-8.

¹⁴⁰Seid, pp 1-3.

Dawuro lies between 6°36' to 7°21' North latitude and 37°07' to 37°26' East longitude. The Gojeb and Omo rivers circumscribe and demarcate Dawuro from North West to South West in a clockwise direction. Dawuro has estimated an area of 5,000km². The Dawuro have five wereda such as Loma, Gena-Bosa, Maraca, Tocha and Isara as well as Tercha town administration. The topography of its five *wereda* is mostly mountain, plateau, deep gorge, and lowland plain. Some of mountains include Isara, Gazo, Gumati, Hayo, Asto, Hastings and Gulo.¹⁴¹

Omate is other name of the people. This name has been used alternatively with Dawuro and “Kullo” for a long time. On the other hand, Alemayehu strongly argue that the area all along from the Gojeb to Omo Rivers was widely known by name Omate. While, the name Dawuro was given to them by the Wolayita, Ṭāmbaro, Jimma and Agaro people called them “Kullo.” They further argued that there is a *Safar* (suburb) in Jimma town called “Kullo” Bar, which must be corrected.¹⁴²

According to Bahrey, the area known by the name “Kullo” was locally known as Dawaro. They state: “... Kullo” (also written as Cullo) are often referred as Dawaro (Dauro, Dawro), by which name their territory is known locally, because the area was colonized in the sixteen century by the refugees from Muslim state of Dawuro east of Bali during the war with Ahmed Gragn and it was sometimes spoken as ‘Harar’.¹⁴³

Henceforth; many clans were migrated in and out of Dawuro at different time. There are a few clans who clamied their origin in Dawuro land, these include Tsata, Kalise, Zutuma, Dutia,

¹⁴¹Wondimu Lemma, “The Historical Defensive Walls of Medieval Dawuro Kingdom,” 2012, p.2; Solomon Tilahun, “A History of King Halala Terrace (Fortification Zone),” BA thesis, Jimma University, 2008, p.3

¹⁴²Asrat Alemayehu, p.12.

¹⁴³Bahrey, Almedia, C.F. Beckingham, G.W.B. Huntingford, *History of the [Oromo] of Ethiopia with Ethnology and History of Southwest Ethiopia*, 1993.p.97.

Gadda, Hiziya, and so on. This clan claimed that they originated from ‘earth’ i.e. from different localities in Dawuro. Today these clans and others also settled in Jimma not only Dawuro.¹⁴⁴

As written material indicates, the people of Dawuro like other Ethiopian people, they are the follower of different religion such as Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Christianity, traditional belief and others religion. As Seid, Dena Freeman and Alula Pankhusrt reported, a large number of the Dawuro populations were followers’ of indigenous belief based on the 1994 population census. Tossa is their supreme being or the sky God. Its natural spirits are known by the name Ayana like Oromo. In the indigenous belief of Dawuro, there were spirits mediums that were locally known as *sharecho* ‘shaman’, the people of Dawuro mostly practice indigenous religion it is also currently exists not completely abolished.¹⁴⁵

The leaders of such clan fought many wars in order to control land and resources, as well as, to administer as large area as possible; so that, the society became insecure. After waxing waning of power among the warlords, the leaders of the kalise, zutuma and tsata emerged to attempt Dawuro’s amalgamation. At the end the Kawka chief had become successful in establishing his own hegemony over Dawuro right up to its final incorporation to Menelik Empire.¹⁴⁶

Like other people, the economy of the Dawuro people was highly relied on agriculture and trade. Trade was probably important at least among the rulers for the area in that they occupied the source of the lucrative trade items. Favorable climatic conditions allowed for the production of a variety of crops and cattle breeding. However, a relatively few people also earned their income

¹⁴⁴Informants: Alemaheyo Abera, Donocho Takele, and Mamo Dooyo.

¹⁴⁵Dena Freeman and Alula Pankhusrt, “Living on Edge: Marginalized Minorities of Craftworkers and Hunters in Southern Ethiopia,” Department of Sociology and Social Administration college of Social Sciences, Addis Ababa University, 1997, 110; Seid, 29.

¹⁴⁶Seid, p.11.

from traditional crafts, such as, pottery, tanners, smiting and weaving. Ensat is the stable food of the Dawuro people.¹⁴⁷

3.2. Socio-Economic Interactions

Under this chapter the thesis attempt to discuss the interaction between Jimma Oromo and Dawuro, in Jimma through social, economic, political, cultural, religious, language, and marriage interaction between the peoples.

As informants stated, from the beginning, the people of Jimma and Dawuro have been strong interaction through social, economic, cultural and political aspect. The Jimma and Dawuro people have been uninterrupted relation for several centuries; there might be conflict and cooperation contact. Sometimes, conflict between Jimma kingdom and Dawuro king were occurred for political purpose which was not the agenda of the people of Dawuro and Jimma.¹⁴⁸

Both states have been strong relation by exchanging grain crop and other, they did not only exchange crop, but also language, culture, religion and so on. On both sides, the peasants cultivated different crops including cash crops like coffee, spices and grain crop. From this crop, what not found in Jimma was imported from Dawuro, as well as, what not found in Dawuro was imported from Jimma. In addition, the most expensive type of spice which the people collected from forests is cardamom or *Korrorima*. This type of the spice is found only in Dawuro, Gofa, Sheka, Gore, Bench and Kafa exported for the neighbor country like Jimma, Gera and others.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷Informants: Alemahayu, Dalelegni Alemu and Sisay Kebede.

¹⁴⁸Informants: Fiqiru Gazagn, Zayitu Beriu, Dalelegni Alemu and Sisay Kebede.

¹⁴⁹Bekele, *The History of the kingdom of Kaffa...*, pp.35-40.

The ethnic interaction between Jimma Oromo, other different ethnic groups in Jimma and around its boundaries looked strong and deep rooted for its prolonged socio-economic relation. Mostly, the known ethnic groups related to Jimma Oromo are Kafa, Dawuro, Yem and Gurage.¹⁵⁰

Dawuro was bordered by Jimma in north part and these people are crop producers, as well as, cattle breeders. From the beginning, their wide market point was Jimma in which they sell their agricultural products and buy industrial products. In addition to this, to support their financial need, the Dawuro people came to Jimma to collect coffee. Not only the Dawuro, but also the Oromo merchants go to Dawuro to buy crops, oxen and butter from Dawuro. So, they exchange commodities and cultural values as a wide range¹⁵¹

3.2.1. Slave Trades

During the 1880s, Jimma was the center of slave trade especially, the place called Hermata. People considered as slaves were brought to Jimma from Dawuro, Kafa, Yem and other areas. From these people, those who didn't have a chance to be sold abroad were remained in Jimma and started living in these areas. This was one of the main factors that contributed to the undertaking of ethnic interaction in Jimma.¹⁵²

In Jimma the owning, buying and trading of slaves was widespread than other parts of Ethiopia. The trade was carried on openly until the reign of Menelik II, and Hermata was the major Slave market in the southwest. The slave trade continued until the 1930's when Haile Sellasie and the Italians managed to abolish slavery. Jimma's slaves came from a number of ethnic backgrounds, and in different ways. Some slaves were prisoners of war; others were enslaved as punishment

¹⁵⁰Informants: Kibru Tesfaye, Mitiku Lemma, Alemayehu and Abdisa.

¹⁵¹Informants: Zurga Lasime, Meserati Dhadhessa and Alemayehu.

¹⁵²Informants: Zeynu Abba Fogi and Michael Gobena.

for crimes or for failures to slave raids; especially, common in areas to the southwest of Jimma. Slave traders and raiders brought many slaves from Dawuro, Gimira, Maji and Kafa. Slaves were bound during the March's and were often brutally treated. When they arrived at Hermata, some were sold to local people, while, others were taken further north.¹⁵³ Today, all slaves are officially free; continue to live as tenants or renters on the lands of their former masters. Slave birth or slave ancestry was not in itself a bar to advancement in Jimma.¹⁵⁴

Slave raiders brought their victims to major markets like Bonga, Jiren and other. Particularly, slave raiding was an easy task in the area beyond Gojabe. It includes the states of Dawuro, Konta, Kafa, Koysa, Mallo, Goffa and Gimira; and even beyond.¹⁵⁵ “*Abba Jifar* settled on these land slaves numbered up to fifteen thousand, hundreds of Amhara and certain Tigre servants. Most slaves were obtained through trade with southern non-Oromo kingdoms such as Kafa and Dawuro. Trade in slaves did exist prior to *Abba Jifar II*; but, it reached its peak after *Menelik's* conquest of the Gibe region.”¹⁵⁶ Slaves constituted the main items of trade, followed by ivory, coffee and honey.¹⁵⁷

After the abolition of slavery, the ex-slaves continued to reside in Jimma, engaged mainly in domestic work. During the Italian period, many of them served as labourers in the road construction projects. A large number of Kafficho, Dawuro and Yem speakers moved to Jimma in the post liberation period, because of population pressure in their home areas. Due to limited opportunities in their respective areas, they sought to improve their welfare by operating as

¹⁵³Lewis, “1934 - Jimma *Abba Jifar...*,” p. 79.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid*, p.81

¹⁵⁵Seid, p.47.

¹⁵⁶Ketebo, p.94.

¹⁵⁷Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855 –1991*, 2nd edit London, Athens and Addis Ababa, 2002, pp.16-18.

traders or farmers in Jimma. During the 1960s, young men from the homelands of these communities moved to Jimma in pursuit of opportunities including education and jobs.¹⁵⁸

The external trade or long distance trade was dominant in Dawuro in the beginning of eighteenth century. It was held in the big weekly markets of Dawuro and this including Mari, Tocha, Dissa, Dizzy Amaya, Arusi, Bale and other. Keeping touch such market centers and new trade routes were emerged in Dawuro to the neighboring kingdom of Kafa, Jimma, Wolaita, Tambaro and Goffa. The southwestern part of the country was the source of many items of trade.¹⁵⁹

In the region, Jiren, Bonga and Gore were the major commercial centers of the country that attracted many traders. Many valuable products were produced and exported out of Dawuro. The major items that were exported from Dawuro included ivory, cattle, coffee, skins, hides, honey, bulukowa, coriander, ginger and so forth. In return, many items like Amole, (salt bar), beads, iron and other commodities were imported to Dawuro.¹⁶⁰

One main reason for Haile Michael's heavy tax imposition over Dawuro was the introduction of new tax reform in the 1930. The reform, according to Mahatma Sellasse, was intended to abolish the gabber system, *corvee* labor service and to introduce tax and tribute in cash, as well as, to improve the government income. The reform also aimed at replacing the *quter Geber* with *quri Geber* (tax based on the level of the land). Thus, the amount of tax per *gasha* (40 hectare) was fixed based on the development status of the land.¹⁶¹ Accordingly, fifteen Ethiopian Birr was allotted *lam* to *taf* (well developed farm), ten Ethiopian Birr for *lam-taf* (semi-developed farm) and five Birr to *taf* (undeveloped). In Dawuro, the land considered as *taf* and the peasants were

¹⁵⁸Yonas Seifu, p.59.

¹⁵⁹Wondimu, p. 54.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid*, pp.54-55.

