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Ethnic Interaction in South Central Ethiopia: The Case of Kambata and Hadya (1890s -1990s)

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Notes on Transliteration System

- I. Amharic is written in syllabary alphabets primarily consisting of 33 characters representing consonants, each having seven variant forms referred to as ‘orders’, to express the seven sounds or vowel phonemes of Amharic (Ethiopian alphabets). In writing Ethiopian or the Kambata and Hadiya names and words, the seven sounds of Ethiopian alphabets are transliterated in this paper as follows in this thesis.

Orders	Symbols	Examples
1 st order	ä	Bäyänä
2 nd order	u	Bulla (mule)
3 rd order	i	Biṭera (small pot)
4 th order	a	Ballé (feather)
5 th order	é	Béllö
6 th order	e	Geber (tribute)
7 th order	o	Boyamo

- II. Regarding the sixth order, in the above list it must be noted that ‘e’ will be suffixed to the letter if the letter is vocalized or stressed as y in Wäyzäro to mean Mrs. For words having the sound of the sixth order at the end, it is not necessary to add the representing letter of the sound as r in Hägär (country) and Mämher (teacher).
- III. In accordance with many Semitists’ usage the transcription of consonants Palatalize sounds are represented by:

[= Šä pronounced as ‘sh’ in the word ‘usher’

ʈ = Čä pronounced as ‘Ch’ in the word ‘chair’

ʃ = Ňä sounds as in Spanish ‘canon’

$\mu = \text{Zhä}$ pronounced as 'z' in the word 'azure'

$\dot{\text{E}} = \text{Jä}$ pronounced as 'Ch' in the word 'chair'

IV. In the transcription of consonants to indicate the stop or affricate in glottalized explosives; in accordance with many Semitcists' usage glottalized sounds are represented as follows.

$\acute{\text{O}} = \text{Ṭä}$

$\phi = \text{Qä}$

$\text{ᄀ} = \text{Čä}$

$\tilde{\text{A}}/\theta = \text{Şä}$

$\text{ᄁ} = \text{Pä}$

Abstract

The history of the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction not dealt with. However, the current attempt to rectify the former unbalanced historiographic attention of these societies is encouraging. Some of the historical studies that carried out in the region have mostly concentrated on socio-cultural issues and found scattered in nature. The aim of this thesis, basing on qualitative analysis of oral traditions, written sources and archives, is to present the historical developments of these societies interaction. Thus, it sought to avail the reader with critical information that might help to fill this gap. The shattered archives, shortage of funds and reluctance of few informants are among the problems faced during this research work. Besides, the rugged topography and very scattered written sources are the problems that the researcher experienced in an attempt to come up with this final work. The Kambata and Hadiya people inhabit the area between the Omo River in the west and the Bilate River in the east. These societies shared the same origin, that they belong to the Highland East-Cushitic stock particularly, the Sidama group. Later different refugees from Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic families caused the formation of the society with diverse lineages in this region. This could be the main reason for the similarity of their languages, socio-economic activities, cultural and other issues as well as for the existences of high interactions among the society. Therefore, political, socio-economic and cultural activities determine the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction. Furthermore, the Emperor Menelik II's incorporation that merged the Hadiya with Kambata played a great role in the history of these societies interaction. The new territorial amalgamation resulted in elimination of former ethnic boundaries and further encouraged the assimilation of the Kambata and Hadiya peoples. This merged administration and assimilation of these two societies continued under Italian period and the subsequent imperial era. The resettlement policy during the Derg regime was key development, which facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction at the time. The economic activities like agriculture, trade and co-operative working were and continued to be major areas of the society's inter-connections. Moreover, the role of cultural issues like marriage, child bearing and circumcision ceremonies as well as funeral ceremonies and traditional religion contributed for the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction. Later, the merged administration came to an end on the 1990s and they established separate administration. Nevertheless, the people's interaction continued through socio-economic and cultural activities.

Preface

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

This study deals with the Ethnic Interaction in South Central Ethiopia: The Case of Kambata and Hadya (1890s -1990s). The work is divided in to four chapters. The first chapter consists of a general background of the Kambata and Hadiya society. That included the geographical and physical setting of the region like boundary, altitudinal location and climatic condition. Moreover, the historical setting of the people treats the settlement and population origion, the language of the society are discussed. Finally, the Kambata and Hadiya peoples' interaction with their neighbors as well as the Menelik's conquest and its aftermath on the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction focussed in this part.

The second chapter of the thesis deals with the political interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people. The customary administrative institution of the society, the *Seera* institution and some of its cultural aspects are discussed in some detail. It also addressed the conflicts and co-operation of the Kambata and Hadiya, and the traditional conflict resolution method of the society. The third chapter focus on the socio-economic interaction of the people. The chapter also deals with the role of agriculture for the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction focusing on crop production, co-operative working, livestock breeding and related activities. The study also deals with the Kambata and Hadiya interaction through trade relation in the southwest Ethiopia.

Finally, the fourth chapter discusses the cultural interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people. Under this part the indigenous marriage practice, childbearing ceremony, circumicision ceremony, mourning ceremony and other cultural practices as well as their contribution for the society's interaction treated.

Acronym

AAU-----Addis Ababa University

EPRDF-----Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front

EOC-----Ethiopia Orthodox Church

HSIU-----Haile Selassie I University

HZCIO -----Hadiya Zone Cultural and Information Office

HZEDCD----- Hadiya Zone Finance and Economic Development Coordinating Department

KTZCIO-----Kembata-Ṭämbaro Zone Culture and Information Office

SIM-----Sudane Interior Mition

SNNPRS-----South Nation, Natinalities and People’s Regional States

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CHAPTER ONE

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Ethnic interaction refers relationships between groups or the society in which its members engage in common interest. It also refers to those members who may consider themselves as they share distinctive and the relationship within a society. This shows that the researchers used ethnic interaction to denote people who share some similarity among the members. Ethiopian is among the countries that have various ethnic groups speaking different languages. However, these societies share some common elements in their administrative institutions, socio-cultural, socio-economic and other issues that show peoples interaction.¹

Such close interaction is the result of continuous interconnections through inter-marriages, trade, migration and other social activities for many of years. Hence, the country presents a variety of nationalities, each speaking a language or more languages that resulted from their inter-connections. Thus, such inter-dependences and peaceful co-existences helped the Ethiopian society to resist their common enemy and enabled them to keep their sovereignty of the country.²

As a result, the country is considered as home of various cultures and strong social principles that indicate the existence of their common values of the long history. The various types of socio-cultural ceremonies related to marriage, birth, wedding, death and the like are indications of the mutual co-operation of the society. Moreover, neighborhood and other types of relationships are among the values that tied the society together. Besides these traditional ways of governance and many other related aspects shows the richness in culture and strength of the social value system.

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

² *Ibid* and Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the 18th c* (Lawrenceville, 1997), p. 77 and 433.

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

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

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

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

The study area is located in south central part of the Ethiopia. In the current administrative restructuring of the country, there are different zones and special Wäradas in SNNPRS. Kambata zone, together with the Hadiya Zone, was formerly called Kambata *Awraja* under Arsi and

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Sisay, p.4: Asebe, pp.3-5.

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

⁶ *Ibid* and Informants *Ato Heramo Guta, Ato Ersido Mikore, Ato Abegaz and Meharu.*

Shawa *Tekilay Gizate* before 1970s. The administrative region was restructured during the *Derg* regime as Kambata and Hadiya *Awrajia*. After the Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Revolutionary Front (EPDRF) seized power and gave emphasis to ethnic groups in forming new administrative structures of regional and Zonal clustering, Kambata and Hadiya become separate administrative areas of Kambata and Hadiya Zones (districts).⁷

However, the SNNPRS served as a museum of nations, nationalities and peoples of diverse origin, historical studies of Ethiopia mostly concentrate on the Northern parts and political power of the ruling families. They had given little concern to the peripheral areas and southwest in general for centuries.⁸ Concerning this Levine states that “...until recently northern society has been analyzed mostly by historians, in terms of structure of imperial center, while the southern societies have been studied by anthropologists as if they had few links with the centre”.⁹

With exception of few citations, the history of these people is not properly documented. This study is carried out on the ethnic interaction in south central Ethiopia with particular reference to Kambata and Hadiya ethnic groups. Thus, it is attempted to produce all-inclusive thesis from the 1890s to the 1990s¹⁰. The sources used for this study are clustered into two types: the accounts of Ethiopian and Europeans scholars as secondary sources after critical evaluation of their reliability as well as the oral tradition and archives after critical analysis for their genuineness as primary sources.

1.2. Geographical and Physical Setting of the Kambata and Hadiya Region

At present, the Kambata and Hadiya region is located in Southern Ethiopia, particularly in the SNNPRS. Kambata Zone together with the Hadiya Zone was formerly called Kambata *Awrajia* under *Arsi Tekilay Gizate* and later it was changed into Kambata *Awrajia* under the Shawan

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

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

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

¹⁰ The decade 1890s, could be could be a landmark in Kambata and Hadiya; that marked the incorporation of the area by Menelik II into Ethiopian Empire State. As a result, the conquest of the Kambata and Hadiya region become one administrative *Awuraja*, from its center at Hosana. That could further facilitate ethnic interaction between the two societies. The year 1990s is also another landmark. It was the time when the former merged administration come to an end and the Kambata and Hadiya *Awrajia* was ended and different administrative structure was created.

Tekilay Gizate since 1960s. It was one of the 14 provinces of Ethiopia in the south of the country. During the Derg regime, the province of Shawa itself was subdivided into four parts: west Shawa, south Shawa, east Shawa and Addis Ababa. The Kambata and Hadiya region belonged to southern Shawa, with its center at Assela. At that time, the region was named as Kambata and Hadiya *Awraja*.¹¹

Due to a later emphasis to ethnic federalism by the EPDRF government, the Kambata and Hadiya region become separate administrative areas of Kambata and Hadiya Zones (districts) since 1990s. Under this new administrative structure, the Kambata and Hadiya belong to the SNNPRS. Following this restructuring Hawassa, become the capital of the regional State. However, there are many Kambata and Hadiya speaking people outside the present territory of the region, which consists of ten Wārādas of Hadiya Zone and seven Wārādas of the Kambata Ṭāmbaro zone;¹² the scope of this thesis is limited to these districts.

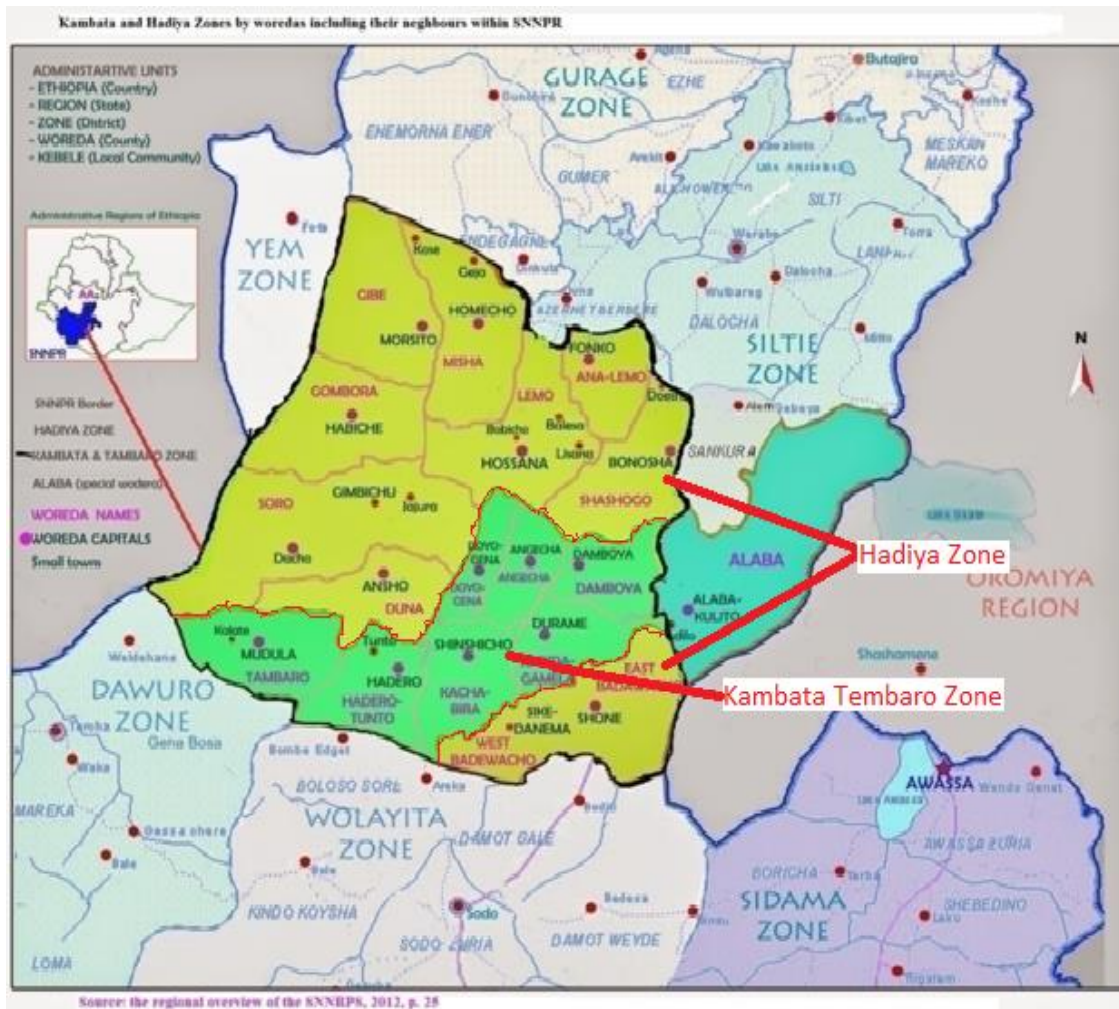
As it can be seen at the map below, the Kambata geographically lies between the Badewacho Hadiya and the other Hadiya Sub-groups such as Duna, Lemo, Soro, Shashego and the like. The capital town of Kambata Ṭāmbaro Zone, Durame, is 352kms from Addis Ababa by Shashamane and 296kms from Addis Ababa through Hossana and 125kms from Hawassa, the capital of the regional state. While Hossana, the capital of Hadiya zone, is 152kms and 173kms from Hawassa and Addis Ababa, regional and federal capitals respectively. Kambata and Hadiya region is boarded in the east by the Oromia region and Alaba especial Wārāda; the Silte Zone in the northeast; in the north by the Guraghe Zone; Yem in the northwest; in the west Oromia region and in the south by Dawuro and Wolayta zones.¹³ See the map below that shows the location of the Kambata and Hadiya Zones within the SNNPRS as well as their neighbours.

¹¹ Alebachew and Samuel, *Hadiya Hizib Tarikna Bahil*, Safir Publisher (Addis Ababa, 2010), pp.5-6.

¹² Gedeon Addise, pp.2-3: Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-legal Records of Kambata and Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 2008, pp.5-6.

¹³ Belachew Gebrewold-Tochalo, "The Impact of the Socio-Cultural Structures of the Kambata/Ethiopia on their Economic Development", (Ph.D. Dissertation, Germany: University of Hamburg, 2001), pp. 10-11: Grenstedt, *Ambaricho and Shonkolla: From Local Independent Church to the Evangelical Mainstream in Ethiopia; The Origins of the Mekane Yesus Church in Kambata-Hadiya*, (Uppsala, Sweden, 2000.), pp.122-123, 267-269, 289: the regional overview of the SNNPRS, p. 24-26.