¹⁶¹Seid, p. 74.

obliged to pay five Birr per *gasha* annually. The reform was also followed by the introduction of land measurement locally known as *Qalad* system (measuring land by rope). The land measurement began in Kafa in 1932.¹⁶²

Through Hermata they passed caravans to the southwest to Kafa, Maji, Gimira; the south Dawuro, Konta, Uba and elsewhere; to the west Gomma, Gumma, Gera, and Ilubabor; and to the north Limmu, Nonno, Shoa, Wollo, and Gonder. Jimma was thus a busy crossroads; it received cultural influences and immigrants from all of these directions and sources. Arabs, Indians and Greeks also came in numbers, especially around the turn of the century.¹⁶³

Travellers observed Hermata in 1888, without counting the merchants of the Amharic realms or who come from there come together at Jimma to those of Gera, Gomma, Limmu, Gumma, Kafa, Dawuro, Walayita, Tambaro and so on.¹⁶⁴

The boom in coffee prices and the expansion of coffee plantation in the Limmu and Jimma *awerajas* was the other factor for the attraction of many members of these communities. They made up the majority of the labour force in the newly established coffee plantations in the region. Indeed, the Kafa, Yem and Dawuro labourers played an immense part in the development of coffee plantation. The main reason for their migration in the early 1930s was the need to obtain cash through migratory wage labour.¹⁶⁵

Due to the long history of population inflow and good accessibility of the area, the ethnic composition of current Jimma zone is heterogeneous. Proximity in geographical location to the

¹⁶²*Ibid.*

¹⁶³Lewis, "A [Oromo] Monarchy Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830-1932," The University of Wisconsin press Madison and Milwaukee, 1965, p.49.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid*, p.57.

¹⁶⁵Yonas Seifu, p.60.

coffee producing areas of Jimma and Limmu also attracts some ethnic groups like Dawuro and Yem to come to Jimma for seasonal work during coffee harvest. At first, the laborers did not settle permanently in Jimma. Rather, they returned to their homeland at the end of coffee harvesting season. But, later some Dawuro began to obtain land in Jimma village and began to settle down. At first, most of them came to Jimma as laborers. They worked and earned some money as wage laborers and finally bought lands from local Oromo farmers. In this process the farm easily provided Dawuro migrants and got the opportunity to settle down in the coffee-rich area without difficulty.¹⁶⁶

3.3. Cultural Practices as Inter-Ethnic Connecting Bonds

Like Kafa, Dawuro also have been strong interaction with Jimma Oromo through culture in the way of traditional coffee ceremony, wedding ritual, mourning ritual, hair style, dressing style, inhabiting mode, religion festival, due to their daily interaction they share one another's culture. For instance, mourning ceremony has partially different cultural condition. The Dawuro's would pay strong attention for mourning even some of their relatives pass over. But, within the Jimma Oromo were make it smoothed.¹⁶⁷

3.3.1. Inter-Ethnic Marriage

Like with other ethnic groups, Jimma have also strong marriage interaction with Dawuro in previous and present and the marriage of both people were without segregation they married each other. People associations were also being done in between the higher ruling class members. For example, during king *Abba Jifar II*, the king of Jimma intermarriage had been

¹⁶⁶Matsumura, Kelichero, "Changes beyond the state Institutions: Socialist Policies and Land Tenure in Coffee-Growing Village, Southwestern Ethiopia and Kyoto University, 2003, p.21.

¹⁶⁷Informants: Dalelegni, Michael, and Kibru.

done by the king himself between the females from Kafa, Dawuro and Yem. This made a strong bond in between Jimma and the mentioned ethnic group. By intermarriage, *Abba Jifar* married wives from each ethnic group and made strong political, economic and social relations. The king of Jimma Oromo, King *Abba Jifar* married a women from Dawuro was called *Genne Kulliti*. So, from the beginning some people were married to each another unlike the restriction of religion.¹⁶⁸

However, after 1841, political marriage became an important strategy of *Abba Jifar* with his neighbors. In 1846 at the age of forty four; *Abba Jifar* married a fifteen years old daughter of the king of Kullo (Dawuro). The influence of *Abba Jifar* over the region was by means of political marriage relation, these thirteen queens, the daughter of the Kullo was the most beautiful of many others. In general, before the first half of the nineteenth century, the Kingdom of Dawuro maintained its external relations in different ways. Most of the time, there was peaceful relationship with its neighbors, even though, at a time they fought a bloody war; they maintained their relation with Dawuro by a royal marriage in order to avoid their animosity.¹⁶⁹

In addition to this, inter trade-exchanges between Jimma and Dawuro ethnic groups were also very strong. For example, the Dawuro people were crop producers and cattle breeders; while, in Jimma these were industrial out puts such cloth, soap, salt, kerosene and other commodities. So, the exchange in these commodities brought about the strong bondage between Jimma and Dawuro. The long period of mutual interdependence and co-existence was not break. Because, the relationship was based on mutual benefits; even in some areas, they were blood related and shared the culture. However, each of them have their own cultures; the people who came to

¹⁶⁸Informants: Alemaheyu, and Demisew.

¹⁶⁹Seid, pp.51-52.

Jimma and settled for a long period of time shared the Oromo culture changing their name as well as their religion.¹⁷⁰

According to Mohammed Hassen, *Abba Jifar* was a man of peace who was more interested in the spread of Islam within Jimma than in conquest of his neighbors. The Gibe kings made peace with him without imposing any punishment on Jimma. *Abba Jifar* emended his relationship with the king of Gumma by creating marriage alliance. This marriage seems to have been inspired by religion considerations rather than by political control.¹⁷¹

Regarding to their language, they have a language differences and there was also similarities in some words which indicates that there was a language interaction between both ethnic groups.

Table 2: Language similarities between Afan Oromo and Dawuro

English	Afaan Oromo	Dawurogna
Horse	Farda	Faraa
Donkey	Harree	Hariiya
Get In	Gali	Gela
Tribe	Qomo	Qomo
Blood Payment	Guma	Gumma
Natural spirit	Ayyana	Ayana

Source: Informants and Seid material.

¹⁷⁰Informants: Eshete Mulugeta, Kebede and Donocho.

¹⁷¹Mohammed, p.185.

Before the time of Haile Sillassie, they have been in a serious war on the territory until they incorporate under Menelik II. But, starting from the time of Haile Selassie I, they have peace full relationship between them still present day. Both Dawuro and Jimma Oromo were undermined during the time of “neftegna” regimes. Their languages, cultures and social values were disregarded by the ruling classes. But, by now these events are passed and the inferiority complex is replaced by self-confidence. Because of this each respects their own and the others language and culture.¹⁷²

Like other societies, the Dawuro people have their own system of maintaining social order. The most prominent one was the *Yaa*. It was held under a big tree. Like Jarsumma in Jimma Oromo under big tree. It was locally called *Barpata Walla*. On the *Yaa*, *Akko* and other clan leaders discussed the despotism of *Kati Erashu* and the problem of drought in the society as well as the marginalization of the native clans in the Dawuro politics.¹⁷³

Yaa brought the systematic mobilization of the society for the construction of the king’s palace at *koysa*, as well as, the building of the defensive fortification trench system, *Halala Kella*, against any external invasion. The system also made possible for the appointment of gatekeepers who collected custom dues as well as prevented the encroachment of external enemies at the seven gates of the state. Economically, like the king of Jimma, the Dawuro kings also supported foreign merchants by protecting them from bandits, as well as, lowering custom dues.¹⁷⁴

During the time of the Jimma kingdom, the kinsman of a murdered man was called upon to help enforce reconciliation and the payment of compensation or the punishment of killer. The king

¹⁷²Informants: Fiqiru, Zeynu Abba Fogi and seid p.14 and 29.

¹⁷³*Ibid*, p.38; Informants: Dalelegni, and Mamo Dooyo.

¹⁷⁴Wondimu, p.56.

held the final decision as to whether or not a murderer could be executed, but the family had the option of trying to insist on his death, or accepting the payment of blood-money (*gumma*) and partaking in a reconciliation ceremony (*arara*). The same was true for Dawuro people to settlement of their problem.¹⁷⁵

3.4. Socio-Political Interactions

Like other Ethiopian people, Jimma and Dawuro have a strong socio-political interaction. For instance, in the middle of the 1880s, *Abba Jifar* was sent by Menelik to mediate for a peaceful submission of the people and states of the southwestern part of the country. Many messengers sent to the surrounding states for their peaceful submission to Menelik by *Abba Jifar II*. From his diplomatic mission, *Abba Jifar* was successful in convincing the kings of Dawuro and Konta. At that time, the kings of Dawuro were *Kati Sana Dadu*.¹⁷⁶

The people of Dawuro had a well-established kingdom under the king *Kawka* dynasty. They had a common socio-cultural and religious identity and had strong attachment to agriculture. These factors helped them to repulse warrior neighbors for a long time. Most of the time, they strongly defended their own indigenous military organization. They fought against *Kafa*, *Jimma*, *Wolaita*, *Goffa*, *Tambaro* and later with Emperor *Menelik II*.¹⁷⁷

According to written material, during the time of fighting, the people of Dawuro were used different strategies. They fought a face to face war, and sometimes attacked their enemy by disbelief. Besides this, they built stone ramparts and deep ditches along the border of their territory to prevent the attack of their enemy which is well-known by ‘*Halala Kella*.’

¹⁷⁵Lewis, “1934- Jimma *Abba Jifar*...,” p. 72; Informants: *Dalelgni* and *Michael*.

¹⁷⁶Informants: *Asafa* and *Alemayehu*; *Seid*, p.60.

¹⁷⁷*Wondimu*, pp. 11-12.

Furthermore, the kingdom of Dawuro was also known for its defensively fortified stone walls. The Dawuro fortifications have both big stone walls and deep ditchies all along the frontiers of the state; because, the state was sandwiched by three powerful neighboring states of Wolaita, Kafa and Jimma.¹⁷⁸

Figure 7: Halala Kella of Dawuro



Source: Bureau of Culture and Tourism Website Compiled Information by Girma Timer

The kingdom of Dawuro might have been too weak and perhaps subjected to external forces that probably from the powerful kingdom of Kafa. During the reign of *Tato* Galli Gafotsh and his successor Galli Gnotsh, the kingdom of Kafa conquered the area as far the territories of Dawuro and Qucha which became the Kafisho ‘worabis’ (districts). The kingdom of Dawuro was one of the tributary states of Kafa and subjected to pay annual tribute after the rise of the Manjo dynasty in Kafa.¹⁷⁹

In the meantime, there had been an intimate blood relation among the kings of many southwestern states due to their royal marriage alliance. Both Konta and Dawuro kingdoms had a good relation with the King of Jimma, *Abba* Jifar. He had many slave agents in Dawuro and

¹⁷⁸Solomon, p.2; Wondimu, p.11.

¹⁷⁹Bekele, “The History of the Kingdom of Kafa...,” p.103.

Konta; and he had also many livestock raised in these kingdoms. This condition was shrewd politician Abba Jifar that peacefully submitted to Menelik in 1882. As result of this submission, Abba Jifar was able to maintain a relative degree of Jimma's autonomous status for the coming five decades.¹⁸⁰

In the absence of any alternatives, Katis of Dawuro had ready for a peaceful submission. Although, Dawuro and Konta were agreed to peaceful submission; and both Dadu and Hasiyo were succeeded by their younger sons. After the succession of the young kings, Abba Jifar again continued his diplomatic mission for the young kings of both Dawuro and Konta. In one of his mission of *Abba Jifar*, who was busy in negotiation with his neighbor for their peaceful submissions to Menelik, said the following words to the Dawuro and Konta kings: "Literally means I and your fathers have promises. It was to submit peaceful for emperor Menelik. Now, he was coming by trouncing many states peacefully for him. By rejecting *Abba Jifar's* advice, the two *Katis* made a pan-Omoti Alliance with the powerful states of Kafa and Waliata."¹⁸¹

With the support and guidance of Abba Jifar, Wolde Giorgis led a huge army and reached at the joining together of the Gojab and Gibe Rivers after a week's journey from Jimma. The task of subduing the southwestern part of the country was given to Woldegiorgis due to this rich background of warriorship. From Limmu, Woldegiorgis sacked Gomma and the kingdoms of Yem, as well as made his major conquest in Dawuro and Konta in 1889. *Kati Kansa* had sent two envoys to Jimma to ascertain whether an iron shield he had made could withstand their bullets.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰Seid p.60.

¹⁸¹*Ibid* p.61.

¹⁸²*Ibid*, pp.62-63.

A year later, recruiting an additional force from the natives, Woldegiorgis began to attack the powerful state of Kafa from Dawuro at the beginning of September 1897. The final showdown against Kafa took place between the joint force of *Dajjazemach* Damese of Gera from Saja, *Ras* Tasama of Illubabur from Gesha and *Abba* Jifar of Jimma across the Gojabe River. On eastern front, Woldegiorgis attacked Kafa with the help of the two *Katis* of Kullo and Konta. By defeating the strong force of Kafa, Woldegiorgis sacked Andaracha, the capital of Kafa, but was unable to capture *Tato* Gaki Sharecho.¹⁸³

The most prominent patriot leaders in Dawuro and Konta were *Dajjazemach* Moltotal and later *Dajjazemach* Argaw Wolde in Genna, *Fitawrari* Mangasha Hassan in Torcha, *Balambaras* Birru Liban Ushaye, *Gerazemach* Shawaye Irgate in Lom, and *Qagnazemach* Adnaw Golu in Konta. *Kagn-azemach* Adnaw Golu was widely known in leading many patriots that came to Dawuro from Walaita, Tambaro and Jimma. After the continuous attack of the patriots, the Italian planned a joint surprise attack on the Ethiopian patriots in the Kullo Konta *awrajja*.¹⁸⁴

3.4.1. Governmental Structures

During the feudal regime, Jimma was the capital city of Kafa province consisting Limmu, Benchi Maji, Kafa, Dawuro, Jimma and Gimira Awraja. Although, during the periods of the Derg regime, Jimma was serve as political centre and capital city of southwestern parties. Because of this administrative structure, many people from different ethnic groups were coming

¹⁸³*Ibid*, p.67-68.

¹⁸⁴Informants: Eshetu, Mitiku, and Zayitu Beriu; *Ibid*, pp.81-82.

to Jimma and some settled in it. The dynamic of the ethnic interaction overtime were the change in political structure and economic development.¹⁸⁵

Beside, the policy of Ethiopia towards ethnicity under different regimes especially during the period Menelik II, most of ethnic group were not have full freedoms without dominator groups due to their economic backwardness and weakning in military power; though, the king later declared the non-slavery system at the end of his regime. During Emperor Haile Selassie, most ethnics were regarded as tenants and servants who were even not considered as human and the same is also true for period of *Derg* Regime. But, after the end of derg Regime in 1991, those all was over the human being got their right of all things during current government.¹⁸⁶

The defeat of the Ethiopian troops in the south together with their defeat in the north brought the exile of Emperor Haile Selassie after 1936. This inevitably brought the Italian occupation from 1936-1941. Soon after their occupation, the Italian established the Oromo-Sidama province with its capital in Jimma. Likewise, the Italians established the Dawuro *awrajja* by uniting the territories of the former Kingdoms of Dawuro and Konta. After this time, both the Dawuro and Konta people were brought under the same administration with their capital in the major garrison town at 'Waka.'¹⁸⁷

Muslim was not interfered with in the exercise of their religion, and Islamic courts were recognized as part of the judicial structure. In the case of Jimma, Menelik appears to have promised Abba Jifar that no churches should be built in his kingdom.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵Informants: Zayitu and Donocho.

¹⁸⁶Informants: Silashe and Zurga Lasime.

¹⁸⁷Seid, pp.75-76.

¹⁸⁸Trimingham, 1952, p. 129.

The political stability and effective organization of administration during the reign of Abba Jifar II were expedited commerce in Jimma. Local administrators under Abba Jifar provided protection for trade and traders in different market places. On the four corners of Jimma, there were gates (*kella*) at which ‘incoming’ and ‘outgoing’ traders were inspected and taxed. These *kellas* carried the names of the regions or states that bordered on Jimma. There was thus, *Kullo bar* (the gate to Kullo), *Kaffa bar*, *Limmu bar* and *Shewa bar*. There were officials known as *Abba Kella* (chief of the *kella*), who guarded the gates and ensured the security of traders that passed through. The *Abba Qoros* (provincial governors) of all the sixty provinces also had an obligation of safeguard traders against mistreatment, robbery and attack.¹⁸⁹

Menelik’s general, *Dajjazemach* later *Ras Wolde Giorgis* incorporated Dawuro and Konta kingdoms by crossing Gojab River from Jimma in 1889. The defeated force of Dawuro ‘Kati,’ ‘Kansa’ was reorganizing itself at a place called ‘Shota Chawula’ near Embauti Mountain at a village called ‘Kuti’ before its final surrender. After capturing the Dawuro Kati, *Ras Wolde Giorgis* wrote a letter to Emperor Menelik describing his achievement as “I subdued the area from Gojabe River as far as Kuli village.”¹⁹⁰

Most of the time, war with the neighboring states was solved by a royal marriage relation. There was also frequent war occurred between Dawuro and Jimma before incorporating the Shawans. There were border clashes between the two people. The major cause of the wars was perhaps slave raiding.¹⁹¹ However, the decision of Menelik was not implemented and unfocused to conquer Kulu Konta [Dawuro]; this was a good preparation for conquering Kafa. Under this venture, diplomatic efforts to subdue Dawuro without fighting were conducted on the part of

¹⁸⁹Yonas Seifu, 2002; p.13.

¹⁹⁰Seid p.6.

¹⁹¹*Ibid*, p.51.

Menelik; but, the King Kawo refused to pay tribute and had the option of fighting. Moreover, with the superiority of arms, the forces of Menelik soon had the upper hand over King Dawuro. The defeat of Dawuro was the main stepping stone to the capture of Kafa.¹⁹²

In addition to peaceful trade relations with the neighboring states, most of the informants reported that there were frequent order clashes and warfare between Dawuro and its neighbors before the coming of the Menelik's force to the area. The major causes of the war were to get the control of trade, tribute and land as well as to extend their territory as far as Dawuro.¹⁹³

Furthermore, after incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire, the relation between Dawuro and Jimma Oromo was not interrupted, but it is more upsurge due to they came to under one administration system. Later, Jimma became an *awraja* (sub-province) after the Italian occupation came to an end roughly with its former boundary lines. Before the outbreak of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, Jimma was one of the six *awraja* of Kafa *Teklaygezat* (province). Under the *Derg* regime, Jimma had also continued as an *awraja* in Kafa *Keflehager* (province) until the *awraja* administrative structure was made to phase out and *woreda* (district) structure was introduced with the new Federal Government of Ethiopia.¹⁹⁴

Moreover, Jimma have been served as an administrative centre for the southwestern province. Therefore, the interaction between Jimma Oromo and Dawuro people were increase more time to time due to Jimma came their centre.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹²Bekele, "The History of the Kingdom of Kafa...", p.134.

¹⁹³Informants: Mamo, Dalelegni and Donocho.

¹⁹⁴Ketebo, p.3.

¹⁹⁵Abraham, "Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative:..." p.38-40.

CHAPTER FOUR

JIMMA OROMO-YEM INTERACTION

4.1. Background of Yem Society

Yem is one of the thirteen administrative units like Kafa and Dawuro which found under Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. It is far away from Addis Ababa to the southwestern of Ethiopia. It found between Omo and Gibe Rivers. Its relative location is the Gurage, the Hadiya and Kambata in the east and the Jimma Oromo to the south, Yem special Woreda Administrative Office (YSWAO) to the north and to west. In Yem, ragged land surface was full of mountains, valleys and forests. They live in a very small area which is situated at an altitude ranging between 500-3,500 meters above sea level and between 7⁰30'N and 8⁰35'N latitude and 41⁰25'E and 41⁰55'E longitude.¹⁹⁶

The Yem argued that 'Janjero,' by which they used to be known, is the name of the land not the name of the people. They prefer to call themselves Yem (Yemma) and their language Yemsa rather than Janjero. The people of this kingdom call themselves 'Yamma' or 'Yemma.' The name 'Janjero' is a Hamitic word meaning 'baboon' which is applied to them in the forms Janjero (Oromo), Yangaro (Kafa), Janjor (Hadiya), and Zenjero (Amharic). Until 1894, when they were conquered by Menelik, they formed an independent state ruled by kings belonging to a family called *Mowa* claim to be of Ethiopia origin.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶Dena Freeman and Alula Pankhurst, p.45; Pankhurst, Richard, *Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800-1936*, Addis Ababa, 1968, p.90.

¹⁹⁷Hungtingford 1993, p. 19.

Yem was wider than its present size and it's said that its northern frontiers had reached Abalti which is found today in the northern part of Sokoru extending down to the south as far as the Bulbula River to the north of Jimma town. It appears before the coming of the Oromo to the Gibe region at the end of the 17th century and beginning of 18th century. However, as a result of the emergence of the expansion and consolidation of the Oromo Kingdom of Jimma from 1800 to 1880, a good part of the western and southern territories of Yem were taken away from it and included in the Oromo Kingdom.¹⁹⁸

Additionally, the Kingdom had extended up to the area of present Wolkite in the north and upto Merewa (*Mada Buna*) in the south. Even, they claim that the territory of Yem had reached up to the area of present town of Jimma in the past.¹⁹⁹ After the Oromo conquest part of south-western Yem was absorbed into Jimma. So that, when the state finally developed into a monarchy, it was a composite entity formed from parts of a number of areas previously under different rule.²⁰⁰

The Yem people economy was based on mixed agriculture. The most important economical sources in the country were agriculture and livestock rising. The people produced variety of grains and others crops such as barley, sorghum, wheat, peas, beans, cotton, coffee, ensete, honey, spices and nug (oil seed). Besides farming, there was also the raising of domestic animals: cattle, goat, horses, mules and chicken. The most important food crop was Ensete (*Ensete edulus*) still their staple food.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸Getachew Fule, "The Kingdom of Janjero: A Historical Survey to 1894," BA thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1985, p.2; Informants: Habte Wolde Iyasus, Misgana Kebede and Bahru Desta.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid*, p.40.

²⁰⁰Huntingford 1993, p. 13.

²⁰¹Informants: Michael Gobena, Mitiku and Tesfaye.

However, some of the Yem have migrated to the fertile and productive lands of the neighboring districts in Jimma. The Yem also claimed that some of their groups also live among the Ennamor Gurage, and the Hadiya. According to the National population and housing census of Ethiopia in 1984, the total number of the Yem people in their homeland was 55,158. This indicates that more than half of the numbers of the Yem people were living outside of their homeland. It is mainly ecological problem and land shortage which have forced the Yem to migrate since a long time.²⁰²

As written material states, Yem people were identified by their different language, customs and traditions from their entire neighbor. The people had also their own system of calendar which did not have any relation with the present national calendars of Ethiopia. They practice a fairly well developed craftsmanship mainly in the making of cotton clothes and also in iron smiting, pottery and the production and making use of time.²⁰³ “There are more than two hundred clans in the Yem country. Yem clans are a group of people having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense.”²⁰⁴

As was already mentioned above, the various clans of the Yem including those in Gorum-Tege are exogamous in which marriage partner must be sought in another and sometimes specified clan. Even, the ‘Fuga’ who are ostracized artisan group within the Yem society practice exogamous marriage relationship with in their seven clan lineage and the marriage relations was between the clan lineages of the Gama and Mowa clans. The fuga practice exogamy only within

²⁰²Getachew Fule, “Agriculture and Social Organization among the Yem: The Case of Gorum Tege,” MA thesis in Social Anthropology Department, Addis Ababa University, 1995, p.2; Informant: Melkamu.