Figure 2 Map-1 Kambata and Hadiya Zones by Wärädas and their neighbours'



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

Kambata lies between 7°10' to 7°20' North latitude and 37°30' to 38°00' East longitude. The Hadiya Zone is located between 7°45'N, and 38°28'E.¹⁴

Mainly three ethnic groups, Kambata, Ṭāmbaro and the Donga live in Kambata Ṭāmbaro Zone, together with other ethnic groups. The total area coverage of the zone is about 1253.60s/km. According to the 2007 census, the total population of Kambata is about 683,167 of which about 97% of the population lives in rural areas; while about 7% of the population lives in towns. The region is one of the densely populated parts of the country, which is more than 400 ps/kms. The altitudinal variation of the Kambata Ṭāmbaro Zone is between 1600-3058m above sea level. The

¹⁴Ibid.

highest altitude is 3058m above sea level at the summit of Mt. Hambaricho in Qedida Wārāda and the lowest is 1600m at Sheshara areas in Qedida Wārāda.¹⁵

Topographically the Kambata region is classified into both highlands and lowlands. Therefore, its climate is divided into three parts: highland or *däga* (cold region) constitutes about 24% of the area; temperate area or *wäynadäga* (moderate Temperature) is about 70% of the area and the lowland or *Qolla* (hot temperature) constitutes about 6% of the total area. The average annual temperature is from 15⁰c-28⁰c and average annual rainfall is about 1134mm. The average annual variety of the climate is conducive to conduct different agricultural activities.¹⁶

Currently, the Hadiya zone is divided into 10 Wārādas and one city administration, Hossana. The Hadiya Zone is stratified into three major temperature and altitude zones: Dega/ high altitude (23.7%), *wäynadäga* / moderate altitude (64.7%), and Qola/ lowlands or hot areas (16%). Hadiya consists of diverse landscapes; the relief ranges from High Mountain to river valleys. The highest altitude is 2970m above sea level at the summit of Mt. Sengiye in Duna Wārāda and the lowest is 800m in the Gibe river valley.¹⁷

Climate has a great impact on the socio-economic life of any society. The type of crops, plants, animals and their distribution is directly linked to the climatic condition; climate also influences the amount of food production. People who live in *däga* and Qola areas, for example, specialized in different economic activities. Thus climatic condition must be given due consideration in any socio-economic study. The climate of the Kambata and Hadiya region is a mild type; it is therefore, suitable for the production of variety of crops and vegetables.¹⁸

1.3. Historical Setting of the Kambata and Hadiya

1.3.1. Settlements and Population origin

The shortage of historical research on the Kambata and Hadiya society makes it difficult to precisely date the origin of the people and to account for some historical developments. Due to

¹⁵ Grenstedt, pp.11-13: Central Statistic Authority.1996.*The1994 population and housing Census of Ethiopia; Results for Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region Vol.1. Part IV.* Addis Ababa, p.35.

¹⁶*Ibid* and KTZCIO, Kembata-Ṭämbaro Zone Culture and Information Office “Kembata Ṭämbaro & Donga Nationalities’ History, Culture & Language Profile”, Durame, 2008, pp.4-6.

¹⁷ Gedeon, pp.2-3: Braukamper, *Die Kambata: Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 51, 61.

¹⁸ *Ibid* and Grenstedt, pp.11-13: Belachew, pp.127-128.

this, scholars who studied their history mainly rely on oral traditions. These traditions consist of genealogies, dynastic list, biographies and descriptions of different happenings and narration of some historical occurrences. According to Ernesta and Pankhurst, a large part of Ethiopia south of Awash River was occupied by states of Dawaro, Hadiya, Gonga and Bali.¹⁹ They were commonly referred to as Sidama.²⁰ The peoples of the Hamatic settlers inhabited particularly the southwestern part of Ethiopia, which lies south of the Abay River and west of the Wabi-Shabale, before the Oromo expansion.²¹

Even from an early time, it seems that the Sidama state is said to have formed part of Zeila Empire along with the states of Hadiya, Bali, Arbabini, Dawaro, Sharka, Dara and Ifat. There were also other states such as Eanarya, Damot, Ganz, etc in the region particularly around river Omo and Bilate. Probably the wars among the Christian Highland Kingdoms and Oromo expansionist movement contributed for the decline of the power of the states in the southwest Ethiopia. That become among the factors that contributed for the reducing of the territorial limits of the Sidama people. In a way, such conflicts had caused gradual decline on the influence of the states in the land between Rivers: Omo and Bilate following the 15th and 16th centuries. Concerning this some sources gives information regarding the relation between Christian Highland Kingdom and these states. Accordingly, the competing kingdoms of the Kambata and Hadya took the lead in this region.²²

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

¹⁹ Ernesta Cerruli, *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia...*, pp. 85-86; Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands...*, p. 77 and 433.

²⁰ The term Sidama at this point used to refer all the southwestern regions before the Oromo expansion. The Oromo used used the term to denote "one who is not an Oromo". Thus, in historical sense 'Sidama states' also refers to the peoples who were living in this region as stated in Trimingham, pp. 137, 181-182.

²¹ Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, (Francass and Company Ltd London, 1965), pp. 181-2; Werner J. Lange, *History of Southern Gonga: Southwestern Ethiopia* (Steiner Publisher, Wiesbaden, 1982), p. 20; see the map -1 at the appendix J – 1 that shows the main states of Southwest Ethiopia before and after Oromo Expansin.

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

²³ Ernesta Cerruli, *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia...*, pp. 85-86.

dynastic link through Hamelmal and strengthened its relation with the Christian highland kingdom.²⁴

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

On the other hand, the Kambata region was not fully isolated from the northern Ethiopia, even at the time when the relations between the highland kingdom and the Hadiya had weakened. The following reasons could be mentioned: many clans from the Amhara territories of the northern Ethiopia had migrated to Kambata at different times. Second, Kambata had a dynasty, which claims to have originated from Gondar. Third, Ethiopian orthodox Christianity was practiced in Kambata. At present, the area between river Omo in the west and the river Bilate in the east is inhabited by Kambata and Hadiya societies. Originally, the Kambata people were settled agriculturalists and the Hadiya were semi-nomads.²⁶ However, there are different theories concerning the origin of these societies. It is generally accepted that they have had the same origin; as it would be discussed below.

1.3.1.1. The Settlements and Origin of the Kambata People

The Kambata society consists of many different clans, originating from different parts of Ethiopia that settled at this part of the country around 11th century A.D. The settlements of the

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

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

²⁶ Braukamper, *Die Kambata...*, pp. 51, 61, 67; *Ye Bihereboch Miker Bet*, pp.131-132 and see map 4 at appendix-K that shows the Kambata provinces.

society believed to be resulted from the migration of Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic peoples from and to different directions.²⁷ Concerning the origion of the Kambata people, oral tradition of the society stated that the Kambata people together with other Cushitic speaking peoples were in southeast Ethiopia around the present land of Bale highlands. From there, they moved in the northern direction with the Sidama, Gedeo and others, who settled at the present land of Sidama. This tradition indicates that the Kambata, Hadiya, Ṭāmbaro and Alaba people had the same father, 'Xumano'.²⁸

Informants stated that due to the conflict started on hunting in the Sidama region they moved to different directions. From there the first Kambata people like Effegena, Ebejena, Gorroma and others moved to their present site under the leadership of the Kambato and settled at mount Hambaricho together with the first settlers. They argued that the name Kambata itself was derived from Kambato; who led the first settles and he was considered as the father of the Kambata.²⁹ Simirarly Tesfaye indicated that the Kambata, Hadiya, Ṭāmbaro and Alaba people had common ancestor and they have been in presernt Sidama region before their migration. From there the father of the Kambata, 'Kambato' together with his brothers Ṭāmbaro, Hadiya and Alaba moved to the northern direction and firs settled around the Billate River basin. These both arguments justify the societies' inter-connections through their common ancestors.³⁰

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

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

²⁸ Informants: *Ato Shuramo, Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz and Ato Asaro.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

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

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

together with Hadiya, Ṭāmbaro, Alaba, Qabena, Sidama, etc belong to the “Highland East Cushitic” language family.³²

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

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

Table 1: The Proto-Kambata³⁴

Author	The Proto-Kambata
N. J. Singer	Efegenna, Ebejena, Gadenna, Goruta, Tazuta, Fuga and Heseta.
U. Baukamper	Oyyata, Gulba, Tazo, Hinnira, Effegenna, Ebbejena and Fuga
W. Gejiba	Effegenna, Ebbejena, Tazuta, Fuga, Hinnira, Saga and Goromo
R. Bayissa	Effegenna, Ebbejena, Tazuta, Fuga, Hinnira, Saga and Goromo
T. Habiso	Before the arrival of Hamalmal Effegenna, Ebbejena, Tazuta, Hinnira, Goromo, Saga and Baza.
	After the arrival of Hamalmal Dyyata, Gulba, Goromo, Hinnira, Effegenna, Ebbejena and Fuga

³² Norman J. Singer, 1977. “Some notes on the Origin of the Cambata of Southern Shoa” London: School of Oriental and African Studies, Universtisy of London. 1977: pp.57-58, 61 and 64: Grenstedt..., pp.122-123: Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro Gacheno, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel.*

³³ Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz, Ato Daniel Ababo.*

³⁴ Belachew, pp.130-131, 137.

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

As stated above a great number of new settlers came to kambata during the reign of Zarako (Zara Yakob) and Amde Tsion in the 14th and 15thc, respectively. Orthodox Christians and religious teachers were among those who came and settled in kambata during that time. It was said that Emperor Zara Yakob was particularly dedicated to expand the frontiers of Christianity, and for that reason, he encouraged settlers from the north. That might be one reason for describing kambata as one of the Christian settlements in the south.³⁶

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

1.3.1.2. The Origin of the Hadiya People

Due to the shortage of adequate information that tells us the origin of the Hadiya people it becomes very difficult to be certain about their past. Moreover, there are different views among

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

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

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

scholars and the Hadiya elders on the origin of the people. Predominantly two views are forwarded concerning the origin of the Hadiya. There are oral informants as well as some scholars who are supporting the view that the Hadiya came from “South Arabia” or “Somewhere” in the continent of Asia. This group also states the name Hadiya was named after the first man who crossed a large body of water and came to Ethiopia.³⁸ The other group argues that the Hadiya are one of the indigenous people of southern Ethiopia; they did not come from outside Ethiopia. It seems most probable, despite the divergence of arguments that the origin of the Hadiya people was in Ethiopia, not “Arabia” or “somewhere in Asia”. This shows that the Hadiya people are one of the indigenous peoples of southern Ethiopia.³⁹

The name Hadiya is first mentioned in the *Kebra Negest*, the origin of which can be dated back to the 13th c. At the time, the term referred to the most western Islamic states, which belonged to the federation of Zayla. The name Hadiya seems mainly to have existed as a political term. Between the 13th and 16th centuries, Hadiya was a significant political entity. When its territory was shattered, mainly by the Oromo expansion, peoples of diverse stock absorbed its inhabitants. Descendants of the old Hadiya can be traced by means of five different linguistic clusters: the east Gurage, the Oromo, the Sidama, the Qabena and Alaba, and the Hadiya proper.⁴⁰

Moreover, another wave of settlers came to the Hadiya region from different directions during the 16th century. At the time, the Ahmed Gragn’s Jihad and the Oromo wars of conquest probably hurried the process of settlement. Consequently, the Hadiya region served as a refuge for political exiles and economically threatened group from different directions. Thus, the Hadiya region attracted immigrant from various parts of the country like: Arsi, Bale, Jimma, Walayta, Borena, Alaba, Sidama, kafa, Ziway, Gurage, Enariya Amhara and the other parts. All

³⁸ Braukamper and Tilahun mishamo, *Praise and Teasing; Narrative Songs of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia* (Frankfurt: Frobenius-Institute, 1999), pp. 51, 61, 67; Gedeon, pp.2-3: Informants *Ato Makoro Onse*, *Ato Desta Lenjiso* and *Ato Anjach Atiso Lodebo*.

³⁹ Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp.122, 123, 265, 267-269; Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget Zemacha BeKambatana Hadiya Awraja 1971eska 1975* (Addis Ababa, 1983), p. 121: Informants *Ato Deneke Hafebo*, *Ato Tesfaye Tadewos* and *Ato Sebros Wasore*.

⁴⁰ Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 26-28; Gedeon, pp.3-4: Informants *Ato Kassa Batiso*, *Ato Emam Desta* and *Ato Dana Demissie Lodamo*.

of these people currently constituted as central part of the Hadiya society. Their place of origin or the names of the immigrants remained as their tribal name.⁴¹

The Hadiya proper sub-groups are the Maraqa, Lemo/Badogo, Soro, Shashogo and Badawacho. The Hadiya language belongs to the same “Highland East Cushitic” group as Kambata and Sidama. When the great Oromo expansion started in the 16th century, it caused the Hadiya people to move westwards, often practicing a pastoral life. About 1770 two other Hadiya sub-groups, the Shashogo and Urusso, who later formed the Badawacho together with the Bade-Osso, crossed the Bilate River and were invited by the Kambata to form a pact against the weto-gira.⁴²

Together they defeated the Weto-Gira and co-operated with each other more or less up to the time of the Amhara occupation at the end of the 19th c. The Hadiya sub-groups of the Lemmo and the Soro, which were individually strongest groups in the Kambata/ Hadiya region, settled in their present areas between 1780 and 1815. They were fierce rivals in the struggle for land. The Shonkola Mt. primarily becomes a point of reference for the Soro Hadiya.⁴³ Tradition holds that the land was divided among the Soro at large assembly close to this Mountain. The Soro invaded the Kambata-speaking Dubamo and Donga. When the Badawacho emerged at the end of the 18th c, they were heading south into what is known as Wolayta. There they found plenty of grazing land. Gradually they were, pushed northwards by the expanding kingdom of Wolayta.⁴⁴

As mentioned above, the origin of the Kambata and Hadiya people passed the same process and the same stock, the Sidama group. Moreover, different population movements and immigration of different ethnic groups to the area similarly affected the region as well as the peoples’ way of life. The presence of clans claiming descent from Sidama, Gurage, Wolayita, Oromia, Amhara, etc in the Kambata and the Hadiya region indicates that movement of clans back and forth was the norm.⁴⁵ As a result, there are clans in both Kambata and the Hadiya with similar names and

⁴¹ Grenstedt, pp.124-126: Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico-legal...*, pp.54-55, 61, 64: Informants Ato Hussien Unamo, Ato Gabra Wanore, Ato Mengistu Mensha.

⁴² *Ibid* and Grenstedt, pp.45-46 and see maps at the appendix-L₁- L₃, that shows different population movements and the settlement pattern of the Hadiya people.

⁴³ Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 265-267, 269: Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico-legal ...*, pp.54-55, 61, 64; Gedeon, pp.4-7: Informants Ato Woldemariam Lodamo, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ Grenstedt, pp.124-126: Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico-legal...*, pp.54-55, 61, 64: Informants Ato Hirgete, Ato Yaekim Ato Emam and Ato Daniel.

they claim the same origin. Some of clans with similar name and origin in Kambata and Hadiya include Jumma, Jiga, Hessesse, Malga (Sidamo group), Badogo, Dada, Farzano, Gäbbara, Guji, Qarriso, Womalo and etc (Oromo group), Weshesheta, Damota, Zato (Wolayita group), Ganza, Saga, Wereza (Gurage group); Oyeta, Gulba, Inagos, Nurto, Amhara (Amhara group). As discussed so far, this interrelation and similarity is the result of people-to-people in tender-connections.⁴⁶

That shows deep ethnic interaction of these people which began from their origin and continued until today. This is clearly identified in the similarity of the two society's socio-cultural, political and economic activities, which could be discussed later. Due to this closer relation in these societies, they can understand one another's language, as shown below. This is also shown in people-to-people interaction of the Kmbata and Hadiya societies and other socio-cultural issues.⁴⁷

1.3.2. Language of the Kambata and Hadiya people

Language serves as a means of maintaining people's belief, culture, identity and traditions. It also used to transmit these values to the coming generation. The Kambata and Hadiya people share a number of socio-cultural features. Their language similarity is very high, where most people in the region are bilingual, who speak both *Kambatiisa* (Kambata language) and *Hadiyiisa* (Hadiya language).⁴⁸ Sources indicate that the Kambata and Hadiya languages belong to one of the four families of languages spoken in Ethiopia. It belongs to the Cushitic languages family. Among the latter, it is classified into the Highland East Cushitic Group; specifically to the Sidama group. This could be one of the vital reasons for their linguistic resemblance.⁴⁹

Concerning to the language similarity of the Kambata and Hadiya society informants justified it relating with the origin of the people as one reson. They stated that before their settlement in the present location both the Kambata and Hadiya societies together with the Ṭāmbaro, Halaba, Donga, Sidama and other Sidama groups were in the central highlands of the Sidama. From there they moved to the area between the Omo and Bilate rivers at different times. They settled there

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

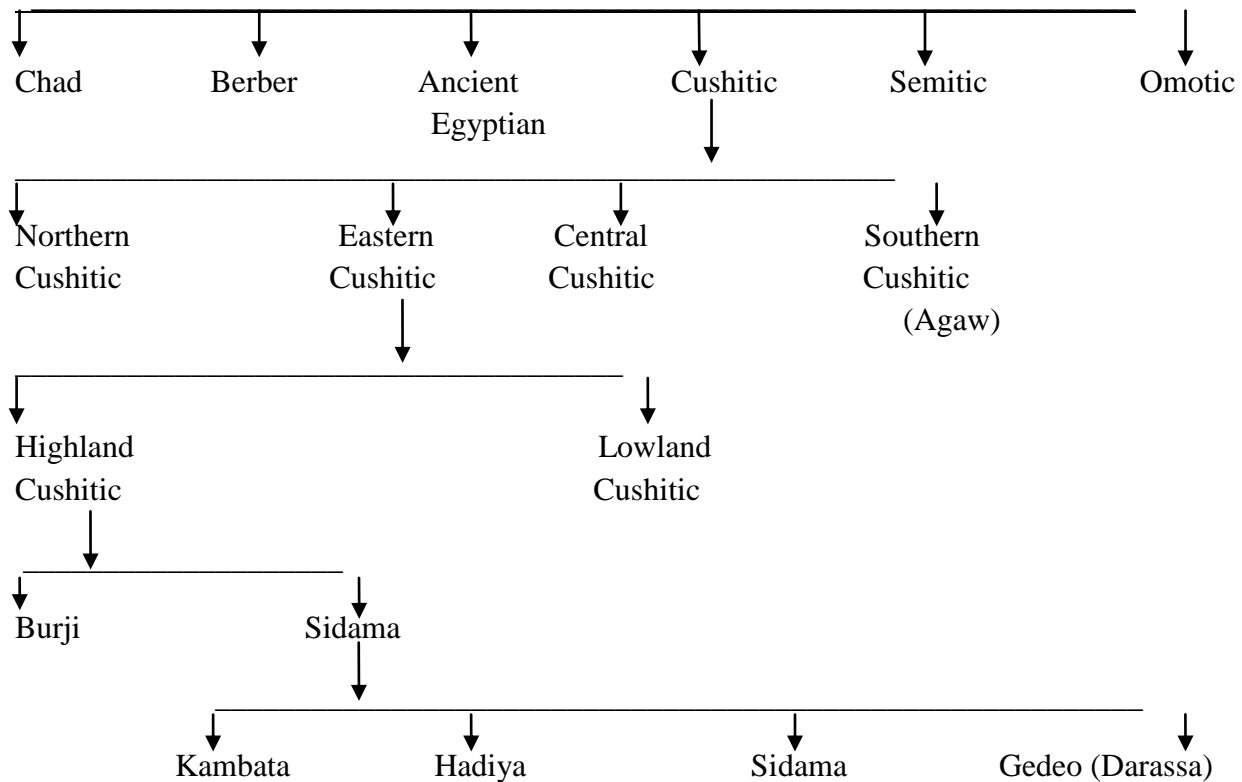
⁴⁸ Braukamper, *Die Kambata...*, pp.294-295.

⁴⁹ Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico ...*, pp.161; Gedeon Addise, pp.6-7: Informants *Ato* Yaekim, *Ato* Emam, *Ato* Demisa Gebreyesus, *Ato* and Mengistu Mengesha.

for long time in closer environment. Thus, both societies claim the same ancestor that could be cited for their language and other socio-cultural similarities. Moreover, such closeness and relations of both societies indicate their people-to-people interactions on different issues.⁵⁰

Besides, this common settlement and having the same origin, they interact in many way as socio-economic and socio-cultural activities. This become among the contributory factors for their linguistic and ethnic similarity that shows the existences of high ethnic interaction among the society. Tesfaye better explained the language classification of the society in the following diagram from the highest to the lowest classification.⁵¹

Figure 3 Diagram of the Afro-Asiatic Language Families



Source: Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 315

Furthermore, the comparative analysis of the Highland Hast Cushitic languages also shows the existences of the very high degree of inter-relationship among each other. Therefore, the

⁵⁰ Informants *Ato Makoro, Ato Desta, Ato Hirgete, Ato Yaekim and Ato Anjach Atiso.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

linguistic similarities and ethnic relation might have helped the society to interact further in the region between Omo and Bilatte as a single state. As explained earlier, the Kambata and Hadiya people are closely related or their ethnic as well as their cultural composition is considerably affected by one another and by their neighbors like the Ṭāmbaro, the Halaba, the Sidamo, the Wolayita, the Gurage and other ethnic groups. This affinity and close relations have also considerably affected the language composition of these people.⁵²

Such inter-dependences of the society mentioned among the contributory factors of the high degree linguistic similarity. As it has been discussed so far, such relationships and interaction were and are the direct result of population movements that took place in different times. This in turn contributed to the existence of various languages in the same region and the creation of the Kambata and Hadiya language from the combination and adoption of many words and languages from the abovementioned groups of people.⁵³ However, this aspect was not studied in detail; certain studies undertaken by researchers ascertain that the languages of the Sidama Group are closely related to each other. In a way, these languages have similar words and expressions, and they show similarity in accent. Betana better tried to express the degree of affinity existing among some of the Sidama language groups in the following table.⁵⁴

Table 2: Word Affinities and Similarities among the Sidama Language Groups

Languages	Word Affinities and Similarities in Percents					
	Kambat	Ṭāmbaro	Alaba	Sidamo	Gedeo	Burji
Hadiya	61	58	58	58	51	41
Kambata		86	82	64	54	40
Ṭāmbaro			82	64	58	41
Alaba				67	57	42
Sidamo					63	57
Gedeo						45

⁵² Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil...*, p.93; Gedeon, pp.6-7: Informants, *Ato Eriso, Ato Aman, Ato Emam* and *Ato Kassa Batiso*.

⁵³ *Ibid* and *Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet*, p.17; Braukamper, “The Ethno-genesis of the Sidama”, Paper presented to the conference on Ethiopian Origins (London, 1997), p.3: Informants: *Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Emam, Ato Sebros* and *Ato Kassa*.

⁵⁴ Betana Hoteso, *The Sidama: the People and Culture (Sidama: Hizbuna Bahilu) (in Amharic)*. (Bole Printing Press. Addis Ababa, 1991), pp.85-87.

This illustrates the existences of great word affinities and language similarity among the Kambata and Hadiya people, which shows 61 percent closeness or resemblance. Therefore, such language relations of the society also indicate the existances of high degree of ethnic interaction and inter-relationship among these people.⁵⁵ Moreover, the Kambata and Hadiya language is closely related to the languages of the other Sidama Group and non-Sidama groups like the Oromo, the Wolayta, the Amhara, the Gurage and other neighboring languages. Such word affinities and language similarity justifies the inter-ethnic connections of these societies. Informants listed some of the similar words in these languages as shown in the following table.⁵⁶

Table 3: words similarities in different languages

English	<i>Kambatiisa</i>	<i>Hadiyiisa</i>	<i>Ṭäambarissa</i>	Sidama	Afan Oromo
Egg	Quphata	Qunqa	Quphata	Qupa	Buppa
House	Mine	Mine	Mine	Mino	Mana
Cut	Mur	Mure	Mur	Mur	Mur
Donkey	Hare	Halicho	Hare	Haricho	Hare
Cow	Sa'a	Saaya	Sa'a	Sa'a	Sa'a
Two	Lamo	Lamo	Lamo	Lame	Lama
Tongue	Arabita	Alabo	Arabita	Arabe	Araba

Informants mention different population movements that occurred in the region as well as social inter-connections in various socio-economic and socio-cultural activities for the language similarity of these societies. Before the conquest of Menelik II towards the second half of the 19th c Kambata and Hadiya, societies had been using their language for various purposes. They call their children and their cattle by local names. At times, they also use various songs of their own during funeral and wedding ceremonies, praise and teasing. After the Menelik II incorporation, the Kambata and Hadiya were forced to adopt the language and culture of the Amhara at the expense of their indigenous way of life.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Ibid* and Gedeon, pp.6-7: Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico ...*, pp.161.

⁵⁶ Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Emam, Ato Seburo and Ato Kassa.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Following this, the local people started to use Amhara names, dressing styles, Amharic language, Orthodox religion and the like. Informants' remind that, such cultural domination continued even during the Derg regime. In the period, there was no freedom to religion and to use local languages at work places. With the coming of new EPRDF government, the Kambata and Hadiya people got freedom to use their languages for official purposes. As a result, at present both societies use their language for communication, education (mainly at primary and secondary levels), at courts and for other purposes. Outside their region, the Kambata and Hadiya language is spoken among the Alaba, Gurage, Silte, Wolayta and other places; where there is large number of Kambata and Hadiya settlers. Besides, Kambata and Hadiya also use the language of their neighbors during their interaction on different issues as trade and other socio-cultural issues.⁵⁸

Their language has various dialects. The Hadiya have the Lemmo dialect, the Sorro dialect, the Badewacho dialect, the Libido and Maraḳo dialect and the Shashogo dialect. Among these, the Sorro and Lemmo dialects are the most widely spread and used dialects. The languages of its close neighbors, Kambata and Wolayta, have influenced the Badawacho dialect. The Sorro dialect has more uniformity than others do. Some features such as pronunciation, ways of expression, and vocabulary distinguish these regional varieties of *Hadiyyisa*, but they all comprise together a single language, *Hadiyyisa*. The Kambata also have the Ṭāmbaro, Halaba, Qabena and the Donga dialects.⁵⁹

1.4. The kambata and Hadiya interaction with their neighbors

There has been continued process of interaction and inter-connection among different peoples of Ethiopia throughout their history.⁶⁰ The Kambata and Hadiya people also had regular interaction through population movements, intermarriage, religious activities, trade and other socio-cultural activities among themselves and with their neighboring communities. These factors were and continued to be among the causes that could facilitate the society's interaction. In the course of such inter-connections over time they had established inter-ethnic interactions involving mutual interdependence with Ṭāmbaro, Donga, Wolayita, Dawuro, Oromo, Gurage, Silte, Alaba and

⁵⁸ Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* and Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp.265- 267, 269.

⁶⁰ Asebe, p.36; Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: ...*, p.40; Sisay, p.4.

others. These people are the neighboring people who could significantly determine the socio-economic and socio-cultural issues as well as the whole history of the Kambata and Hadiya peoples. The linguistic and ethnological similarity of the Kambata and Hadiya with these neighbors is remarkable.⁶¹

As discussed so far, some of the means of this interaction include inter-marriage among the society, inter-connections through trade and other social activities. Due to such co-existences many Kambata and Hadiya people live in Gurage, Silte, Wolayta, Dawuro, Ṭāmbaro, Alaba, Bale, Arsi and other areas. Similarly, large numbers of people live in Kambata and Hadiya areas from these regions.⁶² Above all, more friendly contacts were and continued to be formed through the process of migration, trade and inter-marriage with these peoples. There has been continuous interaction between these people and the Kambata and Hadiya society; that continued to be for long periods in their history from the time of their settlements. In most cases these people share more or less similar marriage practices, trade activities, religious beliefs and cultural traits as well as similar way of life that include food habits, styles of clothing and others.⁶³

There are only small dialectal differences between the Kambata and the Ṭāmbaro society. Tesfaye justified the reason for such language similarity relating it with the origin of the two societies. He stated that seven groups from Ṭāmbaro entered into Kambata from 1550-1570 and continued to live together. These could be one of the important reasons for the linguistic similarity between Kambata and the Ṭāmbaro. Moreover, Zato, Weshesha and Hatte-Amhara as the ancestors of Dubbamo and Donga that imply historical and genealogical connection of Kambata, Dubbamo and Donga. At present, it stands for the clan names that exist in Ṭāmbaro, Donga, Hadiya and Wolayta.⁶⁴ Informants mention that the ethnic relation of the Donga and Dubamo with that of Hadiya was the result the Badawacho and Soro Hadiya groups' conquest around 1800. Following that time both states were ruled by the Hadiya and highly tied together. That could be mentioned among the factors for their ethnic and cultural closeness.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp.153-156: Gedeon, pp. 15-17: Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel*.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid* and Belachew, pp.144-147: Informants *Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and Ato Hirgete*.

⁶⁴ Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, p. 96.

⁶⁵ Informants: *Ato Sebro, Ato Heramo, Ato Emam and Ato Kassa*.

The Badawacho Hadiya and the Wolayta maintained a strong relationship among themselves; their geographical closeness played a big part in this regard. These two areas had long established socio-cultural, socio-economic and religious inter-connections. For example, both had resisted the conquest of Minelik jointly as explained in the previous section. Hadiya who live in Wolayta adopted the language and culture of the latter and vice versa. There were indeed conflicts between the Badawacho Hadiya and the Wolayta, but these conflicts did not continue very long and peaceful contact is maintained still today.⁶⁶

Commercial ties between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors were very strong. Various commodities were sold and bought in many market places where they met frequently. Thus, the market centers served as the major communication centers between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors. Large numbers of the Gurage, Silte and Kambata traders controlled the retail transactions of Hossana town in Hadiya. Similarly, many Hadiya, Wolayta, Alaba and Kambata people who own transactions at Sodo, Durame, Areka, Kuluto towns and the surroundings. Therefore, these towns and market places become very good example of peaceful co-existence among these different ethnic groups. In a way commercial activities served as a means of the Kambata and Hadiya society's ethnic interaction with their neighbouring peoples.⁶⁷ This will be further discussed in latter socio-economic sections.