²⁰³Getachew, “The Kingdom of Janjero...,” p.3.

²⁰⁴Getachew, “Agriculture and Social Organization...,” p.108.

the clan but not with other Yem clans, because no other Yem clan groups in the society undertake marriage relations with them because of the “concepts of pollution.”²⁰⁵

Nevertheless, it is not only the royal clan and the clans which were personified by the stories of the companions of the founder of the royal clan that had their roots outside the country. For instance, Korbo and Orbatu are within the numerous Yem clans, but they had their respective ancestral home in Gurage and Kambata. Gazi, Fitu, Hamaru, and Gemelo had their respective ancestral home in Hadiya, Kambata, Wolliso and Maji. On the other hand, Yem clans known as “Tsmegu” such as ‘Za’e Za’u,’ ‘Zat’alu,’ ‘Zaqema,’ ‘Wariwas,’ etc is claimed by “come out of the soil.”²⁰⁶

Political power in the Kingdom of Yem was hereditary. It was not ruling king himself, but a council of royal advisors the Astessors whom Almida calls “great sorcerers” who chose the successor among from the sons of the King. Unmarried princes born lonely from one of the different wives of the king were reported to have been preferred. In the event of the king dying without a male heir, one of his closest relatives would be chosen by the council of Astessors. In the Kingdom of Yem, the top of the political and social hierarchy was the King Amno. Next to the Amno, the most important officials in the political hierarchy were the members of the state council.²⁰⁷

The other main people with whom the Oromo made both peaceful and violent interaction in Omo-Nada particularly around Asandabo and its environs were the Yem/Yamma. In the period of the kingdom of Jimma kings, chiefly *Abba* Jifar II, brought and settled a large number of the

²⁰⁵*Ibid*, p.120.

²⁰⁶*Ibid*, p.114.

²⁰⁷Getachew, “The Kingdom of Janjero...,” p.21-25; Wondimagi B, Ayele G, Niguse Z, et al, “የየም ብሔረሰብ ታሪክ: History of Yem Ethnicity,” 2004, 28.

Yem into different areas of Jimma kingdom particularly Omo-Nada. He did this to assimilate them and end their separate realm in order to incorporate their territory into his kingdom. This was owing to the fact that the Yem kingdom was one of the kingdoms that strongly resisted Jimma's territorial aggrandizement at the expense of others. *Abba Jifar II* also repeatedly attacked the Yem region which lost two thirds of its former territory. Yem kingdom was restricted to a small district only about 20,000 hectares of land.²⁰⁸

4.2. Socio-Economic Interactions

Jimma and Yem are neighboring states living in the south western part of Ethiopia. The peoples of these two states have long history of interaction and interdependence on one the other. One of the factors for this interaction and interdependence is having adjacent territory. The interaction between Jimma and Yem is mainly social, economic, cultural and political. Regarding to thier social life, Yem and Jimma Oromo people are highly interacting through *iddir*, *ikub* and others.²⁰⁹

Informant stated that, the Yem people are sharing a large territory with the Jimma Oromo. In addition, a huge number of Yem people inhabit outside their homeland in the current Jimma zone. For instance, the Yem people largely found in Seka Chekorsa, Dedo, Sekoru, Mana, Kersa, Omo Nada, Tiro Afeta, Limmu Seka, Shebe and Jimma Town. The Yem people economic activity was much more dependent on mixed farming. Moreover, trade and craft supports the economics of the Yem people. The same are also true for Jimma Oromo.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸Deressa, pp.25-26.

²⁰⁹Informants: Melkamu, and Asafa Gebra Mariam.

²¹⁰Informants: Misgana, Kebede and Melkamu.

Again the existence of this large number of Yem inhabitants at Jimma zone is due to different factors: firstly, the geographical proximity of Jimma to Yem; secondly, the effect of the elongated war between the two states; thirdly, the absence of difficult natural barriers like big river, desert, high mountain between the two states; fourthly, the existence of cash crop like coffee in Jimma which attract many people to the area; and at fifth, the existence of fertile land in Jimma state.²¹¹

At present, the Yem live in different parts of Illubabor mixed either with the Oromo's in the same village or side by side in different villages within the same *woreda*. The only place where the Yem live isolated is Fofa, the original center of the Yem kingdom before Menelik's incorporation of the southern parts of Ethiopia.²¹²

According to Assebe Regassa, the economic relation between the eastern Guji and Gedeo is interdependent on one another for the food stuffs like wheat, barley, teff and animal products.²¹³ The same is true for Jimma and Yem, because there is an interdependent between them, the later depend on the former as well as the former depend on the later to get products like barley, wheat, been, pea, lanten, chickpea, ethino (products of enset). Sometimes, from Yem they usually took coffee, maize and sorghum from Jimma.²¹⁴

Regarding to Getachew source, raiding neighboring countries mainly for cattle had also become a regular feature of Yem society after the emergence of the Mowa Dynasty. These raids were conducted against countries such as Maru, Nonno, Limmu, Agaro, Botor, Bujo, Tibaro, Jimma,

²¹¹Informants: Habtamu Wolde Iyasus, Tesmama and Tesfaye.

²¹²Aklilu Yilma, "Pilot Survey of Bilingualism in Yem," 2002, p.2.

²¹³Assebe, p.59.

²¹⁴Informants: Desta, Michael and Kamal Hussen.

Gera, Gumma and Kafa.²¹⁵ The state of Jimma has adjacent territory with Yem in the north east, and through this adjacent perhaps Jimma and Yem were tried to establish economic, social, religious and cultural interaction.²¹⁶

Particularly, there is one big market in Yem which attract a large number of people from different areas since distant past until today which is called *Dera (Boke)*. During the time of the long distance trade, the *Dera* market was one of the ports to the northern and eastern line of long distance trade which people can get every product including slave. Today in *Dera* market any person are able to get varieties of products which ranges from agricultural to craft. In order to get these commodities, people from Jimma and other areas went to *Dera 'Boke'* market.²¹⁷

The reverse is to true to Yem in which they came to Jimma to sell or to buy what they need from the well known of Jimma know as Hermata. During the time of war, trade activities between the two states were conducted by diplomatic merchants who had permission from both states.²¹⁸

In general, there were good economical interactions between the people of Jimma and Yem from the past to present. This might be because of the geographical proximity of the two states and the nature of interdependence among people of different groups; the difference of commodities or goods which are produced in these two states; and the absence of difficult natural barriers like desert, big rivers and big mountains.²¹⁹

²¹⁵Getachew, "The Kingdom of Janjero..." pp.33-34.

²¹⁶Ketebo, p.2.

²¹⁷Wondimagi, et al, "የየም ብሔረሰብ ታሪክ," p.199.

²¹⁸Informants: Jämal Abba Bulgu and Hassen Abba Zinabi.

²¹⁹Informants: Feretsadik Endalaw, Michael and Getchew Zeru.

4.1.1. Migration

Yem people migrates to Jimma were for different reason; for instance, trade, coffee picking, tedious and laborious shelter construction and other laborious activities as well as Jimma people also migrates to Yem for the case of job, trade, and other. Some young Yem who supplement the agricultural income of their household migrating to Jimma for trade argued that going for trade in towns, such as Serbo, Asendabo and Sokoru is an easier way of obtaining money than migrating to far areas such as Dedo, Manna, Seka.²²⁰

Moreover, as written material indicates, there are two types of migrants in Yem; such as seasonal and stable. The seasonal Yem migrants are those who came to visit the *woredas* in Jimma zone once and twice a year. They take part in coffee picking, hut construction, maize harvesting, weeding crop cultivation, and trade activities in the different coffee producing Oromo *woredas* around Jimma to earn money. Most of the Yem migrants go to the Jimma zone; particularly to Sokoru, Serbo, Omo-Nada, Tiro Afeta, Dedo, Seqa, Manna, Gomma, and Limmu Sunatu *woredas*. They are not only migrant in Jimma but also migrated to Gurage, Hadiya, Kambata and other area. A number of Yem were found in Jimma areas rather than the Gurage, Hadiya, and Kambata area.²²¹

Moreover, a number of Yem individuals migrated to neighboring Jimma to get money from the government and to pay land tax and some other debts to the government, such as paying the debt for fertilizer. Adolescent male Yem individual who have a desire for marriage also went to the neighbouring areas around Jimma to get money to be paid as bride wealth which is nowadays very expensive in Yem special *woreda*. However, young Yem individuals who finished their

²²⁰Informants: Tesfaye and Habte.

²²¹Getachew, "Agriculture and Social Organization...", p. 98.

school upto grade eighth were went to Sokoru, Serbo and Asendabo; sometimes, they went to Jimma to continue their advance education. Currently, the Yem people are also participate in seasonal labour migration in Government coffee plantations which was found in Gummer in Limmu Suntu *woreda* from August to December to obtain money by picking coffee. Sometimes, the migrants of Yem people are completely leave their native areas and settled in Jimma and other areas; mainly, due to land problem or shortage of land; but also due to exclusion of some of the Yem clans in the society.²²²

According to Getechew, the state supported resettlement programme of the Yem was undertaken during the *Derg* regime in 1978 when 570 households were moved from various areas to a place called *kishe* in Seqa *woreda* of Jimma region where they had formed a separate village alongside. There was a plan also in the 1984/85 to resettle more, but was abandoned because of the authorities in Jimma suspected that the land problem was not acute and soil fertility in the Yem *woreda* was not exhausted and that the Yem *woreda* could sustain the agricultural life of the people living in it.²²³

On the other hand, the majority of Yem people are those who have been flocked to the neighbouring Jimma area to establish permanent settlement, mainly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the process of migration of the Yem, mostly to Jimma zone has not decreased in present time while more increase rather than previuos due to suitable facility. Due to this migration to the neighbouring areas enabled the Yem to become familiar to the language and way of life of the people where they migrated to. That is why there are many Yem who know Afan Oromo and languages of Hadiya and Kambata.

²²²*Ibid*, p. 103; Informants: Kibru and Misgana.

²²³*Ibid*, p. 104.

However, completion over land, particularly between the Yem settlers in the various localities within Jimma and the native Oromo has brought about conflict between the two peoples.²²⁴

In general, the people not only migrated from Yem to Jimma, but also from all corners of Ethiopia and those who came from the immediate surroundings of Jimma, such as Kafa, Yem, Dawuro, Wolliso, Bedele, Arjo, Gumma, Gera, etc. Beside, there were a long-standing commercial interaction between Jimma kingdom and the homelands of some of these people. The Italian period also saw a significant concentration of population in Jimma from the neighbor. The Dawuro, in particular, have been involved extensively in road construction as daily labour.²²⁵

4.1.2. Slave Trade

Slave trade was the main trade item in previous time, but today also not completely demolished and it modified itself indirectly. For instance, a number of our people emmigrated to Suadi Arabia and other rest of the country, partialy they serve as former slave trade. On the other hand, by the middle of the 19th century slaves from Yem were exported eastwards to Shoa, Massawa and westwards to Enarya and Jiren in Jimma. The King Yem was active in exchanging slaves for foreign products which merchants brought to the Woreda.²²⁶

In the 1933, the Emperor appointed a governer to the Jimma region, all effective power was taken away from the Sultan and the open conduct of the slave trade was suppressed.²²⁷

²²⁴Informants: Hassen, Habte and Kebede.

²²⁵Yonas Seifu, p.68.

²²⁶Getachew Fule, "The Kingdom of Janjero..." p. 33; Informants: Kebede and Misgana

²²⁷Trimingham, p. 204.