As discussed in the previous section, there is strong inter-marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya people as well as with their neighbors. Thus, the inter-marriage between neighborhoods served as means of peaceful interaction as well. They encourage such marriage because of some motives: at first, they believe that inter-marriage with other people would give an opportunity to get cooler (calmer, more calculating)⁶⁸ offspring. Besides, the society also believed that inter-marriage would promote smooth relationship between these neighbors and contribute to resolve conflicts peacefully. Thus, inter-ethnic marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as

⁶⁶ Informants *Ato Asaro*, *Ato Aman*, *Shuramo* and *Ato Eriso*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ It is believed between the Kambata and Hadiya that by nature they are very courageous and are not afraid of taking immediate violent measures. Thus having a mixed offspring was preferable. This explanation seems exaggerated.

with their neighbours' could be among the main factor for the high degree of ethnic inter-connection of these societies.⁶⁹

As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya people as well as their neighboring communities were and continued to be interrelated with each other. Therefore, their crisscross settlements, commercial connections, long sustained inter-marriages and other related factors resulted for their linguistic and other socio-cultural as well as socio-economic resemblances among these societies. Moreover, such similarities and inter-connections could be among the manifestations for the existences of high ethnic interactions among these societies.⁷⁰

1.5. Menelik's Conquest and its Aftermath on Kambata and Hadiya people

The Menelik's territorial expansion started mainly in the 1870s, when he was the ruler of Shawa. The pressure of the territorial expansion on the southern Ethiopian states changed into occupation in later years, mainly after 1880s and 1890s. Different reasons mentioned for the Menelik's territorial expansion: some scholars underline that the Menelik's conquest of the southern Ethiopia was in attempt to bring back the territories his predecessors had failed to control and administer effectively. Moreover, they mention that his conquest was a response to the encroachment of the European colonial powers.⁷¹ The other justification for Menelik's southern expansion could be his need to control the resources and trade routes of the region in order to strengthen his empire state.⁷²

The expansion of the region had already begun when he took possession of part of Gurage areas to the central Ethiopian Empire between 1875 and 1876. In a way, the Menelik's forces fully conquered the Gurage in 1889.⁷³ Then the process of expansion extended to Hadiya. It started when the force of Ras Gobana Dache invaded Shashogo and Lemo in 1890. The Shashogo and Lemo Hadiya were the first Hadiya groups to be defeated to the centralization process in the Kambata and Hadiya region. At the time, the authority of Menelik's representative Ras Gobeba continued to the Kambata and Hadiya region after long time. Though, Ras Gonena was not able

⁶⁹ Braukamper and Tilahun mishamo..., P.23; Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel*.

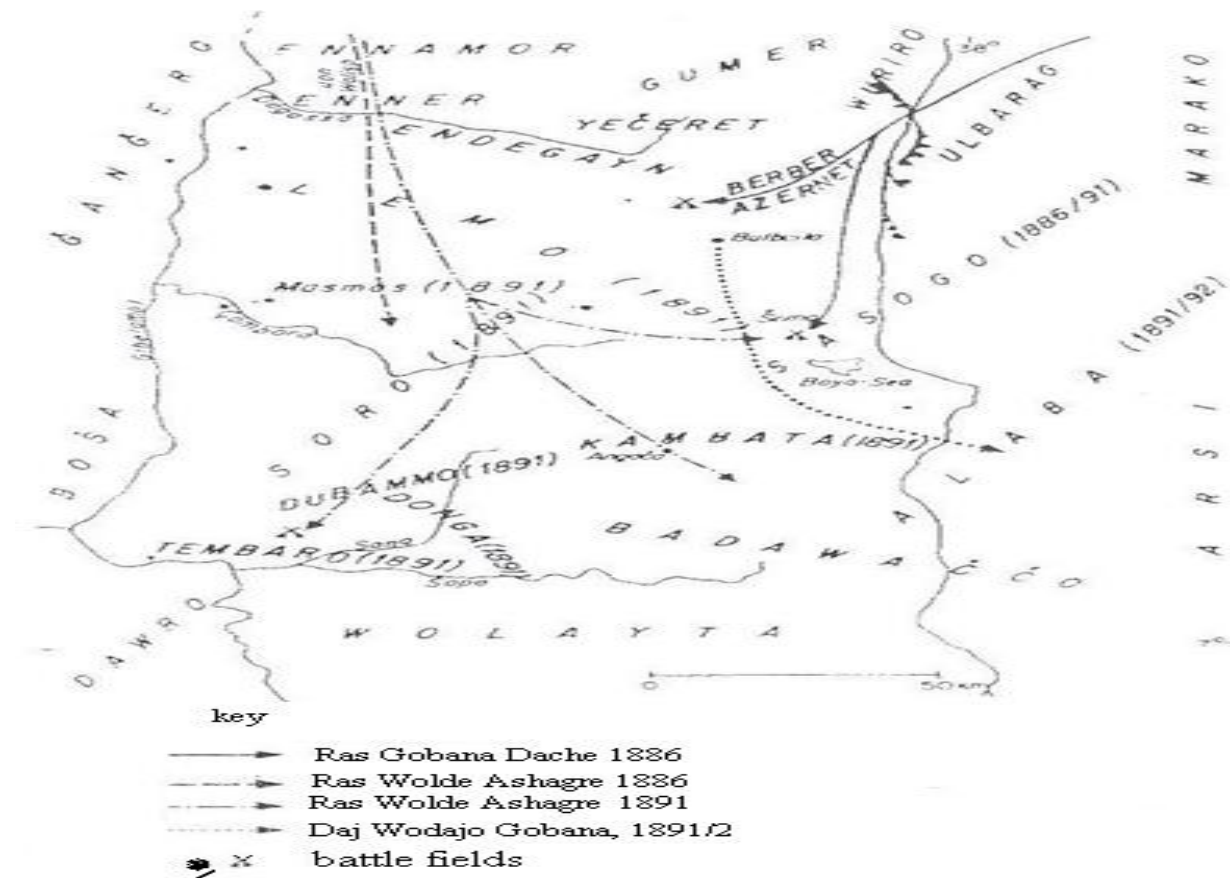
⁷⁰ Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Demisa, Ato Mengistu*.

⁷¹ Grenstedt, pp. 49-51; Gedeon. pp.13-14.

⁷² *Ibid* and Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, p.155-158: Bahru, pp. 16-17 and Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil...*, p.96-99.

⁷³ Bahru, pp. 16.

Map 2 Pathline of the Menelik II incorporation towards Kambata and Hadiya region



Source: Norman J. Singer, 1977, p.41

Different justifications are given for the victory of the Menelik's capain in the region. Some of the reasons include; the Menelik's troops were militarily highly qualified. While the local peoples in this region were fighting only with their spears, this was almost impossible. Thus, the joint force of Ras Wolde Ashagre and Dajach Wodajo had marched against the peoples of Kambata, Hadiya, Tembaro, Donga and Wolayta from 1889 to 1894.⁷⁷

Following his battles of incorporations Menelik II assigned his favorite generals to rule the the conquered peoples of the region. As a result, the Menelik's territorial expansion caused several violences on occupied peoples and states. This could be Sevier when there was strong resistance against the invading forces. Therefore, there was mass killing, imposition of lower position, robbery, enslavement and denial to the possession of lands. As stated earlier, before the 19th c many parts of the southern Ethiopia were relatively autonomous; which were far away from the

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

direct control of the Christian empire. However, some of them were tributary states. This relatively autonomous existence of the southern peoples like Kambata and Hadiya ended with the conquest of the Menelik in early 1890s.⁷⁸

Moreover, the conquest brought several socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political biases on conquered society, like Kambata and Hadiya in the period under discussion. It was a defining event in the history of these people and regarded as a turning point. Since the incorporation, they started to lose their indigenous practices and cultural elements kept with them for centuries. After 1894, they became no longer autonomous. As common to other conquered peoples of Ethiopia, the Kambata and Hadiya people were reduced to the status of *gäbbar* (tribute paying peasants). The occupied peoples were supposed to provide the *naftaña* (gunmen) with food and other services.⁷⁹

After his occupation, Menelik made all the conquered lands his own property. Hence, he began to grant these lands to the various individuals or institutions he favored immediately after his conquest. That led to the redistribution of the Kambata and Hadiya land among the government officials, soldiers, the Orthodox Church and other settlers.⁸⁰ As mentioned above, the conquest resulted in socio-political and economic changes in the region. Politically, the indigenous organization and administration of the society was replaced by a new feudal order. After defeating all the peoples of this region, Ras Wolde ruled and handed over Kambata administrative region (Kambata *awraja*) in 1892 to Däjach Wodajo who led from Anna (political center). Then Däjlach Bashah Aboye, Däjach Tesema Darge and Ras Abate Buayalew served as representatives of Menelik in this region in different times.⁸¹

It appears that the region was divided among many Däjazmaches after Däjach Wodajo. Concerning this Lapiro argues that Soro, Lemo, Kontab and Shashogo were given to Däjach Bashah and his capital was Anna in Lemo. Whereas Tämbaro, Kambata and Badawacho given to Däjach Tesema who used Mt. Ambaricho as his capital. Tefaye states that the domain of Däjach

⁷⁸ Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 28-31; Grenstedt, pp. 49-51: Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Demisa, Ato Mengistu*.

⁷⁹ Braukamper and Tilahun mishamo..., p.22-23: Informants *Ato Philipos, Ato Eriso and Ato Aman*.

⁸⁰ Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, p. 84: Tesfaye, *Some Records...*, pp. 137-139: Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam and Ato Daniel*.

⁸¹ Tesfaye, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, pp. 157-158; Tesfaye, *Some records...* pp. 139-140 and Informants: *Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Philipos*.

Tesema could reach as far as Azernet barare and Endagagn. Therefore, after incorporation, the Kambata and Hadiya entered into new socio-political orientations, which was the most significant in destroying their indigenous traditional institutions. This is because, the participants of armed forces compensated for their efforts in the conquest and subsequent administration.⁸²

Furthermore, under the new administrative system the Hadiya region was merged with Kambata. Then Kambata and Hadiya region become one administrative structure and known as the province of Kambata, though the Kambata were in a minority. The new Amhara administrative structure preferred the Kambata based on some reasons, regardless of the majority Hadiya and other peoples inhabiting in the region. One of the reasons seems that the Kambata's Woma Dilbeto accepted the Menelik forces through negotiation without serious fighting unlike the Hadiya.⁸³

In addition to this, it was also more considered as Christianized for longer time by the kings of Christian Highland Kingdom than the Muslim Hadiya. The other justification might be the Kambata's dynastic linkage with the Christian Highland Kingdom through Hamelmal that increased its political significance more than the Hadiya. Due to the above-mentioned reasons, the Kambata region was not fully isolated from the northern Ethiopia; even at the time when the relations between the highland kingdom and the Hadiya had weakened beginning from the 17th century.⁸⁴

The new territorial amalgamation resulted in elimination of former ethnic boundaries and contributed for the assimilation of the people along the border to the Hadiya or with the Kambata. Consequently, Ajora clan inhabited the area at angle of rivers Sana and Ajora waterfall gradually assimilated to Kambata. Similarly, peoples along the borders with Hadiya become Hadiya. Moreover, the Menelik's representatives established new administrative structures in the region that combined both societies as one. However, the Kambata and Hadiya people had strong ethnic interaction before the arrival of the Menelik's forces; the conquest further strengthened it by avoiding the ethnic boundaries in the region.⁸⁵ Informants expressed that "*Mineleke doollan*

⁸² Tesfaye, *Kambatana* ..., pp. 157-158.

⁸³ Grenstedt, pp.49-51; Gedeon, pp.7- 9, 11-13: Informants *Ato Asaro, Ato Mathewos and Deneke*.

⁸⁴ Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 26-28; Tesfaye, *kambatana Hadiya* ..., pp. 26-28; Trimmingham, p. 95 and Cerruli, pp. 85-86, 118: Informants *Ato Asaro, Ato Emam Ato Mathewos and Deneke*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Kanbatee, Hadiyaaa, Tambaaro yeenno gashu ba'een Amaari awonsoon mexooma gashu haraaro” implies following the Menelik’s arrival the separate Kambata, Hadiya and Ṭāmbaro rule was replaced by the common rule under the Amhara forces. This is mentioned from the factors for the augmented ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya society.⁸⁶

Socially, the Kambata and Hadiya were forced to adopt the culture of the dominant groups at the expense of their indigenous practices. Related to social problems the psychological shock among the society was also significant. Concerning this, the local people started to use Amhara names, dressing styles, Amharic language, Orthodox religion and the like. The political, socio-economic and cultural changes in the region following the Menelik’s conquest will be further discussed in the following units. Furthermore, there was mass settlement in the Kambata and Hadiya region from different directions of the Ethiopian parts. Most of the settlers were from the northern parts of the country; those moved to south to escape the causalities related to the famine, which is more serious in the northern parts than the south.⁸⁷

One of the informants Ato Asaro explained the settlement of the period as “*Menelike oli doollu saffaare doola agudano*” this means ‘the period after the Menelik’s conquest looks like the new settlement policy’. He used this expression to show the mass settlement of the people from other parts of the country in the area. These new settlers occupied on the lands that were not settled or sharing the lands with local people through peaceful means as well as there was eviction of the local peoples mainly by the *naftaña* and the Amhara officials. He mentioned such settlement of different ethnic groups at one place as one of the factors that facilitated wider ethnic interaction with different peoples in the period under discussion.⁸⁸

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

⁸⁶ Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Demisa Gebreyesus, Ato Mengistu Mengesha.

⁸⁷ Alebachew and Samuel, PP.82-83,85-86, 88: Informants Ato Emam Ato Mathewos and Deneke.

⁸⁸ Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Yaekim.

...ከአፄ ዳግማዊ ምኒልክ ዘመን መግባት (1881-1905) ጀምሮ ወደ ካምታታ የዘመቱት ከአሮሞ ፡ ከአሜሪካ ፡ ከጉራጌና ከተለያዩ ለሎች ብሔራዎች የተደገገው የግንዳባልና የነፍሰኛ ሠራዊት (በኋላ ሁሉም “አሜሪካ” ለመባልና ለመሆን የበቁት ይኸውም የአሮሮኛን ቋንቋ ፡ የአሜሪካን ባህል ፡ የአሜሪካን እምነት ይኸውም የኦርቶዶክስ ተዋህዶ የክርስትናን ሃይማኖት የራሳቸው አድርገው በመቀበል “ከአሜሪካ የበለጠ አሜሪካ ሆነ ወ” የኖሩት ወገኖች⁸⁹

Thus, the developments following Menelik’s incorporation led for the settlement of various societies in the Kambata and Hadiya region, who come from different directions of the country. Such mass settlements of the people in the region encouraged inter-ethnic interaction of these societies.⁹⁰

The period up to the Italian invasion in 1935 was characterized by the consolidation of the Amhara rule in the region. The opposition from the Kambata and Hadiya people mainly challenged this. The transition period after Menelik and the subsequent struggle between officials, particularly the late years of Ras Abata, Hadiya and Kambata tried to restore their land. Moreover, the annex of the letter from Minister of Interior to the Police Commission describes the long sustained opposition of Hadiya against Amhara.⁹¹ The Amhara soldiers, who won the Gurage and Wolayta as allies against the revolting ethnic groups, were then able to regain control of the region. At the time of the Italian occupation, the gäbbar system was abolished, not to reintroduce again. The Kambata province was a residenza and clustered under the Oromo and Sidama from its center at Jimma during the Italian period.⁹²

Moreover, the Italian period witnessed the construction of some social services as roads, bridges and the like in the region. The road that links Durgi and Hossana-Sodo highway and some other roads that join the two societies together as the Alaba-Sodo highway, Hossana-Damboya-Alaba, Shone-Mazoria-Durame, etc roads are the among Italians contribution. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya region got modern transport that concerned and continued to tie them together and with other neighboring regions. Besides this, their collaborators gained daily earn such as bread, clothes, and flour. Informants also remind that it was for the first time to see cars and corrugated iron roofed houses as modern developments. Opposing to their contribution by ending

⁸⁹ Tesfaye, *kambatana Hadiya* ..., p.265.
⁹⁰ Informants Ato Asaro, Ato Yaekim, Ato Demisa and Ato Mengistu.
⁹¹ See the letter at appendix A-1.
⁹² Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget* ..., p.23-25: Grenstedt, pp.49-51: Informants Ato Somano, Ato Daniel.

exploitative feudalism and slave trade, the Italians also collected different kinds of taxes from the people.⁹³

The places in southern Ethiopia were not restored to imperial control before 1943. After the emperor's restoration, which was completed in 1944, the former Kambata province becomes an *awraja* (sub-province) in the Arssi province with its capital at Asella. Land tenants, who were forced to pay heavy taxes, now cultivated large areas in Kambata and Hadiya region. The gap between the landless peasants and the privileged landlords seems in fact to have widened after the Italian occupation. In 1962, the Kambata Awraja became part of the Shawan province with Addis Ababa as its centre.⁹⁴

As stated above, most informants justified the assimilation of the different peoples in the region by the new administrative structure as among the reasons that increased ethnic interactions with the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors. They remind that the settlement of different ethnic groups following the incorporation could have facilitated this interaction. Accordingly, these different ethnic groups lived in one place, inter-married and shared the same socio-economic and socio-cultural issues at the time under discussion. The other justification of the informants is that the nature of interaction with Kambata and Hadiya people as well as with the Oromo neighbors could be due to the merged administrations during the Italian rule (1936-1941). Such interaction of the societies continued in subsequent years through trade and other socio-economic activities.⁹⁵

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

⁹³ Informants: *Ato Mathewos, Ato Balayneh and Ato Deneke, Ato Philipos and Ato Eriso.*

⁹⁴ Gedeon, pp.7-9, 11-13; Belachew, pp.145-147, 159-160 and see the headings of the letters written between 1940s and 1960 and indicate different territorial arrangements of the Kambata and Hadiya region at appendix A₁, B₁, C, D₁, E-K.

⁹⁵ Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Demisa, Ato Mengistu.*

That could be among the reasons for the high ethnic interactions between the Kambata and Hadiya peoples.⁹⁶

Economically, the incorporation brought about a new order, i.e. land tenure and tribute systems. In Ethiopia, land tenure and tribute considered as source of income for government. As a result, many sources explain the control of land and the sources of tribute become one way for power and prosperity for Ethiopian rulers and for those who controlled it. The economic and social conditions of the people had faced serious problem in the subsequent years of incorporation.⁹⁷ In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya were introduced to the term *geber* (tribute) and obliged to pay it. The *gäbbar* had to give one-tenth of their produce to the state. From the remaining nine-tenth they had to pay their taxes to the *naftaña* that alleviated the payment of the government for the officers. The *naftaña* used to impose various tributes upon the *gäbbars*, like supplying firewood and grass for cattle of *naftaña*; which they locally refers it as *haqqena Hiṭe gebera*. Besides this, the *gäbbars* had also required to perform many activities for the *naftaña*.⁹⁸

As discussed above the Menelik's expansion had brought changes in the religious practices of the Kambata and Hadiya. The people were forced to adopt the new religion at the expense of their traditional religious elements after the incorporation period. Thus, Orthodox Christianity started to influence the Kambata and Hadiya traditional religious practitioners. However, christianity expanded in the region latter from 1930s to 1950s mainly due to European missionary activities. Concerning the religious developments of the society Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic Christianities expanded in the Kambata and Hadiya at the time. The Sudanese Interior Mission (SIM), which was led by Dr. Lambie, started the missionary idea in the provinces called Lambuda (near Hossana) and Taza (Durame) around 1920s. The SIM played vital role in expanding Protestant Christianity in the Kambata and Hadiya.⁹⁹ Changes and continuities on religious issues further discussed under unit four.

The older town or *ketema* emergence started on military camps following the Menelik's incorporation. The early *ketema* in the region was established at Angacha, just northeast of the

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Lapiso, *Rejim YeItiopia...* p. 262; Lapiso, *Abiyotawi...* p. 199 and Tesfaye, *Kambatana Hadiya...* p. 205.

⁹⁸ Informants *Ato Asaro, Ato Yaekim, Ato Demisa and Ato Mengistu.*

⁹⁹ Informants *Ato Mathewos, Ato Philipos, Ato Eriso and Deneke.*

Mt. Ambaricho. From 1910, Hossana (Wachamo) became the leading ketema and the new provincial center, succeeding Angacha. The ketemas soon developed into commercial and administrative centers. They were mainly the living centers for the officials and dominant Amhara soldiers in the region.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, these centers become places where they receive their tributes from the local population. Therefore, Menelik's territorial incorporation in the Kambata and Hadiya region reshaped several historical developments of the society. This political transformation led for the change in the local political administrative system, socio-economic as well as socio-cultural activities of the people. Aboveall, the developments following this twerritorial incorporation had played important role in the Kambata and Hadiya societies ethnic interaction.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Mathewos* and *Deneke*.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THE POLITICAL INTERACTION OF THE KAMBATA AND HADIYA PEOPLE

2. 1. The Customary Administration of the Kambata and Hadiya Society

As discussed in the previous section, the Kambata and Hadiya region had early contacts with the kings of Christian Highland Kingdom since 14th century up to 16th century. However, the Ahmed Gragn's war and the Oromo expansion cut off the relation of the north with the Kambata and Hadiya region. Such developments led for the emergence of semi-autonomous administrative structure in the region. In a way, both societies continued their traditional administration ruled by their own kings and practicing a local political system. As a result, from 17th c towards the end of the 19th c they continued their indigenous administrative structure. This administration had its own rulers and indigenous institutions. Traditionally they had both religious and political leaders. This administrative structure was developed over centuries.¹

In a way, the original council form of administrative structure called Kokata (the representation of the whole Kambata/Hadiya) was used. in which representatives from territorial and tribal units can attend. The *Woma* (king) headed it. These traditional administrative institutions were similar in their functions as well as structural organizations between the two societies. Thus, the society developed a hierarchically organized council form of administrative structures. This traditional institution is organized under territorial bases and kinship lines. However, Menelik's conquest resulted in political, socio-economic and cultural changes on Kambata and Hadiya people in the period under discussion.²

Consequently, the indigenous organization and administration of the society were crushed and a new feudal order was replaced. The new authority destroyed some of the institutions and transformed some others. *Woma* continued as *balabat*, *Gochi-danna* transformed to ČäQäshum

¹ Tesfaye Habiso, "*Kambatana Hadiya...*", pp.181-183; Grensted, pp.45-46; Lapiso, *Yeitiopiya Rejim Yehizb...*, pp.15-17, 21- 23, 25; Informants *Ato Mathewos*, *Ato Philipos*, *Ato Eriso* and *Deneke*.

² *Ibid* and Yacob Arsano, *Seera: A Traditional Institution of Kambata*, in Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang (eds.) *Ethiopia The Challenge of Democracy from Bellow*, (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala and Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa, 2002), pp.46-48, 50-52; Informants *Ato Yaekim*, *Ato Daniel* and *Ato Emam*.

and Sangaqoro. Although the *Heera* institution remained intact; similarly, the tribal or lineage organizations sustained functioning.³ This traditional administrative institution as well as changes and continuity following the incorporation are discussed below.

2.1.1. The Kinship Based Administration of the Kambata and Hadiya

The Kinship based administrative institution organized under bloodline relationship of the Kambata and Hadiya society. These hierarchically organized institutions are with their respective leaders, who deal with the political, legal and social affairs of the society.⁴ These kinds of traditional administrative structures include *Mine*, *Boko* and *Ilamo*, respectively, from the lowest to highest level of organization.

The *Mine* is the lowest administrative unit in the kinship-based structure. It constituted a wife, husband, their children and other close family members such as grandparents, uncles and aunts. The eldest man of individual families could lead the *Mine*. The leaders of *mine* could transfer their power to junior members. These leaders had the title of *Minidaana* (family leader). They were responsible for keeping peace among the family members and resolving conflicts that could arise amongst them. In case some serious conflicts that arise from the *mine* members and not solved at the *Minidaana* level, would be transferred to the next council at *Bokkidaana* level.⁵

The second administrative unit in the kinship structure was *Bokko* (*Moollo*, in Hadiya). It consisted of many *Mines* who traced their origin and decent to the same ancestor. The leaders of *Bokko* had the title called *Bokkidaana*. They were elected only from the members of the *Bokko* based on their knowledge about kinship affiliation among the people whom they administered and had a commitment to enforce law and order. In a way, they were responsible for keeping peace among the *Bokko* members and resolving conflicts that could arise amongst them. Serious cases that could arise from the *Bokko* members and not solved at the *Minidaana* level could be transferred to the *Ilamo* council, which is the higher administrative organ of the kinship structure.⁶

³ Tesfaye, *Kambatana*..., pp. 157-158; Tesfaye, *Some records*... pp. 139-140; Informants: *Ato Aman*, *Ato Heramo* and *Ato Philipos*.

⁴ *Yacob*, pp.46-49; *Gedeon*, pp.112-113, 115-116; Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Daniel*.

⁵ Informants: *Ato Shuramo*, *Ato Asaro*, *Ato Eriso* and *Ato Yohannes*.

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

The *Ilamo* is a collective membership of a tribal group of a patriarchal lineage. Day-to-day activities and community functions take place in inter-tribal settings. However, the *Ilamo* council (*Ilami-ya'a*) deals with matters that particularly concern members of a tribe. There were several activities specifically handled within the bounds of *Ilamo Seera*, including marriage, inheritance and blood settlement.⁷ The *Ilamo* council ensures that marriage is strictly exogamous. No person of the tribe marries internally from his or her paternal line. On the maternal line, marriage is permissible after seven generations have elapsed. The tribal council settles all matters of inheritance among the members of a tribe. If one of the parties or all involved are not satisfied with the decision of the tribal council at all level, they may wish to take the case to the Kokata, or even to a civil court.⁸

The tribal council gives special attention to maintaining peace in the community in accordance with the requirement of *Seera*. Overall, the *Ilamdaana*, appointed by the tribal council for life, coordinates tribal affairs. His functions are not limited territorially as tribes are not only at the specific territory, but settled in wider areas. He is the coordinator of his tribal affairs and represents the tribe in external relations where and when that is required.⁹ He is closely assisted by lineage heads and counseled by elders consisting of the most experienced, knowledgeable and influential personalities of the tribe. The *Ilamdaana's* function is not limited within Kambata or Hadiya. He attends different tribal concerns beyond specific territory as members of tribe were residing in the neighboring territories of Alaba, Wolayta, Kambata (Hadiya) or elsewhere in the country. Accordingly, the *Ilamo* council facilitates people-to-people interaction within inter-tribal settings and beyond the limits of tribes in the neighboring territories or elsewhere in the country. Such inter-tribal interconnections could have facilitated the ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya society.¹⁰

According to the informants justification the kinship based administrative structure is among the strong knot that tied the Kambata and Hadiya society together and facilitated their interaction. This structure reinforced the society's inter-connection through their common ancestors and

⁷ *Ibid* ans Yacob, pp. 46-49: Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz, Ato Daniel*.

⁸ Informants: *Ato Abegaz, Ato Shuramo, Ato Asaro, Ato Eriso and Ato Yohannes*

⁹ *Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet*, pp.96-98: Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants *Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and Ato Hirgete*.

¹⁰ Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico-legal ...*, pp.112-113, 118-120, 124: Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants *Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and Ato Hirgete*.

different activities carried out in such bloodline based administrative structure. As a result, both societies were and are considered as relatives and friendly. Various socio-economic and socio-cultural issues that facilitated the society to work together also supported such sociable co-existences.¹¹

This administrative structure was and is mainly limited to the issues related to the clan and tribal bases. It could not extend its function to political activities beyond the tribal issues. This enabled the structure to survive the socio-political and socio-cultural influences of the Amhara following the Menelik's conquest of the region. While the political structures of the societies like *Woma* (king) were removed and replaced by the *balabat*. However, the expansion of education and changes related to the growing awareness of the people reduced their reliance on *Illamo* council and related traditional institutions; it continued to be among the binding elements of the societies. As a result, this structure is still functional among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples.¹²

2.1.2. The Territorial Based Administration

The territorial based administrative institution is all-inclusive structure of the Kambata or Hadiya society under one rule. In this administrative structure, there was no exclusion of any social group, in bloodline or clan bases as that of the kinship-based administration. In a way, this institution comprises all territories and the social groups of the Kambata or Hadiya people. This structure was organized under *Kokata* (*Giira* in Hadiya), *Gocho* and *Heera* from the higher to lower level of structures. It was headed by *woma* (king), *gochi-danna* (leader of the Gocho), and *Muricho* (leader of the Heera) respectively.¹³

The *Kokata* (*Giira*) council was the general assembly of the whole Kambata and Hadiya in which representatives of territorial units known as *Gocho*, *Heera* units known as *Muricho* and tribal units called *Illamo* can attend. The *woman* (king) headed the council. It is a deliberative assembly where *seera* (rules) were laid down and sanctions given through *lallaba* (oratory). A series of orations on political, military, security and social affairs of the community were made by representatives of territorial and tribal units.¹⁴

¹¹ Informants: *Ato Wogasso, Ato Gibore, Ato Asaro, Ato Emam and Ato Asefa.*

¹² Informants *Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and Ato Hirgete.*

¹³ Informants *Ato Asaro Helamo, Ato Daniel, Yaekim and Ato Emam.*

¹⁴ Yacob, pp. 46-49; Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116; Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Daniel.*

Lallaba continues until the final decision by consensus. The decision of the *Kokata* is binding and respected as the Kambata and Hadiya people believed that the eyes and the spirit of society are behind it, as a hidden force. There is a general belief that the *gadda* (grace) and the *ayaana* (blessing) of *Kokata* are in it. Disobedience or break of a *Kokata* decision believed to attract the “black” eyes and unpronounced curse of the *Kokata* on those who go against it. *Woma* is a territorial chief, a concept more or less denoting “king”. The institution of *Woma* was maintained through hereditary succession, in the male line. Every time when the *Woma* died, *Kokata* sat in council and selected successor from among the sons of the deceased *Woma*. Then, the *Kokata* formally conferred the office on the new chief through special *giffata* (ceremonia chanting known as *hebboyyata*).¹⁵

According to informants, local rulers in the kambata and Hadiya region used different mechanisms to legitimize their rule and strengthen their power. Political marriage was widely used among the locally notables as well as with the ruling families of the neighboring peoples. They used these strategies to avoid conflicts with local power contenders and with the neighboring peoples. They also used it to extend their political power by developing friendly relations. They mention *woma* Dagoye who married five wives from the neighboring states noble families as an example. These were from Badawacho Hadiya, Soro Hadiya, Ṭāmbaro, Wolayta and one from the known *gulba* clan in Kambata.¹⁶

Such marriage ties among the different ethnic groups could be mentioned as the leading factors that facilitated the ethnic interactions with these societies. Besides, the Kambata and Hadiya people were closely interconnected in social, cultural, psychological, language, etc activities that show the existences of high ethnic interaction among the society. Therefore, kambata people mostly have established marriage relation with Hadiya people more than with other neighboring peoples.¹⁷

Similar ideas are stated by Elias Aweto on his work of “*Yesamen Omo Hizboch politikawi Traki ...*”. He discussed that traditional marriage relationship between states of Southwestern Ethiopia was commonly recognized practice to avoid difference and to consolidate the mutual benefits among themselves. Therefore, these people usually established marriage relation with each other

¹⁵ Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116; Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-legal...*, pp.112-113, 118-120, 124; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants *Ato* Yaekim, *Ato* Emam and *Ato* Daniel.

¹⁶ Informants: *Ato* Shomore, *Ato* Desalegn, *Ato* Hailemariam, *Ato* Gibore and *Ato* Danamo.

to strengthen such objectives. That led for the closely relatedness in their socio-political, socio-cultural and other issues of these people. Therefore, the marriage between these rulers had its own role to consolidate the relation between these different societies.¹⁸

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

Besides this, informants also list some of the representatives of the Menelik, who ruled the area after the incorporation. They stated as “*Woma Dilbatoochi zakiin Womu Woldi, Womu Wodaaju, Womu Baashi, Womu Abooyi, Womu Tassami, Womu Abaatu Kambaati Uulata gashitee’u*”. These names are related to the king Dilbato, Ras Wolde, Däjach Wodajo, Däjach Bashah Aboye, Däjach Tesema Darge, and Ras Abate Buayalew. These people ruled and landed over Kambata administrative region (Kambata *awraja*) after the king Dilbato in this region in different times. They served as representatives of Menelik for Kambata *awraja*. *Woma* is local term used to denote king, Däjazmach, Ras and other related titles. They used the term “*Kambaati Uulata*” to refer the Kambata *awraja*.²⁰

The Italians following their victories in the spring of 1936, they removed the Amhara soldiers in the region. That led for the end of Amhara rule in the Kambata and Hadiya region from 1936-1941. At the time, the Italians gave the governorship of this administrative region to the Bargano Moliso of Kambata and all the local representatives (balabats) over the area made to submit him. Later Qagnazmach Băyănă Barana replaced Bargano Moliso.²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Elias Aweto, *Yasamen Omo Hizboch politikawi Traki*, part one, (Addis Ababa, Negged Matemiyā bet, 1990.E.C), p.178.