Lewis reported that, during the war between the state of Yem and *Abba Jiffar II* of Jimma, the later emerged victorious and captured many areas which were formerly under the control of Yem. Then, *Abba Jiffar II* brought some Yem people as a “slave” and settled them at a place called ‘Sentema,’ which is found to the west of Jiren. Herbert also stated that in 1960s were found that some of the people of Sentema, in the west of Jiren were said to be descended from Yem slaves of *Abba Jifar* who have become Oromo.²²⁸

As informants stated, there were the Yem “slaves” who brought by the two *Abba Jifars* and settled at a place called Degoso, Merewa and Sentema. Currently, the Yem people of these areas prefer to connect their identity with the Oromo rather than calling themselves Yem. This is mainly because; they are too much intermingled with the surrounding Oromo. Moreover, informants indicated that the Yem people who were brought as “slave” by the two *Abba Jifars* were settled in the area mentioned above which are found around Jimma was accept Islam religion. Beside, the Yem people who lost their native religion and accept Islam either peacefully or forcefully.²²⁹

When Menelik began to expand his territory to the southward and gained control over the regions south of Shao, and then, both *Abba Bogibo* the king of Yem and *Abba Jifar II* of Jimma were surrendered and agreed to pay annual tribute to Menelik. Subsequently, slave trade and slave ownership was abolished; the Yem who had been taken to different regions of the Jimma kingdom were freed, but most of them chose to stay where they had been.²³⁰

²²⁸Lewis, A [*Oromo*] *Monarchy Jimma*..., p.76.

²²⁹Informants: Kenea, Michael and Marga.

²³⁰Aklilu, p. 3.

After the 1894 conquest by Emperor Menelik, the land in the Yem *woreda* was divided between the local *Balabats* (who were tolerated by emperor Menelik as landlord) and the appointed governors and their soldiers who were sent by the Ethiopian kings from the centre. The Yem peasants became tenants who could plough land by paying tribute in the form of cash, kind (in the form of crop), and labour for the local and settled *balabats*. This land owning system was prevailed in the Yem *woreda* until the 1975 land proclamation of the *Derg*.²³¹

“The direction of the trade through three routes to Metama, Zeyla, and Messewa carried the human cargo.” Encountered a large of caravan undoubtedly also laden with slave near the Blue Nile during one such journey from Hinnarios; indeed the slaves from Hinnario and damot, especially, the female ones. A Yem slave was sold by Garo man to Jimma Oromo for about seven years before the Italian invasion. His master in Jimma was *Abba Tiba* who lived in the district of Hermata in Doya. While working as a slave for this man, he organized other slaves in a revolt against their masters.²³²

The slave trade was also important through hunting and raiding neighboring countries was an additional source of income. Slavery had seemingly existed in Yem for a long period of time and was an important source of labour for their rulers, classes, as well as individuals.²³³ The following figure indicates the material they used to slave the people in the 20th century and made from metal known as Bridle.²³⁴

²³¹Getachew, “Agriculture and Social Organization...,” p. 118.

²³²Lange, p.198.

²³³Getachew, “The Kingdom of Janjero...,” pp.31-32.

²³⁴Informants: Kamal Hussien, Misgana and Habte.

Figure 8: Bridle harness for slave's head of Yem.



Source: Yem Culture and Tourism Office

Moreover, Jimma's commercial was further secured after the military success of *Abba Jifar I* against Yem and Badifola in 1844 and 1847 respectively. The victory of *Abba Jifar* was assured him of control over an important caravan route between Jimma and the northern markets. As a result, the commercial superiority of Seka rapidly dwindled and the center of exchange shifted to Hermata. Thus, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hermata became the most important center of trade in the Gibe region. There were several weekly markets near and around Hermata that interconnected it with the surrounding countryside.²³⁵

In addition to slave trade, Jimma and Yem also exchange other trade item early periods, such as grain and flour, honey, livestock and livestock products; products of handicrafts, such as baskets, spear heads, plough heads, iron axes, sickles, knives, saddles, shields, belts, bags and pottery products such as pitchers, incense burners, coffee cups, milk containers, etc, which is a local trade items. Materials going through the long distance trade included musk, hides, ivory and small quantities of coffee. Ivory, musk and spices mainly came from Kafa. Manufactured

²³⁵Yonas Seifu, p.12.

products such as perfumes, drugs, rifles and other were brought from Addis Ababa and sold in Hermata and the neighbor markets.²³⁶

4.3. Cultural Practices as Inter-ethnic Connections

As informant reported, there is a language, religion, wedding, inhabiting style, dressing mode and other inter-ethnic connections between the Yem people and Jimma Oromo. The two states people who live on the border of Jimma and Yem, could speak perfectly both of Afan Oromo and Yemsa (the language of Yem).²³⁷

Table 3: Language similarity between Afan Oromo and Yemsa.

English	Afaan Oromo	Yemsa
Hello	Ashami	Ashamini
How are you	Akkam	Akkan
House Door	Gaamibaalaa	Gaamaala
News	Oduu	Oduu
Watta	Itto	Utto
Funny	Koosaa	Qoosaa
Peace	Naga	Naga
Ill-treatment	Mi'eraamaa	Mi'eraama
Proverb	Maamaka	Maamaka
Spirit	Ayyana	Ayyana

(Source: የየም ብሔረሰብ ታሪክ; Wondimagni, p.11; and Getechaw, 1995, p. 126)

²³⁶ *Ibid*, p.12; Informants: Sharafu, Sinkenesh Lemma and Yakota Mohammed.

²³⁷ Informants: Zayitu Beriu, Asrate Wolde and Mohammed Habib Abba Garo.

From the above table, we can understand that there is a language interaction between the people of Jimma Oromo and Yem. But, Afan Oromo was more commonly observed in their conversation. However, informants stated that the most people of Yem who are bilingual (speaks Afan Oromo and Yemsa) both in the adjacent area between the two states.²³⁸ According to Aklilu, both Jimma and Yem speak Afan Oromo and more of them were the follower of Islam.²³⁹ In addition, the Yem people in Omo-Nadda were fundamentally intermixed with the Oromo and adopted Islamic culture. Today, it is difficult to distinguish some of the Yem from Oromo, since they speak the same language Afan Oromo and profess the same religion (Islam).²⁴⁰

Regarding to religious interaction between the state of Yem and Jimma, the book of Wondimagen Bizuayehu, Ayele Gelan, Niguse Zebe and et al. *Yeyem Hizib Tarik* (The History of Yem people) stated as the follows:

ምንም እንኳን እሥልምና በየም ረጅም የሆነ ታርክ ያለው ቢሆንም በህዝቡ ውስጥ መሥፋፋት የጀመረው ከ19ኛው መቶ ክፍለ ዘመን አጋማሽ በኋላ ነበር። በተለይ ደግሞ እ.ኤ.አ. በ1894 ከጅማው ዳግማዊ አባጅፋር ጦርነት ጋር ተያይዞ የእሥልምና እምነትም ዳግም በፍጥነት በየም ላይ ተስፋፍቷል። በአጠቃላይ በ1987 ዓ.ም በተደረገው የህዝብና ቤት ቆጠራ መረጃ በየም ውስጥ ካለው ህዝብ 25% የሚሆነው የእሥልምና እምነት ተከታይ ነው።²⁴¹

Similar version of this translated as:

Even if Islam had a long history in Yem, it was started to expand in the area since the middle of the 19th century. Especially after the war of 1894, which was fought between Abba Jiffar II of Jimma and Yem, Islam was intensified in Yem alarmingly. In general, according to the 1987 E.C census from the total population of Yem 25% was the follower of Islamic religion.

²³⁸ Informants: Tesmamu, Mohammed and Mitiku.

²³⁹ Aklilu, pp, 3-4.

²⁴⁰ Deressa, p.26.

²⁴¹ Wondimagen, et al., p. 134.

From this, we can understand that there are a large number of Muslim populations in Yem which might have its own significance for the religious interaction of the two peoples. The wars between Jimma and Yem facilitate the condition for the religious interaction between the two states; according to informants, because these wars were mostly followed by religious expansion.²⁴²

Yonas Seifu and Seid stated that when Menelik and *Abba* Jifar II formalized their relationship in 1882, Menelik had agreed not to build churches within Jimma's boundaries. The Church usually followed northern settlers into the new territories after conquest. But, this did not apply in the case of Jimma, perhaps owing to the provisions of the agreement of 1882. There had, therefore, been no churches in the town until the beginning of the 1930s. As a result, it is said that Christian settlers were forced to go as far away as Fofa, Dawuro and Limmu from 60 kilometers up to 80 kilometers to bury their dead, to baptize their children; and to take part of annual celebrations of Saints.²⁴³

According to informants, especially after the war of *Abba* Jifar II and Yem, the *Abba* Jifar II send religious teachers to Yem in order to teach Islam which might have significant role for the expansion of Islam in the area. However, during the Feudal administrative system, Jimma was not in a position to send religious teachers to the area; as a result, Islamic education began to decline in Yem. This affected the intensification of Islam in Yem and people prefer to be Orthodox Christian than a Muslim. On the other hand, in the past, most of the Yem who came to

²⁴²Informants: Tesfaye, Abdo and Aliyi Ahmed.

²⁴³Yonas Seifu, p.73; Seid, pp.60-61.

Jimma accepted Islam; but, currently they prefer to persist either in Orthodox religion or accept Protestantism than Islam.²⁴⁴

As indicated by informants, because of different factor the peoples of Yem who were influenced too much than the peoples of Jimma in the religious interaction between two people. Keeping constantly those all things until today indicates religion do not affect the peaceful social life and interaction of the two peoples in their day to day activities.²⁴⁵

4.3.1. Inter-ethnic Marriage

The horn of Africa's country was well known by inter-ethnic marriage, inter-ethnic culture exchange, share language, and so on. The east African inters-ethnic marriage has its own significance for dragging together different ethnic groups.²⁴⁶

Jimma Oromo and Yem are married to each other; in particular around Saja and Erato. Mostly, the Oromo marries women from Yem; but Oromo were not preferred to go and settled in the Yem. Some of the Yem marry from an Oromo and migrate to the Oromo land. Not only the couple who formed marriage, but their respective relatives can also go and make life in the two areas (Yem and Oromia) because of the marriage alliance. There are reasons why the Yem disdain marriage with the Oromo, but move to the Oromo land; but not the Oromo to the Yem land. One of the factor is because religion is not convenient for a Muslim Oromo (of Jimma) to live in the Yem country where Christianity predominates.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴Informants: Melaka Berhan Kesis Silashe, Eshete and Mohammed Zayiba.

²⁴⁵Informants: Dajitinu, Misgana, Tesfaye, and Sinkenesh.

²⁴⁶Assebe, p.62.

²⁴⁷Informants: Takele, Demisew and Fikiru.

Marriage relations with neighbouring groups are under normal condition, though Yem prefer to marry from own rather than other ethnic groups. For instance, the Yem have formed marriage relationship with all their neighbors (Gurage, Hadiya, Kambata and Oromo). When Yem migrates to Gurage, Hadiya and Kambata, there is no problem to marry from the women of these people (who are circumcised); but, the males from these areas disdain marrying a Yem women (because of Christian influence), because the Yem women are not circumcised. There are also marriage relationships between the Yem and the Oromo around Saja and Sokoru who recently joined the YSW because of the majority presence of the Yem in these areas adjacent to the yem. However, it is mostly the Oromo who marry Yem women; but Yem men rarely marry an Oromo woman.²⁴⁸

Keeping the entire above point, there are a marriage interaction between Jimma Oromo and Yem. The marriage interaction between the two peoples intensified since the time of the two Abba Jifars. On the other hand, intermarriage between the two peoples was mostly established between the male Jimma Oromo and the women of Yem. Whereas, the men of Yem were not allowed to marry women that undergoes genital mutilation; because of this, the males of Yem were not largely prefer to marry the women of Jimma Oromo.²⁴⁹

If a man of Yem married circumcised women he was punished ritually slaughtering ten oxen and jumping in to fire hole which is equal to his height for purification. But, after this punishment, he was not forced to divorce with his wife. In the inter-marriage between the two people, the most difficult point was the attitude of the people from both sides. For instance, when a certain Jimma

²⁴⁸Getachew, "Agriculture and Social Organization..." pp.130-131.