¹⁹ Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano and Ato Petro.*

²⁰ Informants *Ato Asaro, Ato Daniel, Yaekim and Ato Emam.*

²¹ *Ibid* and Tesfaye, *Kambatana...*, pp. 157-158.

Figure 4 Bargano Moliso, who ruled Kambata province



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

However, these local rulers were subordinate to the Italian representatives in the region like Bissaset and Aborte the administration of the local rulers revived in the region during the Italian period. This was due to the Italian preferences to administer the region through local rulers. Nevertheless, this could not last long, as the feudal system and direct rule of the emperor Haile Selassie through his representatives continued since 1942 that extended up to the Ethiopian revolution in 1970s.²²

The 1974 revolution abolished the *balabat* and *chikashoom* institutions and replaced them by peasant associations. After the overthrow of the Derg, the new EPRDF regime was not immediately able to ensure the necessary level of peace and security at community level. This circumstance contributed to the renewal of the Kambata and Hadiya *Seera* and the reemergence of *Kokata* (*Reeda* in Hadiya as well as some parts of Kambata like Qachabira and Hadero areas), handled by the elders representing each clans. However, the institution of the *Woma* was not able to reemerge. Presently, not only the structure of *Kokata* continued throughout the Kambata and Hadiya, but its function become increasingly binding, mainly for resolving serious conflicts.²³

In the territorial based administrative structure, *Gocho* Assembly was the next political organization of the kambata and Hadiya society. When the initial settlement of the society

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Informants *Ato Abegaz, Ato Eriso and Ato Hirgete.*

expanded, territorial sub-division was necessary in order to keep the peace of the people and the style of *Kizoma* internally and to protect the community from external threat. Thus, the territory was divided into asymmetrical units known as *Gocho* (gate). It is sub-district of the *Kokata*. It had its respective territorial assembly called *Gochi-ya'a* and their traditional leaders known as *Gochi danna*. The members of the assembly organized from the representatives of *Heera* (sub-district of the *Gocho*) known as *Muricho* and the representatives of the Clan heads called *Boki Dana*. *Gochi-dannas* were the permanent members of *Kokata*. They sit in council together with *Woman*, clan heads and other notables of the community. Historically the territorial assembly called *Gochi-ya'a* selected them. When the *Woman* became increasingly influential, they became his appointees. The *Gochi-danna* administers and settles disputes within his respective *Gocho*. However, serious disputes and cases not settled at *Gocho* assembly transferred to the *Kokata* assembly. At present *Gocho*, administrative structure is no longer functional because the *Gocho* as a territorial unit has been abolished since the Ethiopian revolution of 1974.²⁴

The *Heera* is the smallest unit of territorial organization in Kambata and Hadiya administrative structure. It had its own *Heera-ya'a* (assembly of *Heera*) and leaders called *Muricho*. The *Muricho* selected in *Heera-ya'a* and presented in to the *Gochi-ya'a* and to the assembly of *Kokata*. The *Muricho* was a non-hereditary appointment or election to which was highly competitive. The office rotated every few years among the energetic personalities. The minimum criterion is that, the candidate for *Muricho* must be good at *Lallaba* (oratory). He functioned as judge and administrator in his respective *Heera*. His activities were checked horizontally by the community elders, including his own tribesmen and vertically by the *Gochi-danna* and *Woma*. *Heera* is the strongest and most powerful organization of Kambata and Hadiya. When most of the traditional institutions submerged under the dominance of the national state structure, *Heera* survived and has become the repository of *Seera*.²⁵

Hence, every person in the society is a member of a *Heera*. He/she remains the embodiment of *Seera* at the lowest level of community or organization. *Heera* is a basic institution that binds together all households irrespective of their tribe, religion, level of wealth and education, political or social function, caste or class. It is a self-help organization. The Kambata and Hadiya people consider the *Heera* institution as necessary for overcoming bad time through

²⁴ *Ibid* and Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28.

²⁵ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants *Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz, Ato Daniel Ababo*.

collaborative endeavor. Presently the function of *Heera* have grown to include local funeral services, community protection and crime control, public work, local conflict management and community welfare.²⁶

Neighboring *Heera* has a long tradition of collaborating in crime control, public works and conflict management. The *Heera* ground is important in the lower level of administrative structure, with its own rules. *Heera* elders first handle violations of the *Heera's Seera* by individuals in their relation with other members or groups within *Heera*. If the cases are not so important, they are pushed downwards to relevant adjunct organizations. If the cases are very important to the extent of affecting other *Heeras* or the community at large, they will be brought to the *Gocho* assembly or *Kokata* arena. *Heera* is territorially sub-divided in to several functional neighborhood units, each having its own elected head and council.²⁷

As discussed above, sharing of such common and similar political structures among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples played a big role in facilitating the ethnic interaction among these societies. Informants expressed the role of political structures for the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction mentioning different reasons. From their justifications, sharing political structures that bind the societies together and the role of such organizations in solving conflicts that arise among the societies was and is among the reasons for both societies inter-ethnic interaction. Moreover, the inter-ethnic marriage ties the leaders of these organizations as well as other members of the two societies. This could be the main factors that contribute for the high ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya societies. Therefore, sharing similar socio-political activities, attending different political assemblies as well as the inter-connection of these two societies in different socio-economic and socio-cultural issues could be mentioned reasons for the existence of high ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya societies.²⁸

2. 2. The *Seera* Institution of the Kambata and Hadiya

The *Seera* in the Kambata and Hadiya society refers to the code of conduct; practiced and internalized among them. *Seera* regulates relations between individuals, tribes and territorial units. It is a broadly conceived normative realm within which individuals and groups expected to

²⁶ Grenstedt, pp.124-126; Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, pp. 51, 61, 67: Informants *Ato Yaekim*, *Ato Emam* and *Ato Daniel*

²⁷ Informants *Ato Eriso* *Ato Abegaz*, *Ato Daniel* and *Ato Aman*.

²⁸ Informants *Ato Somano Aloto*, *Ato Petro Gacheno*, *Ato Heramo*.

behave. The territorial or tribal councilors function on according to their respective *Seera*.²⁹ According to informants, some of the issues regulated by the *Seera* include some activities that bind all love affairs, marriage and family relations, peer group associations, work and entertainment parties, games and sports, hunting bands, etc. Childcare, socialization of the young, circumcision, initiation and rites of passage handled, as *Seera* requires. *Seera* prescribes the way farmer relate to the environment, young to old, women to men.³⁰

Young person must give precedence to older ones as a sign of respect to older generation because the older generation believed to poses experience, knowledge, wisdom, grace and power. In addition, elderly persons believed to have the power to award or punish, to bless or curse the younger ones, depending on what they deserve. *Seera* is not a codified body of rules but it is several sets of norms. There are no particular experts specializing in *Seera* sanctions which are not formalized, but influenced by circumstances as the elders sees fit. The entire exercise of the implementation of the *Seera* is creative, consultative and compromise oriented.³¹

Seera administration aims at pacification, correction and reintegration. The community elders are in charge of *Seera* administration. Generally, elders are expected to have wisdom, patience and broad views about justice and peace. They are preferred to restore and maintain balanced relationship in the community. Although, it is widely believed that women's judgment is important and clear-cut they are not favored for the formal handling of the *Seera*. Their husbands, sons, relatives or neighbors, who are assigned for the administration of *Seera*, often consult women in the house. During the deliberation, the elders may take a recess of a few days or weeks. The time gap is often needed for consultation, additional fact-finding and opinion gathering about the case at hand. Women's opinion is of special value during this time.³²

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

²⁹ Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115-116.

³⁰ Informants Ato Emam, Yaekim and Ato Daniel.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants Ato Wolde and Ato Hirgete.

form of ostracizing the offending party and excluding him and his family from the social, economic and political life of the community. All members of the community join in effecting the *Yaayya* after the final decision. In the case of a member of the community failing to comply with applying this ultimate sanction, he/she will be liable to the same *Yaayya*.³³

Therefore, the *Seera* institution as the code of conduct binds the Kambata and Hadiya societies together. The similarity in the practices and function of this institution between these societies indicates the existences of high ethnic interaction. Its role in solving conflicts that arise among the societies was and is significant. As mentioned above society's inter-ethnic interaction, sharing similar socio-political activities, attending different political assemblies and the society's inter-connection in different socio-economic and socio-cultural issues could be reasons for their interactions. In a way, the *Seera* institution played its role for the two societies by facilitating friendly relation and reducing the probabilities of conflicts.³⁴

2.3. Conflicts and Cooperations of the Kambata and Hadiya people

There has been a long sustained process of interaction and intermingling among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples throughout their history. There was and is individual or group contacts and interactions on different issues. There had been in a long process of interaction through migration, intermarriage, religious activities, trade and warfare as well. In the course of such encounters over time, they have established interethnic interactions involving mutual interdependence among themselves as well as with their neighboring states of Ṭāmbaro, Donga, Wolayita, Dawuro, Oromo, Boshā, Kafa and other peoples. Primarily, more friendly contacts formed through the process of migration and intermarriage. As it has mentioned earlier in the oral tradition, some groups of the Kambata and Hadiya have long been accustomed to migration from place to place.³⁵

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

³³ *Ibid* and Gedeon, pp.112-113, 115- 116.

³⁴ Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Ersido and Ato Petro*.

together. Thus, conflicts might also arise from their regular interaction among themselves and sometimes with other neighboring peoples.³⁶ Some of the issues that indicate the cooperation as well as the conflicts of both societies discussed below.

2.3.1. Cooperation of the Kambata and Hadiya People

The Kambata and Hadiya people did not live as isolated unit; they had strong relationship among each other and with their neighbors. The people had and have very strong relationship with each other. As discussed in the previous unit the major modes of the people's interaction is characterized by mixed settlements, intermarriage, economic interactions and cultural ties, which facilitated their closer cooperation. Informants expressed that both societies had and continue to have the experience of working together in their day-to-day life as well as during their bad time, in defending external enemies. These people had lived together and still living in the same communities. Similarly they also cooperates in many activities.³⁷

Informants expressed that the alliance and cooperation of the society had long history that started from their occupation period. The Uruso and Badeoso Hadiya groups settled in the northwestern part with the assistance of Kambata people. At first, they tried to settle in this part, but blocked by the Badawacho Hadiya. Finally, they managed to settle in the region by the support of the Kambata. This argument justifies the existences of the closer relations among these societies from very ancient times. In a way, both societies developed friendly relations from their settlement periods. However, there were some conflicts between these societies, which could not last long; as they have strong conflict resolution institution.³⁸

Informants confirmed that when the Kambata King Dagoye decided to expand his territory towards Soro and faced serious causality, the Lemo Hadiya helped the Kambata to occupy the territory and fortified it with dams around 1840. Moreover, during the conflict between Kambata and Alaba from 1842-1843, where the former suffered heavy casualties, the Shashogo Hadiya supported the Kambata from complete loss. The cause of the conflict was the Kambata's territorial expansion towards the Alaba pastureland. Furthermore, the Kambata had also stood by the Hadiya side and supported them in their conflict with the Wolayta in 1848. This shows the

³⁵ Asebe, p.41; Belachew, pp.141-142: Informants *Ato* Emam and *Ato* Daniel.

³⁶ Informants *Ato* Eriso *Ato* Abegaz, *Ato* Daniel and *Ato* Aman.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

strong mutual inter-dependences of both societies. As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya society had developed strong inter-ethnic interaction in their long history. Besides, such collaborations both societies were cemented by inter-ethnic marriage and other social institutions. These indicate the existence of high ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya people.³⁹

In the face of the growing population density of the Kambata and Hadiya, the nomadic life of the Hadiya declined and the later gradually started settled agriculture due to this interaction. Their relationship with the Kambata, who were experienced farmers, set a new course for their new agricultural life. Hence, Kambata become an attraction for the Hadiya. In a way, the women of Kambata were highly desired by the Hadiya. As a result, the latter could learn agricultural activities from the Kambata women. Concerning this, the Alaba used to say the one, who has relative in Kambata Would not go hungry. Along with the agricultural technique, the Hadiya learnt from Kambata the highly developed forms of neighborhood aid organization.⁴⁰

The other role of socio-economic cooperation in the Kambata and Hadiya is their different organizations and self-help associations, like *Gezima* and *Dawa*. These organizations were and are formed in order to share burdens in difficult works as harvesting, house construction and the like. The *Gezima* is a cooperative group, in which members come together to perform usually the same type of work for the members. Its members are mostly of the same age, so that the rate of output is balanced, since service in return is expected.⁴¹ Some of the works performed are cutting grass, harvesting inset, plough during the sowing season, preparing arable land for cultivation, weeding and the like. The *Dawa* is a cooperative Group called by one who needs the help of friends and relatives. No service in return is expected. Thus, these socio-economic organizations played great role in strengthening the cooperation and ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁴² This will be further discussed under socio-economic part.

Beside such socio-economic institutions there was and is strong marriage inter-connection between these people. Both societies encouraged inter-ethnic marriage due to different reasons. Kambata had to look for strategies to settle the conflicts with the neighboring peoples and the

³⁸ Informants *Ato Asaro*, *Ato Daniel*.

³⁹ Informants: *Ato Aman*, *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Makore* and *Ato Philipos*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid* and Gedeon, pp. 22-23: Belachew, pp.141-142.

⁴¹ *Ibid*.

⁴² *Ibid* and Belachew, pp.141-143.

relationship to extend their political power.⁴³ Informants explained that marriage among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples was one of the important political and Economic strategies for peace, territorial expansion and alliance against others. They also use it in order to create diplomatic relationship among themselves and with other neighboring states.⁴⁴ As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya people as well as their neighboring communities are inter-mixed with each other due to their crisscross settlements and long sustained inter-marriages that also contributed for their linguistic resemblance.⁴⁵

These people also had trade interaction among themselves as well as with their neighboring people and states. In a way, trade served as a means of peaceful communication. The peoples of the Kambata and Hadiya had linked to local markets through regional trade routes and markets. In Kambata and Hadiya, there were markets that were also important for their neighboring states. However, this interaction and cooperation was not only limited to Kambata and Hadiya community. It is common to any societies who interact and cooperate among themselves on different issues.⁴⁶

Hence, they had experience of cooperation and friendly relation with their neighboring communities like Wolaita, Gurage, Silte, Ṭāmbaro, Yem and with the regional state of Oromia and others. Their geographical and long established relations facilitated this interaction. Therefore, trade ties could be very good example of peaceful co-existence among different ethnic group. Generally, trade constituted a major form of interaction among these people for thousands of year. Notwithstanding to their peaceful relation, the peoples inhabited the land between Omo and Bilate Rivers had been fighting with their adjacent fellow citizens to gain territory and defend their identity.⁴⁷

2.3.1. Conflicts Between the Kambata and Hadiya People

Conflict is beyond mere disagreement; that involves a struggle between opposing forces. Some scholars argue that conflict can stimulate new thought and it can promote social change and define individual or group realities. They also justify that it may be difficult to avoid conflicts

⁴³ Gedeon, pp.13-15: Informants *Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz.*

⁴⁴ Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Emam Ato Ersido and Ato Petro.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

totally, since it is an unavoidable occurrence within the working environment in a society.⁴⁸ People interact and cooperate among themselves on different issues. Thus, conflicts also arise from these interactions. As a result, they concluded that as long as there is the existence of interaction and cooperation among the social groups there could be probabilities for the conflict occurrences resulted from such relations.⁴⁹

As discussed so far, conflict is a normal part in human life. Informants stated that, however, the Kambata and Hadiya people had and still have more harmonious and friendly relations among themselves as well as with their neighbors for long period; there were also conflicts among these societies. In most cases conflict would take place because of the disagreement in which the members of the group who identify a threat to their needs, interests or concerns. Thus, conflicts among the Kambata and Hadiya people could also be resulted from such rivalry of interests between individuals or groups relations. In other words, conflicts usually arise from simultaneous but incompatible feeling among the society. However, there were and are many instances mentioned as causes of conflicts between these societies; economic interest had been the underlying causes of conflict among these societies.⁵⁰

In spite of their peaceful relation, the Kambata and Hadiya had been fighting with each other as well as with the adjacent communities to gain some resources and defend their identity. There were conflicts among different groups of Kambata and Hadiya like Lemo, Soro, Shashego and Badewacho. They were fighting against each other mostly on land issues. There were also conflicts against Wolayita, Alaba, Arssi Oromo and other neighboring peoples because of different factors. These conflicts occur due to the scarcity of the land that was caused by population explosion. This led to many border conflicts among the Kambata and Hadiya as well as other neighboring peoples.⁵¹

According to the informants expressions the Wolayta and the Kambata expansion in the region was the key factor that stressed the relations between the ethnic groups, who lived along the

⁴⁷ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.39-41, 44-46: Tesfaye, *Kambatana...*, pp. 257-258: Informants Ato Emam, Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Yaekim and Ato Daniel.

⁴⁸ John Markakis, *Ethiopia, Anatomy of Traditional Polity*. Addis Ababa, 2006, pp.117; Sisay, p.4-6: Gedeon, pp.118-119, 121, 124-126, 127-128; Informants Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta Guta and Ato Aman.

⁴⁹ *Ibid* and Asebe, p.41

⁵⁰ Informants Ato Philipos, Ato Somano, Ato Daniel, Emam Ato Ersido and Ato Petro.

northern border of Wolayta. For instance, Wolayita had been fighting against Qucha, Gamo, Borada, Guji, Arsi, Kambata, Donga and Ṭāmbaro due to the disagreements related with land issues. Similarly, Kambata had been fighting against Hadiya, Alaba and Arsi Oromo; just as, the Arsi were fighting with Wolayita, Guji, Kambata, Masmās, Hulbareg, Tufte and Hadiya. The Hadiya were also doing the same with Jimma, Ṭāmbaro, Yem, Kambata, Wolayita, Bosha, Masmās, Dawuro, Arsi, Hulbareg and Donga. However, it is difficult to identify the exact date of the conflicts, as they are not stated in the written sources and the informants' inability to show the right time.⁵²

On the other hand, the Ṭāmbaro did fighting with Wolayita, Tufte and perhaps with others too. In contrast, neither oral source nor literatures trace Ṭāmbaro's conflict with Donga and Kambata. Therefore, there must have been peaceful relation between them.⁵³ Informants recall that the dispute over the right to use river Satame was the cause of war between Ṭāmbaro and Hadiya. The dispute shifted to war (*Olla* in local term) when Bobiro kidnapped Hadiya girl called Sinto while she was looking after cattle alongside of River Satame. Hence, the battle was called as *Wo'e Olla* (water war). The conflict escalated and adjacent borders became battlefield when she responded that: "*Shormi Boborina Sage abbaayina affenam afaamo gatulandim eeyis ikona*" while she was asked to divorce. Meaning "Bobiro, Shormo's son and brother of Sage, whom I married, is Satame's hero so that other girls had better marry such a brave".⁵⁴

The Hadiya attacked the Ṭāmbaro who settled at Garbicho, in order to expel them and to take the land. Thus, the battle was called as *Garbichi Oola* (Garbicho battle) and it extended as far as Ga'eča where the force of Hadiya that led by Gololo Tirore killed *Gazāna* Hage Dide of Ṭāmbaro. *Gazāna* Amache Sidde succeeded *Gazāna* Dide and defeated Hadiya.⁵⁵ Most of the conflicts occurred by the attempt of territorial expansion and by the reaction to defend their territory and resources on the other hand. Some of the conflicts include the Wolayta territorial expansion toward the Badawacho Hadiya. In fact, the northern and the middle parts of what is today Wolayta was for a long time the grazing land of the Badawacho groups of Hadiya and the

⁵¹ Tesfaye, "Kambatana Hadiya...", pp. 96, 122 and 173: Informants *Ato* Yaekim, *Ato* Emam, *Ato* Daniel and *Ato* Tesfaye.

⁵² Informants *Ato* Heramo, *Ato* Ersido and *Ato* Abegaz.

⁵³ Lapiso, pp. *Yeitiopiya Rejim Yehizb* ..., pp. 162-163; Alebachew and Samuel, p. 57 and Tesfaye, "Kambatana Hadiya ...", pp. 96, 173 and 380.

⁵⁴ Informants *Ato* Somano, *Ato* Daniel, *Emam Ato* Ersido and *Ato* Petro.

Alaba. The pushing back of the Badawacho to their present territory led for the enmity between the Wolayita and the Badawacho. The Badawacho became bitter enemies of the Wolayta and the Alaba, whom they pushed eastwards. Therefore, the Alaba ended up along the middle of Billate River.⁵⁶

As mentioned above the Kambata people were in alliance with the Badawacho Hadiya beginning from their occupation periods. Thus, the former become enemies of the Wolayta, too. The Kambata did not sell their renowned horses to the Soro and the Wolayta, in order not to strengthen their fighting capacity. Besides this, the Kambata had marriage alliances with the Badawacho supported them militarily. From 1810 onwards to 1890s, the Kambata started to expand its territory along the Wolayta border. This was the period when the Kambata expanded its territory in all direction under famous leaders of *Woma Dogoye* (1810-1845) and his son *Woma Dilbato* (1845-1892).⁵⁷

In spite of the marriage relationship and war agreements with the Badawacho, the Kambata secretly continued their territorial expansion towards the Badawacho too. Later on the *Woma Dilbeto* of Kambata, ordered to set up fortifications in the pasture areas of southern neighbors that increased the suspicion between these both groups, while he tried to convince the Hadiya group as it was for the mutual benefit. In a way the *Woma Dilbeto* argued that, the fortifications were set up against their common enemy the wolayta and therefore due to such persuasion the Hadiya accepted the Kambata's settlement. In this way, the Kambata could have freely expanded their territories as far as Adilo, Abbonso and Siqe (inside the Badawacho) before Menelik's occupation.⁵⁸

The Soro Hadiya posed a grave danger for the Kambata in the time of Dilbato (1845-1892). As a result, together with the Lemo-Hadiya, Kambata fought the battle with the Soro Hadiya at Doyogana (some 27 km from Hossana on the Hossana-Wolayta high way). The result of this war pushed the Soro Hadiya to the Sanna River.⁵⁹ According to informants, the son of Dilebato,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid* and Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget ...*, p.123-125; Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-legal...*, pp.311-313, 318-320, 324.

⁵⁷ Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam A to Mathewos and Deneke.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid* and Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-legal Records ...*, p.89; Lapiso, *Yeitiopiya Rejim Yehizb ...*, pp.15-17, 21-23, 25.

Gagabo, was pushed across the Shonkolla Mountain to the Omo River. Nevertheless, Gagabo was killed at Shankolla and the boundary became fixed at Sanna River. In this war, both had suffered heavy casualties. Even though Kambata made an agreement with the Hadiya time and again they could not keep the peace accord. Since Kambata was a highly populated society, it was always tempted to expand its territory. That becomes the main cause for the Kambata and Hadiya conflict in the 19th c.⁶⁰

Parallel to this, informants explained that once again when the Soro-Hadiya women came to the Gamsha market in Qachabira then *Woma* Dilbato of the Kambata ordered to close the gates, so that those who were within the Kambata compounds could not go. When the Soro heard that their women captured, they took their spear and attempted to free their women by force. However, they understood that using force could have been dangerous for their women. Hence, they had to look for another solution and asked the leader of the Lemo Hadiya, Ashawyenye, who had friendly relation with the *Woma* Dilbato for mediation.⁶¹

The mediator ordered that they should swear by their spears [this was for the traditional culture of the Hadiya a specially sanctioned oath] not to fight against the Kambata anymore. The Soro-Hadiya agreed to accept the preconditions of the Ashawyenye and then the Soro-women were freed and went back to their people. This agreement ended the conflicts of the Kambata and Soro-Hadiya. Following this time both groups agreed to exchange their daughter through marriage and developed friendly relationship.⁶²

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

⁶⁰ Informants *Ato* Somano, *Ato* Daniel, *Ato* Makore and *Ato* Philipos.

⁶¹ Informants *Ato* Somano, *Ato* Daniel and *W/ro* Abebech Hosiso

⁶² *Ibid.*

the Bilate River, Adancho and Adaygita areas respectively, which were Hadiya's territory at first.⁶³

Moreover, informants also remind the existences of conflicts between the Kambata and the Arssi Oromo. They expressed that the Kambata society was highly warrior. They tried to justify their arguments by mentioning the above continuous wars between different societies. According to these informants the Kambata society were continuously fighting with the Arssi Oromo before the arrival of the Menelik's forces to the region. This took place during the famous leaders of *Woma Dogoye* (1810-1845) and his son *Woma Dilbato* (1845-1892) that expanded Kambata's territory in all direction. As mentioned above the cause of the conflict was the Kambata's continuous territorial expansion towards the grazing land of the Arssi Oromo. In such a way the Kambata controlled, some of the areas like Lagabora, Dato, Shashara and Adilo from the Arssi, the areas at present Qadida Wārāda bordering the Halaba special Wārāda. This pushed them beyond the Bilate River and the River served as the boundary.⁶⁴

Besides, such serious conflicts among the Kambata and Hadiya societies as well as with their neighbors, there were also some simple conflicts that occurred for shorter period and easily solved through arbitrations. The causes of these conflicts might be resulted from abduction, plunder of property and other socio-economic issues. Therefore, the Kambata and Hadiya societies' interaction is characterised by peace and war relationships. Above all, informants articulated that there was no fighting between the Kambata and Hadiya society after the Menelik's incorporation of the region. Thus, all the conflicts occurred before the incorporation. They expressed that following the conquest both societies come under the direct rule of the Amhara *balabats* from one center. As a result, the local people become under the influence of the *naftaña* rule were not able to excise their leading role in their socio-economic as well as political issues that become source of conflict between these societies.⁶⁵

However, these conflicts could not last long and solved easily by using the society's traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. As mentioned above the Kambata and Hadiya societies give strong value for such traditional institutions. Therefore, the Kamabata and Hadiya people had

⁶³ Informants *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Ersido* and *Ato Abegaz* and see Figure 5 Map-3 shows the territorial expansion of the Kambata in the 19thc and trade routes linking Kambata and Hadiya and with their neighbours.

⁶⁴ Informants *Ato Yaekim*, *Ato Emam*, *Ato Daniel* and *Ato Tesfaye*.

⁶⁵ Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Daniel*, *Ato Makore* and *Ato Philipos*

and continued to have more harmonious and friendly relations among themselves as well as with their neighbors, due to such common elements that tied the society together for long period.⁶⁶

2. 4. Traditional Conflict Resolution Method

Conflicts contain substantive, procedural and psychological dimensions to be negotiated and possibly resolved. Conflict resolution is referred to as conflict management, conflict regulation and dispute resolution. Thus, its mechanisms differ from society to society. The Kambata and Hadiya people maintained their own indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms. Among these societies, conflict resolution involved customary practice and relatively effective remedy.⁶⁷

In this subsection, focus on historical changes and continuities of conflict resolution mechanisms between the Kambata and the Hadiya people. Hereunder, different sources of conflicts and indigenous mechanisms used by the people to resolve conflicts are discussed. Among the society there was and still is individual or group contacts and interactions on different issues as trade, marriage and participation in different social affairs. Thus, conflicts also arise from their regular and day-to-day interactions among themselves and sometimes with their neighboring peoples. Most of the time conflict resolution needed and still needs a third party that will facilitate arbitration for negotiation.⁶⁸

Conflicts were and still are resolved by means of the meeting of elders (*nubabo* in *Kambatissa* and *lommanna* in *Hadiyyissa*) that literally stands for reconciliation through elders. The gerontocracy and *mägänancho* continued in managing justice under the proceeding called *nubahooqaa* to mean elders conciliation. The society used to deal with conflict resolution upwards from the grassroot level or verbal abuse or physical fighting among the individuals or groups. They believed that individuals must come to peace at an early stage of conflict. This was because there was fear among the society that simple disagreement might escalate into higher level of conflicts. Thus, elders used to advise and urge disputants to settle their problems before they became serious.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Gedeon, pp.118-119, 121, 124-126, 127-128; Alebachew and Samuel, p. 57; Sisay, p.4-6; Asebe, p.4.

⁶⁸ Informants *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Ersido* and *Ato Abegaz*.

⁶⁹ Yacob, pp.48-49; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Daniel* and *W/ro Abebech*.

The term *nubabo* does not necessarily show age, but the responsibility of reconciliation with skill of negotiating complicated matters. Among the society, whenever conflicts arose among individuals or groups they would appeal to the *nubaabo/lommanna*. The *nubabo* draw on different traditional mechanisms to resolve the conflicts after serious study of the underlying case. The investigation of cases would be carried out under the shade of tree, *halécho/haffa* or at one of *nubabo* or disputants' house. The conflicts related to failed promises, kidnapping, divorce, border conflicts on farmland among the individuals, between different clans and conflicts with their neighbors etc fall under *nuba-hooqaa*. The *nubaabo* use different traditional mechanisms to solve these and other problems and restore peace. They use *hidiro*, *neqaasha* and *guddo* based on the degree or seriousness of the conflicts.⁷⁰

Among the Kambata and Hadiya words of *hidiro* (oath) of innocence was and is regarded as means of conflict resolution. The *hidiro* is highly feared and respected among the society. There was a strong belief that once taken the oath would have serious consequence if the oath taker commits lying under oath. In this regard, the *nubabo* would ask the accused to take oath sayings that if I said this and that, let my tongue turns to dumb for insult, let my ears spoil, let my eyes spoil and the like. The blessing or curse institution has more than one can say and it touches all the areas of life of the society.⁷¹ As a result, the Kambata and Hadiya people did not and still do not want to take an oath in front of the elders. Rather they prefer to accept it, if they done the mistake. They also believe that they would perish if they do not swear the truth to elders in their oath. Through words of blessing or curse, the community carries out its authority. That is why most of my informants agreed up on that “*nubaabu țélléle țéllélu massa’e massaata iilitaha*” i.e. the curse or blessing of elders is unavoidable.⁷²

The *nubabo* would also use the *näqasha* (eyewitness) to investigate and to resolve conflicts. The *näqasha* were expected to witness what they saw or heard as first hand information. The *nubabo* would ask them a series of tricky questions and make observation testimony carefully to identify the truth of the information. After careful analysis of the information obtained from the witness,

⁷⁰ Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Daniel*, *Ato Makore* and *Ato Philipos*.

⁷¹ *Ibid* and *Ye Bihereeseboch Miker Bet*, pp.96- 98: Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-legal Records* ..., pp.112-113, 118-120, 124.