²⁴⁹*Ibid*, p.131.

Oromo marries from Yem or the vice versa, the relative and other people of that individual was not happy with the marriage.²⁵⁰

Today, some member of the Yem who live outside their traditional homeland have intermingled with other Ethiopian people's practicing marriage relations on the basis of national marriage laws in the civil codes of the country which recognizes customary, religious, and 'legal' type of marriage adapted from west European modern laws. Marriage in the Yem society restricts and regulates in social, economic, and political aspect.²⁵¹

The Yem have institutionalized behavior in their custom to regulate the manner of the respected and avoidance through joking relationship in order to keep the marriage alliance intact. The marriage alliance forms an action group among the kin of the spouses which creates a network of the cooperation between them to exchange labour services and gifts during crucial periods in their life such as circumcision, weddings, mourning, etc. The Yem social group among whom there is marriage alliance also forms a *dabo* (work group) to assist each other during agricultural practices.²⁵²

Because of cultural influences, the Yem people were preferred to marry their own people rather than the Oromo; also there was a *taboo* for the Yem to marry an Oromo girl who has been circumcised. The Oromo also considered it as being polluting to marry a Yem girl who has not been circumcised. If a Yem has married Oromo girls, he cannot go back to his country; because, he will be insulted and socially excluded from the society.²⁵³

²⁵⁰Informants: Feretsadik and Ashiya Abba.

²⁵¹Getachew, "Agriculture and Social Organization...", p. 119.

²⁵²*Ibid*, p. 126.

²⁵³Informants: Ayele Asafa, Tesfaye and Sinkenesh.

4.4. Socio-Political Interactions

Jimma and Yem state were also interact through socio-political for several years ago, as well as today. Particularly, regarding the continuous wars, they fought against the neighboring Jimma Oromo, since the reign of *Abba Jifar I* (1830 – 1855) and *Limmu-Enarya* during the reign of *Abba Bogibo* (1825 – 1861). The last King *Gosaso* was well remembered in the traditions not only for his tyranny and harsh rule; but also for the war of resistance, *Gosaso* fought in 1894 against the joint force of *Menelik* and *Abba Jifar II* (1878 – 1932). *Abba Jifar II* was defeated in the war of the independent existence of the Kingdom of Yem came to an end.²⁵⁴

በአምስቱ የጠላት ወረራ ዘመን ቤት ንብረታቸውን ጥለው ለአገራቸው ነፃነት ሲሉ በዱር በገደል ስለ ቆዩት አርበኞች የኒቫን ሸልማት ጉዳይ በቁጥር 253/1958 የተፃፈው በደረሰው መሠረት በዚህ ወረዳ አስተዳደር የሚገኙት ሶስት አርበኞችን መሥሪያ ቤታችን አስበን በሰጡን ማብራሪ ያእንደተረዳነው።²⁵⁵

Similar version of this translated as:

Based on letter written on number 235/1958, three patriots were selected from this three Woreda Administration Office for the novel award who were left their house and property, struggled and lived in the forest and hell for their country freedom during the five enemy warrior years.”

However, the beginning of 18th century, the Oromo had already broken the resistance of the Sidama Kingdom of Enarya; and after sometimes its former territory came to be dominated by the Oromo State of Limmu-Enarya. It indicated that the Oromo settled in Jimma after driving the Sidama people whom in their traditions they refer to as the Kafa. Then, the Jimma Oromo were

²⁵⁴Mohammed, pp. 181-185.

²⁵⁵የጃንጅሮ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት ለጅማ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት፣ ጅማ፣ በቁጥር:50/68፣ ጥቅምት 2/1968 ዓ.ም የተፃፈ።

organized into a state which started to expand and to consolidate itself at the expense of the surrounding people. The Kingdom of Yem faced the task of defending itself from expansionist Jimma most probably after arrival of the latter in the Gibe region.²⁵⁶

As far as, the Major hostile neighbors the Kingdom of Yem and Jimma, in most cases their hostility took the form not only simple raids and counter raids but the form of the major battle which resulted in unending feuds between the two states and peoples. The main cause behind this persistent hostility between Yem and Jimma was variously stated by Jimma and Yem informants and written source was the result of repeated attempts by Jimma to subjugate Yem.²⁵⁷

The whole marriage arrangement was meant to control Yem indirectly. Yem people also claimed that the act of the king Yem was prompted by a dislike for a marriage relationship with a Muslim ruling family of Jimma. Amno could have rejected the marriage alliance earlier. Nevertheless, Jimma took this incident as a pretext for a declaration of war against Yem. Not only with Yem, but also Jimma fought serious battle with the other Omotic states like Garo, Dawuro and Kafa. Details of the wars fought between the two states were between 1840s and the 1890s.²⁵⁸

The period between the 1830s and 1850 was characterized by the rivalry in the Gibe region between Limmu-Enarya and Jimma for the control of trade and trade route which did from the southwestern province of the north. The most important bones of contention in this context were the control of the principality of Badi Folla. Badi Folla was located to the north of Jimma and between Limmu-Enarya and Yem. Both were a strategic place for trade with northern Ethiopia and the east through the Soddo Gurage markets. A midst this contention between the two Oromo

²⁵⁶Getachew, "The Kingdom of Janjero...", p. 42; Wondimagen, pp.71-73.

²⁵⁷Wondimagen, p. 77.

²⁵⁸Getachew, "The Kingdom of Janjero...", p. 44.

states for supremacy, the rival states made an alliance against Yem. They fought together, defeated and “annexed” the small kingdom which was thus brought.²⁵⁹

Abba Jifar I strengthened its forces and defeated the small kingdom of Yem and captured its King Amno Zarmud (Amno Zarmadho). Latter, battle between Jimma and Yem was remembered in the traditions of both Jimma and Yem. The battle was fought at a place called *Gadal Kelta*, near Bulbul. Traditions in both regions agreed that the King of Yem was captured by the king of Jimma and was imprisoned. Before 1850s, Badi Folla was fallen into the hands of Limmu-Enarya under Jimma’s control.²⁶⁰

The hostility between Jimma and Yem reached its climax after Jimma came under the rule of *Abba Jifar II* (1878-1932). *Abba Jifar* seems to have tried hard to subdue the kingdom of Yem and tried to encourage them to flee to Jimma. This tactic was applied to weaken the kingdom of Yem and had its beginning perhaps during *Abba Gomel*. *Abba Jifar* was reported to give horses, clothes, mules and arms to the Yem who came to Jimma and those who were bitter about. The Yem king was kept in prison for three years, he said that subsequently a period of prolonged drought was started in Jimma and this forced *Abba Boqa* to his roval prisons.²⁶¹

The system of rule in their country and other fortune seekers were easily won-over by this tactic of *Abba Jifar II*. The *Moti* used to give some of items to those people from Yem who visited his kingdom; so that, they would display them to their fellow citizens at home as an inducement. *Abba Jifar* had briefly tried to foster peaceful relation with Yem; he was also known to have waged war against it. In late 1880, *Abba Jifar II* seems to have extended the northern frontiers of

²⁵⁹*Ibid*, p. 45.

²⁶⁰*Ibid*, p.46.

²⁶¹Wondimagen, pp.82- 84.

Jimma up to Hereto, Kumbi and Abelti; and having this, he established himself to the north Yem, especially at Hereto. *Abba Jifar* encourages fighting and disagreement among the rulers of Yem themselves. Tactics and means of *Abba Jifar II* had defended itself successfully preserved its independence in spite of the loss of about two thirds of its former territory.²⁶²

One might add, Jimma had also been unable to dominate its other Sidama neighbours, Kafa and Dawuro. It had either to try peaceful coexistence through marriage alliance among the ruling houses or had to pay tribute to avoid hostilities with them. The state of Yem under *Abba Bogibo* was refused to accept the offer of peaceful submission to Menelik.²⁶³

Before the conquest of emperor Menelik in 1894, the Yem had established an elaborate political and administrative structure which was hierarchically defined from local to the state level. In the Yem kingdom, at the top of the political and social hierarchy was the Amno (king). The above statements elaborate monarchical form of the social and political organization of the Yem was attacked by the military force of emperor Menelik in the 1894; and the independent existence of their kingdom came to end. Apparently, some of their traditional local state structure had been tolerated by making the members of the ruling dynasty of the Yem, the *Mowa*, *Balabts* (land holders) during the reign of Emperor Menelik and Emperor Haile Selassie.²⁶⁴

The only status which could survive after the 1894 conquest was the king Tato; but these are being forgotten at present in the Yem country; because, there is continuity of the tradition of electing *Tatos*. Since 1894, the Yem clans had almost lost their corporate identities. Moreover, clans are also losing their role as nuclei of the social organization of the Yem after 1894. Jimma

²⁶²Getachew, "The Kingdom of Janjero...", pp.49-50.

²⁶³Mohammed, p.189.

²⁶⁴Getachew, "Agriculture and Social Organization...", p. 117.

Abba Jifar occupies former territory of Enarea in northeast, Yem in the east, and Kafa and Garo in the south and central regions.²⁶⁵

The commercial superiority of Seka was rapidly dwindled because of the expansion of Jimma kingdom under Abba Jifar I (1830-1854). The kingdom of Limmu-Ennarya declined militarily and commercially from about the middle of the nineteenth century mainly owing to the expansion of Jimma state under *Abba Jifar I*. Moreover, *Abba Jifar I* also invited a number of Muslim clerics to evangelize freely in his domain in order to attract Muslim traders.²⁶⁶

States that “*Abba Jifar I* embraced Islam for political and economic motives than for religious needs.” Jimma's commercial pre-eminence was further secured after the military success of *Abba Jifar I* against ‘Yem’ and Badifola in 1844 and 1847 respectively. The victory of *Abba Jifar I* assured him of control over an important caravan route between Jimma and the northern markets. Thus in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hirmata of Jimma kingdom became the most important center of Trade in the Gibe region.²⁶⁷

For the fifty four years following his submission, *Abba Jifar* had regularly paid annual tribute to Menelik. Jimma also cooperated with Menelik in his war against Kafa, Yem and Walayita, thus facilitating the process of Shoan expansion. Throughout the reign of Menelik, Jimma had stayed as a semi-autonomous province in the Ethiopian Empire. In the late 1920s, *Ras Tafari* took control of Jimma's customs. *Tafari* appointed officials to collect market dues at Jimma. *Nagadras Sahla Eshete*, the first Shoan official was sent a considerable number of soldiers and stationed at

²⁶⁵Lewis, A [*Oromo*] *Monarchy Jimma...*,” pp.35-36.

²⁶⁶Mohammed, p.176.

²⁶⁷Seyoum, p.39.

Hirmata in 1932. In 1932/33, *Dajazmach* Wolde Amanuel was appointed by the Emperor as the first governor of Jimma.²⁶⁸

When *Abba* Jifar II tested his forces combating strength first against kingdom of Yem which was fought back fiercely repulsing forces of Jimma. Understanding the imbalance of the power between his force and that of shewa, *Abba* Jifar II submitted to the Menelik's general, Ras Gobana, in the 1882 without fighting.²⁶⁹

4.4.1. The 1880-1894 Conflict

In the second half of the 19th century, because of repeated wars between the governors of Jimma and Yem, border land between the two states become under the control of either Yem or Jimma rulers interchangeably. For instance, in the war of 1843, the forces of *Abba* Jifar I fought with the state of Yem and the former lost territories in the adjacent area between the two states which has its own impact for the later period of interaction between the two peoples.²⁷⁰

To strength the idea of conflicts between Yem and Jimma Mohammed Hassen were stated as follows:

...On 27 September 1843 a messengers from arrived at Seka to inform about the distater that had come upon the troops of his country, who were going to attack the Janjero or Yamma. The country was defended on the border by ditches and fortifications of palisades. There were six to eight gates of entrance. The Janjero opened them and said to the men of Jimma, that their own forces were in a state of panic and had run away to a certain massera (a fortified house). Full of

²⁶⁸Yonas Seifu, p.15.

²⁶⁹Ketebo, p. 31.

²⁷⁰Mohammed, pp.182-183.

confidence, the Jimma advanced, a good number of their troops entered into the massera and then the Janjero closed all the gates. Then, they jumped on the men inside and started the carnage which went on for long time. 307 cavalry with red shirts were cut down. The number of soldiers of lesser rank who were killed was so great that...they could not be counted. Jimma had lost all her brave warriors in this single encounter alone.... The men of Jimma abandoned ten leagues of the countryside having lost (many warriors). At this time, Jimma was seeking an agreement with Limmu, Gomma, Gumma and Gera, for revenge and to drive the Janjero from the land. The Gallas estimated the loss of Jimma at ten thousand.²⁷¹

The following images show as tactics of Yem people attack their enemies and hide themselves to prevent themselves from opponent like Dawuro's *Halala Kella*.

Figure 9: Massera (a fortified house) of Yem



Source: Yem Culture and Tourism Office

By 1843, the Jimma's borders reached as far as Botor, and the ancient Sidama kingdom of Yem which for a short time during the 1830's been made tributary to Enarea and was attacked a number of times by Jimma. Finally, in the 1844, the Yem were defeated and their king was taken prisoner; but when he regained his freedom in 1847, he immediately renewed the struggle

²⁷¹Mohammed, pp.181-182; Wondimagen, pp.73-74.

against the Jimma and the war between the two countries went on until the entire area was annexed to Showa by Menelik in the 1880's.²⁷²

Whereas, as Aklilu's source and informants stated that, in the 1880s, the Yem began a war with the neighboring Oromo people of Jimma, who were under the leadership of *Abba Jifar II*. *Abba Jifar II* began to extend his domain and conquered part of the Yem area. The Yem were pushed towards Fofa, the center of the Yem kingdom, and were forced to confine themselves to Fofa and its surroundings. When *Abba Jifar* of Jimma conquered a part of Yem area, some Yem people were taken to a region in western Jimma, while others were left to live on their own lands, but under Jimma *Abba Jifar*. The war relation between these two states became serious at the time of *Abba Jifar II* rather than *Abba Jifar I*.²⁷³

The king had the power and the right to make slaves of any conquered populations. In the 1880's, Jimma conquered a part of Yem and, says *Abba Jifar* removed some Yem to a region in western Jimma, while letting others remain on their lands at his disposal.²⁷⁴

Figure 10: The last King of Jimma Kingdom, *Abba Jifar II* (1878-1932)



Source: Photograph from Jimma University Museum

²⁷²Mordechai, p. 92.

²⁷³Aklilu, pp. 2-3; Informants: Habte and Alemayehu.

²⁷⁴Lewis, "1934- Jimma *Abba Jifar*..." p. 95.

ከዳግማዊ አባ ጅፋር ወደ አፄ ሚኒልክ የተላኩት ልዑካን ይዘው የሒዱት መልዕክት የሚከተለው ነበር።
ወደ እርስዎ መጥተንም ሆነ መልዕክተኞቻችንን ልክን ለእርስዎ ግብር እንዳን ገብር በመሃላችን ያሉት
የሣንዣሮ (የየም) ህዝብ ና መንግስት መንገድ አናሳልፍም ብለውን አስቸግረውናል። እነዚህ ህዝቦች
የውሃ ጥማት የማይበግራቸውና ርጠው የማይደክሙ ስለ ሆኑ ከእኛ አቅም በላይ ሆኖውብናል። ስለ
ዚህ የርስዎ በጎ ፈቃድ ከሆነ የጦርና የወታደር እርዳታ ይደረግልን።²⁷⁵

Similar version of this translated as:

From *Abba Jifar II* of Jimma to Emperor Menelik II the soldier passenger had sent as the following: We came to you or send our passenger due to the Janjero people and governments found between us close the gate we can't pay to tax you. This people did not prevent them from the thirst of water; and they did not weakened, so, they are above our potential. So, if you honors allowed, we want your soldier and weapon material to be supported.

In addition to the above archive, Getchew Fule material also supported: Yem itself had conducted several raids against the neighboring countries such as Limmu, Nonno, Agaro, Gumma, Gera, and Jimma. In general, it seems that the kingdom of Yem had both friendly and hostile interactions with its neighbor's states particularly with Jimma Oromo.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵Wondimagen, p.78.

²⁷⁶Getachew, "The Kingdom of Janjero...", p. 39.

Conclusion

Four major themes were addressed in this thesis. The first theme deals with the general background of ethnic groups in Jimma. The second theme constitutes Jimma Oromo and Kafa interaction in social, economic, cultural and political aspects. The third theme takes up Jimma Oromo and Dawuro interactions. The last theme is about Jimma Oromo and the Yem people.

These ethnic groups interacted through different ways such as social, economic, cultural and political aspects. They shared one another's social life, cultural habits, economic activities and political structure. Their interactions were not only with these ethnic groups, but also they interacted with the rest of Ethiopian ethnic groups in all corners of the country. Especially, they interacted through short and distance trade routes among others. But, more other Ethiopian ethnic groups, due to their geographical proximity, the four ethnic groups such as Jimma, Yem, Kafa and Dawuro have strongly interconnected. Their interactions have been on daily has it's popularly and official in history.

These four ethnic groups had passed also friendly relations as well as hostile interactions. In the past due to border disputes clashed. But in recent times, few clashes were occurred. They create better interactions after they annexed into central government of Ethiopia from 1880- 1897. Moreover, during this period, the conflict became very serious among three ethnic groups and the Jimma Oromo. *Abba Jifar II* of Jimma submitted to Emperor Menelik II without resisting or fighting. This created an opportunity for Menelik II to conquer those ethnic groups such as Yem, Dawuro, Kafa and others with the support of *Abba Jifar II* himself.

In general, Jimma have strong interaction with other Oromo groups such as the Shawan, Arsi, Wellaga, Harar, Borana, Illuabbor and others; and also Jimma Oromo have interactions with

other ethnic groups, like the Gojjam, Gondar, Wollo, Tigray, Gambella, Benishangul Gumuz, Afar, Somali and southern nations and nationalities of Ethiopia. So that, Jimma has been uninterrupted interaction with whole Ethiopian ethnic groups directly or indirectly. Jimma had uninterrupted interactions with the whole of Ethiopia directly or indirectly. But, the close interactions within Jimma itself among different ethnic groups and other neighbouring peoples and entities need investigation as this work tried to do. This is just a modest contribution upon which other researchers would build up column of studies.

REFERENCES

I) Unpublished Documents

A. Archives

የጅማ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት ለከፋ ክፍለ ሀገር አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት፣ ጅማ፣ በቁጥር፡ 5283/6917፣ ነሐሴ 17/1967 ዓ.ም የተፃፈ።

የጃንጅሮ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ፅህፈት ቤት ለጅማ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት፣ ጅማ፣ በቁጥር፡ 50/68፣ ጥቅምት 2/1968 ዓ.ም የተፃፈ።

B. Manuscripts

Asrat Alemayehu Wachamo. 2008. “Cultural, Ethnic Identification, and Personal Identity Achievement among the Dawuro Adolescents: The Case of Waka Secondary School and Gojeb Teacher Education College.” Paper Presented on the Language, History, and Culture Symposium at Tercha, Dawuro.

Freeman Dena and Pankhusrt Alula. 1997. “Living on Edge: Marginalized Minorities of Craftworkers and Hunters in Southern Ethiopia.” Department of Sociology and Social Administration, College of Social Sciences, Addis Ababa University.

Werner, Lange. 2003. “Relation of Production in Feudal Kaffa and Sheka.”

Wondimu Lemma. 2012. “The Historical Defensive Walls of Medieval Dawuro Kingdom.”

C. Theses

Abraham Alemu. 2000. “Jimma Oromo Oral Prose Narrative: A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis.” MA thesis, Arts in Literature, Addis Ababa University.

Asebe Regassa Debelo. 2007. “Ethnicity and Inter-ethnic Relations: - the ‘Ethiopian Experiment’ and the Case of the Guji and Gedeo.” Master Thesis, Indigenous Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø, Norway.

Getachew Fule. 1985. “The Kingdom of Janjero: A Historical Survey to 1894.” BA thesis, History, AAU.

- _____. 1995. "Agriculture and Social Organization among the Yem: The Case of Gorum Tege." MA thesis, Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University.
- Guluma Gameda. 1984. "Goma and Limmu: The Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region C.1750-1889." MA Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University.
- Lewis, Herbert Samuel. "1963. 1934 - Jimma Abba Jifar: A Despotic Galla Kingdom." PhD dissertation in Anthropology, Columbia University.
- Seid Ahmed Mohammed. 2007. "A Historical Survey of Dawuro, South West Ethiopia (upto 1974)." MA Thesis, History and Heritage Management, Addis Ababa University.
- Seyoum Merga. 2012. "An Archaeological Survey of Islamic Shrines in Jimma Zone, South Western Ethiopia." MA Thesis, Archaeology and Heritage Management, Addis Ababa University.
- Solomon Tilahun. 2008. "A History of King Halala Terrace (Fortification Zone)." BA Thesis, History, Jimma University.
- Tesema Ta'a. 1986. "The Oromo of Wallaga: Historical survey to 1910." MA Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University.
- Workineh Abebe. 1999. "Religious History of Kaffa." BA Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University.
- Yonas Abate Shibeshi. 2005. "Community Values and Natural Resource Management: The case off Indigenous and Settler Communities in Kaffa, with particular reference to forest resources." MA Thesis, Regional and Local Development Studies (Rlds), A.A.U.
- Yonas Seifu. 2002. "A Historical Survey of Jimma Town (1936-1974)." Master Thesis, History, Addis Ababa University.

II) Published Documents

A. Journals and Articles

- Abraham Alemu. 2012. "Narrating Local Identity among the Southwestern Oromo of Ethiopia: The Case of the Jimma and Gera," *In African Study Monographs*, 33 (1) AAU
- Berhanu Gutema Balcha. 2007. "Restructuring State and Society: Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia." Institute of History, International and Social Studies, Series Thesis No. 8, Aalborg University.

Dagne Shibrū. 2009. "Ethnic Conflict in East Africa: An Over View Of Causes and Consequences," *National Monthly Refereed Journal of Research in Arts & Education*.

Beken, Vander Christophe. 2007. "Ethiopia: Constitutional Protection of Ethnic Minorities at the Regional Level." *Africa Focus*, Vol. 20, No. 1-2, Ghent University, Belgium.

The Census Report Entitled "The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Statistical Report for Oromiya Region."

B. Books

Assefa Jalata. 1993. *Oromia and Ethiopia State formation and Ethno-national conflict (1868-1992)*, London.

Bahrey, Almedia, Beckingham C.F., Huntingford G.W.B. 1993. *History of the [Oromo] of Ethiopia with Ethnology and History of Southwest Ethiopia*.

Bahru Zewde. 2002. *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855 –199*, 2nd Edition, London, Athens and Addis Ababa.

Bekele Woldemariam. 2009. *The History of the kingdom of Kaffa, The Birth Place of Coffee 1390-1935*, Hawassa.

_____. 2004. *A Short History of Kafa People and Governments*, Addis Ababa.

Bossolasco, Laurent. 2009. *A Study Case on Coffee (Coffee Arabica L.): Limu Coffee*.

Deressa Debu. 2010. *Agro-Ecological History of Omo- Naadaa in Jimma zone of Oromia from 1900 to 2007*, Germany.

Huntingford, G.W.B. 1955. *The [Oromo] of Ethiopia: The Kingdom of Kaffa and Janjero*. Vol.6. Part 2.

Ketebo Abdiyo. 2012. *Abba Jifar II of Jimma Kingdom 1861-1934: A Biography*, Jimma Univerity.

Levine, N. Donald. 1980. *Greater Ethiopia: Evolution of a Multi-ethnic Society*, Chicago.

Lewis, Herbert. 1965. *A [Oromo] Monarchy Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830-1932*, Madison and Milwaukee.

Markakis, John. -. *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*. Addis Ababa, Oxford University, Nairobi and others.

Matsumura, Kelichero. 2003. *Changes Beyond the State Institutions: Socialist Policies and Land Tenure in Coffee-Growing Village*. Southwestern Ethiopia, Kyoto University.

Merara Gudina. 2003. *Competing Ethnic Nationalisms and the Quest for Democracy, 1960-2000*, Netherlands.

Mohammed Hassen. 1994. *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*, Cambridge.

Mordechai, Abir. -. *Ethiopia: - The Era of the Princes. The Challenge of Islam and the Re-unification of the Christian Empire 1789-1855*.

Adejumobi, Saheed A. 2007. *The History of Ethiopian*. .

Trimingham, J. Spencer. 1952. *Islam in Ethiopia*, London.

Wondimagni B, Ayele G, Niguse Z, et al. 2004. *የየም ብሔረሰብ ታሪክ: History of Yem Ethnicity, Ethiopia*

LIST OF INFORMANTS

S.No	Name	Age	Interview		Remark
			Date	Place	
1	W/ro Aberash Argawu	67	10/3/014	Kafa	She is knowledgeable on the history of the interaction between Jimma Oromo and Kafa

					kingdom.
2	<i>Ato</i> Abdisa Abba Rago	84	12/3/014	Shabe Sombo	He has given valuable information. Knowledgeable on the history of the political interaction between two states along the border lines.
3	<i>Ato</i> Abdo Adem	60	4/3/014	Jimma	He is knowledgeable oral informants. Knows much about birth place of coffee in Jimma.
4	<i>W/ro</i> Adanech Bahru	78	29/2/014	Sokoru	She was one of the Knowledgeable about the economical interaction in Jimma as well as in Yem.
5	<i>Ato</i> Addisu Sahile	66	25/4/014	Kafa	He knows the history of Kafa very well and he knows much about history of Jimma marriage interaction with Kafa for instance is grandmother from Jimma Oromo.
6	<i>Ato</i> Alemaheyo Abera	56	28/3/014	Jimma	He was born in Dawuro. But, now gives service as teacher at Jiren elementary school in Jimma. He is a good teacher. He has more information about economic, political, cultural and social interaction between Dawuro and Jimma.
7	<i>Shiek</i> Aliyi Ahmed	57	6/4/014	Jimma	He knowledgeable on the history of religion interaction as well as valuable source on the conditions of coffee trade and on the growth and expansion of Islam.
8	<i>Ato</i> Asafa Gebremariam	85	12/4/014	Kafa	He is live in Bonga town and knowledgeable on the history of interaction between Jimma and Kafa starting from the Period Italian. He well experienced informant.
9	<i>Ato</i> Asrat Wolde	56	7/2/014	Jimma	Knows much about history of coffee in Jimma.
10	<i>W/ro</i> Ashiya Abba Garo	79	16/4/014	Jimma	She has long memory about ethnic interaction in Jimma as well as cultural interaction.

11	<i>Ato</i> Aymiro Gesese	59	22/3/014	Kafa	He is an officer in Kafa Zone State Communication and Culture & Tourism Department. He is the most valuable informant on coffee origin and trade.
12	<i>Ato</i> Ayele Asafa	50	22/3/014	Kafa	He is the most valuable informant on the interactions between Jimma Oromo and Kafa. He is an officer in Kafa Zone State Communication and Culture & Tourism Department manager.
13	<i>Ato</i> Melakeberhan <i>Kesis</i> Silashe	63	29/2/014	Jimma	He was the early Amhara settlers of the Jimma. Knowledgeable on the history of religion in the Jimma since 1965. He has servicing as priest in Jimma for a number of years. He told me more about ethnic relations in Jimma
14	<i>Emahoyi</i> Dajitinu Hararu	80	16/5/014	Jimma	She was born in Arsi Assela. She came to Jimma since 1936 during Italian period. She knows much about the political interaction in Jimma.
15	<i>Ato</i> Demisew Mebratu	74	4/ 3/014	Limmu Gannat	Well known coffee farmer during Imperial regime. But, he lost his coffee lands due to alienation.
16	<i>Ato</i> Desta Bahru	67	30/2//014	Jimma	He was born in the neighborhood of Jimma; he was known much information about trade item exchange between Dawuro and Jimma,
17	<i>Ato</i> Donocho Takele	76	16/ 2/014	Jimma	He clearly knows about Italian occupation of Ethiopia in general and Jimma in particular the time of Jimma became the capital city of Sidama. He is knowledgeable on the Jimma Oromo and Dawuro.
18	<i>W/ro</i> Elifensh	77	15/5/014	Kafa	One of the migrant Settlers during Imperial

	Kanefesha				regime. She briefly knows why she came to Jimma from Kafa in 1957.
19	Ato Eshete Mulugeta	52	5/2/014	Jimma	Knowledgeable on the history of Jimma and Dawuro interaction.
20	Ato Feretsadik Endalaw	58	13/4/014	Shabe Sonbo	Told me about the administrative system in Jimma under Haile Selassie regime and ethnic persecution.
21	Obbo Fiqiru Gazagn	84	14/3/014	Jimma	He was also migrants' settlers in Jimma from Dawuro after Italian period. He knows much about grain production in Jimma and Dawuro.
22	Ato Gebre Weldemariam	74	28/2/014	Kafa	He knows more information Jimma Oromo and Kafa people and administration system particular the period of Jimma came to the part of Kafa during the two Ethiopia empires.
23	Ato Getchew Zeru	75	19/3/014	Yem	Knows much about grain production in Jimma and its surrounding.
24	W/ro Haadha Fiira Mohammed	74	9/2/014	Omo-Nadda	She is the valuable informant on the history of Jimma Abba Jifar II.
25	Ato Habte Gebra Iyesus	68	7/2/014	Jimma	He was come from Yem due job and he live in Jimma. Knows much about orthodox Christian expansion to Yem area during Menelik time. He also told me as the Yem people are known by pottery making and traditional medicine.
26	Sheik Hassen Abba Oli	88	15/3/014	Sokoru	Knows much about land issue and the life of peasant in Jimma and its surrounding border.
27	Ato Hassen Abba Zinabi.	67	15/4/014	Jimma	He had a good remembrance about ethnic interaction starting from the early time in Jimma.
28	Ato Jemal Abba Bulgu	75	15/3/014	Denebe	He has good memory about the Italians fascist occupation in Jimma

29	<i>Obbo</i> Kamal Hussen	56	06/3/014	Jimma	He has a good memory to recall the past about the material in the Museum that was collection of the six ethnic groups it express their culture, customs, value and so on. He was very happy to answer my questions.
30	<i>Ato</i> Kebede Sisay	45	08/4/014	Jimma	He was good informants and promised me to come back for further information in the future.
31	<i>W/ro</i> Kelalichu Nuguse	50	06/3/014	Dedo	She was born in kafa but grew up in Dedo. She is familiar with Jimma language; culture as well as she had marriage relation with Jimma Oromo men.
32	<i>Ato</i> Kenea Alamayu	59	25/3/014	Jimma	He had a good memory to recall the past.
33	<i>Ato</i> Kibru Tesfaye	65	08/4/014	Jimma	He was happy to answer a question. He is now visitors at Jimma Museum.
34	<i>ፉAleqa</i> Mamo Haile Mariam	79	22/2/014	Jimma	He was born in kafa but grew up in Jimma. He is familiar with Jimma language and culture.
34	<i>Ato</i> Mamo Dooyo	85	25/3/014	Dedo	He was offspring of Dawuro. He has a good memory to recall the past and he was volunteer to answer my questions.
35	<i>Ato</i> Marga Solomon	80	06/3/014	Jimma	He was come from Debre Tsige north Shoa. He has a good memory of the past and social life of ethnic groups in Jimma.
36	<i>Ato</i> Mekuria Kidane	64	14/3/014	Kafa	He was voluntary to give any evidence about ethnic interaction in Jimma with Kafa
37	<i>Ato</i> Melkamu Teddese	35	05/3/014	Yem	He is an officer in Yem Special Woreda State Communication and Culture & Tourism Department. He has given me valuable historical materials and evidence.

38	<i>W/ro</i> Meserati Dadhessa	56	15/6/014	Jimma	She has a good memory to recall the past. She is teacher at Jiren number two.
39	<i>Ato</i> Michael Gobena	82	14/3/014	Madda Buna	He has a good memory to recall the past and he is very happy to answer my questions.
40	<i>Ato</i> Misgana Kebede	55	14/4/014	Yem	He was good informants and promised me to come back for further information in the future. He is an officer in Yem Special Woreda State Communication and Culture & Tourism Department.
41	<i>Ato</i> Mitiku Lemma	51	05/3/014	Jimma	He works in Jimma culture and tourism office. He is well experienced oral informants.
42	<i>Obbo</i> Mohammed Habib Jabal Abba Garo	63	9/4/014	Jimma	He is knowledgeable on the history of earlier. Jimma town Culture and Tourism Bureau.
43	<i>Ato</i> Mohammed Zayiba	55	8/2/014	Jimma	He has more information about the cultural history of Jimma as well as economic history of Jimma.
44	<i>Ato</i> Sharafu Abba Macca	54	18/2/014	Jimma	He is an officer of Jimma Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau. He knows much about the coffee origin/birth place of coffee in south west Ethiopia.
45	<i>W/ro</i> Sinkenesh Lemma	48	29/4/014	Jimma	She is knowledgeable oral informant. She has a good memory to recall about cultural and social interactions between Jimma and Kafa.
46	<i>Ato</i> Takele Ayana	65	25/4/014	Jimma	He has a good memory to recall the past about the economic growth of Jimma.
47	<i>Ato</i> Tesfaye Mamo	55	26/6/014	Yem	He was very gentleman and historian telling about the relation between Jimma and Yem. He siraskaje at Saja culture and tourism office

48	Ato Tesmamu Mice	40	25/6/014	Yem	A historian well informed about the formation of Yem special wareda as well as the relation between the two states Jimma and Yem.
49	Ato Yakota Mohammed	56	05/5/014	Omo- Nadda	Born in Tiro, but now live in Omo-Nadda. Knows much about food crops produced in the districts
50	Adde Zayitu Beriu	70	20/4/014	Jimma	She remembered more about the ethnic interactions between Jimma and Dawuro.
51	Adde Zeynu Abba Fogi	69	22/4/014	Madda- Buna	She was well acquainted with the Jimma traditional religion and the history of Jimma in general.
52	Ato Zurga Lasime	85	27/4/014	Jimma	Born in Dawuro, but now live in Jimma. He was one of the <i>balabats</i> during Haile Sillasie. He had much information about land issues and the life of peasants in Jimma and Dawuro and its surrounding.