⁷² Informants *Ato Eriso*, *W/ro Buta* and *Ato Aman*.

they pass decisions. The decisions of nubaabo at any rate would be irreversible and binding. If the nāqasha found to witness, what they did not hear or see they would be punished seriously.⁷³

The other conflict resolution mechanism of the society was *guddo* (ritual purification) that deals with serious offences as murder. The killer and his family in seeking protection take refuge far from the victim's relatives where they could not get him. His lineage requests the *baadi nubaabo* (community elders one man from each clans) to intervene and initiate reconciliation through *gudda* ritual. To begin the ritual process the elders need one blanket and one corduroy, one black one gray sheep and one cow provided by the killer group. The rituals would formally open when both groups were by those in command of the intervening group, *nubabo*, at mid-night. Until the celebration of re-integration, the slayer and his family kept apart because the slain's family possibly may embark on vengeance.⁷⁴

To this end, the intervening group or *nubabo* keep killer's family home on the right side of the river and their counterpart at the opposite side. Yet they communicate with light signals, whence the murderer to show his remorse by slaughtering the black sheep and steps on the blood of the slain sheep. His family would do the same thing and go to the home. Symbolically, it connotes that the sheep represents the slayer and its blood was shed instead of him like his victim. The mid-night denotes hatred that occurred due to the murder.⁷⁵ Using the light signal the *nubabo* call up on the slain's family to come where the sheep is slaughtered and to step on the blood. Then the slayer had taken home where he also slaughters a gray sheep at the gate of dark house. Where by girls take the blood and mix it with milk, repeatedly shaking it and waiting for the next ceremony pronouncing that 'anyone who taunts to commit further crime would be shackled and unstable'.⁷⁶

The culprit's family, the victim's family and all attendants get into the dark house by stepping on the blood while at the gate girls drop the mixture on all who are entering the house. Then the killer greets the victim family. They would jointly wear a blanket, which would be tied by a cord. The girls would untie them and would give the blanket and the rope to the bereaved family.

⁷³ Informants *Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz* .

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ KTZCIO, pp.7-9, 11; Alebachew and Samuel, pp.22-25, 27-28; Gedeon, pp. 121, 124-126, 127-128; Informants: *Ato Somano, Ato Daniel and W/ro Abebech*.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Finally, they would light the house. This marks the celebration of re-integration. Only the members of both families would eat the meat of the sheep slaughtered at the gate to confirm re-integration. From among the intervening group, an elder slaughters the cow and allow one-third of it consumed by both family and the rest by those who attended the ritual. After that, the intervening group determines the blood price called *gumaa* (*gomme gizza*). The term *gumma* to some extent refers to a piece of meat, a hunk. Thus, the meaning of the term is related with firmness as of a hunk is indivisible which ties the flesh.⁷⁷

Still the *gomme* refers to grudge or blood feud because whichever homicide necessitates blood feud. Therefore, in both cases it denotes the cooperation among respective lineage. First, in view of that, the members of the lineage are responsible in taking the initiation of reconciliation to pay the *gumma*. Theoretically, the amount of *gumma* paid by contribution from the clan of the slayer and not to be collected to more than fixed share-out and not to serve other purpose, except blood feud. The ritual reconciliation finalized when the elders pronounce the ritual oath of promises. It goes as “hereafter, the homicide is compensated; you were reconciled and not taunt to hurt each other. Have food in each other’s house, if nothing to eat at least drink water and chew grains. Don’t grab each other land border....”.⁷⁸

With the expansion of modern education and world religions, not only the traditional religions were undermined but also the stabilizing force of in settling disputes has been lost. The subject of administering justice, which previously undertaken by traditional system was subjected to modern judicial system. Nonetheless, Aṭbiya Daña litigated cases were considered as not Sevier. The *Gudda-ganbala* ritual system has maintained its own peculiar profiles to this day. Any slayer even after his release from prison after governmental judiciary courts was expected to undertake the *gumma* ritual unless it pursues another blood due vendetta, *gomme*. Both societies’ used these institutions as a means of solving the conflicts between individuals, clans and other ethnic groups. By doing that, they maintained peace and stability among the society by creating friendship and unity. Therefore, such common elements of the society contributed for the peaceful interaction of the the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid* and *Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet*, pp.96-98; Informants *Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta and Ato Aman*.

⁷⁹ *Yacob*, pp.48-49; *Alebachew and Samuel*, pp.22-25, *Gedeon*, pp.112-113; *KTZCIO*, pp.7-9, 11: Informants *Ato Eriso, W/ro Buta and Ato Aman*.

CHAPTER THREE

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

In the previous two units, I have presented about the background and the political interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people. In this unit, I will try to discuss the role of the socio-economic activities for the inter-ethnic relations of these two societies. As discussed above, it should be clear that the Kambata and Hadiya society shared important indications of ethnicity as similar traditional practices, language, political administrative system, shared memory of history and others. There were and continue to be many factors that played great role in facilitating inter-dependence among these peoples.¹ Accordingly, common settlements, sharing common ancestry, having similar socio-economic and socio-cultural issues are the leading factors that could have facilitated the ethnic interaction among these societies. In a way, these societies shared several economic activities that could contribute for their interaction.²

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

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

However, agriculture is a general term that includes many activities as crop production, animal husbandry, forestry, horticulture fishing and the like. This section of the thesis focuses on crop production, animal husbandry, co-operative working, land tenure, crafts works and some other related agricultural activities. Moreover, the role of these activities for the Kambata and Hadiya peoples' as well as with their neighboring society's ethnic interaction could be discussed. Among various societies of Ethiopia, agricultural activities took place under a closely inter-connected foundation of farming and livestock breeding. As stated earlier in unit one; at the beginning, the

¹ Gedeon, pp.118-119, 121, 124-126; Tesfaye Habiso *Some Historical and Politico-legal ...*, pp.112-113, 118-120, 124: Informants *Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido and Ato Abegaz.*

² Informants *Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, A to Mathewos and Deneke.*

Kambata people were settled agriculturists; whereas the Hadiya practicing semi-nomadic activities. Nevertheless, later they adopted agriculture due to their closer interaction with the Kambata people. At the time, both people practice agricultural activities through ‘hoe’ (or digging stick). Later they adopted ox-drawn plough agriculture around the early 18thc, due to the augmentation of population.³

3.1.1 Crop Production

As stated under geographical location, the Kambata and Hadiya societies settled in the fertile lands of the Bilate and Omo rivers. This favorable environment diversified climatic condition and sufficient rainfall in the region enabled the society to practice different agricultural activities. Thus, the society used to cultivate various crops, for local consumption as well as for market. Like many other peoples of Ethiopia, the Kambata and Hadiya people depend mainly on seasonal rains. The peasants of the region produce maize, cabbage and other crops and vegetables. The major cereals produced in the region include wheat, téff (*Eragrotis téff*), maize, sorghum, millet, barley and oats. Oil seeds and leguminous plants produced widely in the region include beans, peas, lentils, soya beans and the like. These are mainly used for local consumption. The *dega* and the *weina dega* areas are suitable for the production of these and other seeds and plants.⁴

Moreover, red pepper, green pepper, potatoes, sweet potatoes, carrots, tomatoes, onions and others are cultivated in the region. Besides, ginger, coffee and chat have continued to be very important cash crops and plants respectively in the region. The climatic condition and soil type of the Kambata and Hadiya region are very suitable for the production of the aforementioned food crops, plants and vegetables. The diversity of the environmental conditions made possible the diversity of production.⁵

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

³ Informants: *Ato Aman*, *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Philipos*.

⁴ *Ibid* and KTZCIO, p.2.

⁵ *Ibid* and Belachew, pp.141-143; Gedeon, pp.118-119.

This climatic condition is favorable for enset plant, because in the *kolla* areas there are various plant diseases that can affect enset.⁶

Due to high population density in the Kambata and Hadiya region, land shortage is the fundamental problem of the agriculture for the people. The enset (*Weese*) has been providing the largest quantity of the Kambata and Hadiya people's foodstuff. Over forty different variants of enset have been cultivated in the region. Some of these include Dirbo, Kaseta, Bannaja, Xoroora, Gishira, Astara, Zobira, Qanciwa, and others. The Kambata and Hadiya people's agricultural life has rested on the enset cultivation that satisfied and has continued to satisfy many of their essential needs. Therefore, enset was and is a very important source of livelihood in Kambata and Hadiya region.⁷

These societies have been living together in the same communities. They have a very strong relationship with each other. They also cooperate in many activities. Agriculture served as the major means of the people's interaction, which facilitated their closer cooperation, mainly by exchanging agricultural commodities, ideas and working experiences. It also continued to have an important role by bringing different people together especially at the time of works that require huge labor force. The Kambata and Hadiya society have the experience of working together in their day-to-day life.⁸ As among many other societies of Ethiopia, farming has been labor-intensive activity. Some of the agricultural activities as sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and collecting the output done by human labor with the help of oxen that required the collaborative working of the societies.⁹

Thus, the Kambata and Hadiya people are accustomed to voluntary labor pooling and cooperative working habit. Informants mention that originally the Kambata societies had strong self-help organization. Due to the economic dependence in semi-nomadic activities, the Hadiya were not familiar with such a common and organized institution. Later they adopted these cooperative working habit to overcome difficult tasks from continued interaction with the Kambata.

⁶ Valentina Peveri. 2006. Enset, the tree of the poor: nutrition and identity in Hadiya Zone (South-Central Ethiopia), University of Bologna, Italy, pp. 2-4, 8, 11-13:: Informants *Ato Yaekim Ato Tesfaye*.

⁷ *Ibid* and Grenstedt, p.48

⁸ *Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore Onse and Ato Philipos*.

⁹ Shiferaw Jamo, "An Overview of the Economy, 1941-1974", in Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), *An Economic History of Modern Ethiopia* (Dakar: Codesria Books Series, 1995), p.5: Belachew, pp.141-143.

The *Gezima* and *Dawa* have been among the self-help working organizations that could facilitate the society's co-operation. They used *Gezima* to work together in-group. In which individuals of the same age organized for mutual benefit. The society uses such organization to perform the same type of work for the members. Some of the works done in such organizations include preparing arable land for cultivation, for weeding, harvesting, threshing, house construction and others.¹⁰

The *Dawa* is an arranged association by someone, who needs the help of friends and relatives to perform large harvest or to construct house in which the service in return is not expected. Thus, these socio-economic organizations played great role in strengthening the people's cooperation and ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya society. As these societies had strong marriage, commercial and other social ties; among themselves as well as with their neighboring societies, it is not common to separate the cooperation of the society in their ethnic bases. Therefore, performing agricultural activities in different working groups and co-operations could be one of the means that facilitated ethnic interaction between the Kambata and the Hadiya people.¹¹ This could be further discussed below.

3.1.2. The Co-operative Working as a Means of Interaction

The Kambata and Hadiya society's cooperative practice on different agricultural activities could be one means for the people-to-people relations. The people believe that, they can survive socially and economically only when they build a community. In a way, they created different institutions and voluntary self-help organizations. Some of the factors that force the society to work in groups and organize these voluntary self-help organizations include difficult works that need short period, like harvesting and house construction. Moreover, the the society's assumption that considered voluntary self-help organizations as social security contributed for their reliance on such organizations. Both reasons base on the social support principle. Since the bases of the voluntary self-help, associations are cultural, religious, economic and political institutions, norms, etc. The associations have moral dimensions that everybody has a moral obligation to belong to them.¹²

¹⁰ Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Belachew, pp.175-176, 177-179: Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Demisa, Ato Mengistu.*

Some of the common self-associations in the socio-economic and socio-cultural life of the Kambata and Hadiya society include *Gezima*, *Dawa*, *Wijjo*, *Onna Seera* and others. As mentioned earlier, the *Gezima* is a cooperative group, in which members of the group come together to perform usually the same type of work for the members. The members are mostly of the same age so that the rate of output could be balanced, since service in return is expected. The kinds of works they perform are cutting grass, harvesting enset, plowing during the sowing season, preparing arable land for cultivation, weeding and the like.¹³

The *Dawa* is a cooperative group, called by one who needs the help of friends and relatives. No service in return is required. The number of the participants in the *Dawa* is big. The one who summons the *Dawa* prepares good food for his working guests. The main task of *Dawa* is mostly harvesting, preparing arable lands for cultivation, cutting *Duffa* (covering roof for traditional, conical houses), etc. The participants are between 20-40 years old. This association is only for men. Thus, these socio-economic organizations played great role in strengthening the people's cooperation and ethnic interaction among the society.¹⁴

Informants ascertain that, at the time of organizing *Dawa* the responsibility of organizing members of the *Dawa* could be given for one man, who could be closer relative or friend for the one who needs the *Dawa*. Most of the time, they prefer the husband of their daughter's, sister's or closer relative's. That locally called *Balaaka Boki Dawa* in Kambata or *Balichi Olla Dawa* in Hadiya. It means the *Dawa* for the daughter's family or relatives. As stated above, due to inter-marriage of Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other neighboring peoples and states, it could be one means that organize people from different parts. In a way, it facilitated the ethnic interaction between these co-operative participants.¹⁵

The *Seera* of the Kambata and Hadiya in wider sense represents; institutions, laws, labour division, norms, etc. However, in this time *Seera* in a narrow sense used to refer the burial society that exists in each village. This voluntary self-help association locally called *Onna Seera*. Members of the society had specific duties to perform in the *Onna Seera*; that could be under

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid* and Tesfaye Habiso, *Some Historical and Politico-lega ...*, pp. 393-394.

¹⁵ Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, Ato Demisa, Ato Mengistu.*

Heera or *Illamo Seera*.¹⁶ Informants remind that, the *Bokki Seera* includes members of the society who claim the same lineage and clan. As discussed above the settlement of the *Illamo* or the clan was not limited to specific villages. The members of the clan may settle in many places within the territories of the Kambata or Hadiya as well as other neighboring states and very far regions like Metahara, Natheret, Arssi, etc. To perform the *Onna Seera* members of the *Illamo* could come together from nearby and far places. The representatives of the *Illamo* could organize all the activities and programs of the *Onna*.¹⁷

Moreover, informants explain that the members of the *Illamo* could provide financial support to a deceased family by collecting from members. There are also instances in which members of the *Illamo* could provide such financial supports for their members; when they faces great loss of property like burning of the house, if individuals lose many cattle or when the member of the *Illamo* is killed by external body and to follow the judicial process. This is locally called *Wozino*. Such co-operative activities are some of the means that bring people from different regions together and facilitate their interaction.¹⁸

Under the *Heera Seera*, members of the *Heera* could have the responsibilities to participate in the works of the funeral ceremonies. The *Heera* members perform all the works of the funeral ceremonies as well as supporting the families of the deceased after the accomplishment of the ceremony. When somebody dies, the family of the deceased does not perform any kind of work for a long period, unless the deceased is very young. Members of the *Heera* are supposed to provide the family with food, drinks, firewood, sowing if it is sowing season, hoeing, weeding, etc. Whereas, water fetching and supplying of food is the duty of the women of the *Heera*, the men provide firewood and perform the rest of the work. The later have to put up tents for guests, dig the grave, make the coffin (out of timber), organize the burial ceremony, slaughter a cow, bring grain to the mill in order to cook for guests coming from distance places, etc.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Ibid* and Tesfaye Sodeno, "Mourning and Burial Customs among the Kambata", B.A. Thesis, (Addis Ababa University Sociology Department, 1984), pp.16-18.

¹⁷ *Ibid* and Informants *Ato Emam*, *Ato Yaekim* and *Ato Daniel*.

¹⁸ Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Petro*, *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Makore* and *Ato Philipos*.

¹⁹ Tesfaye Sodeno, pp.16-18: Braukamper, 1983, p.215: Informants: *Ato Aman*, *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Makore* and *Ato Philipos*.

Not performing in these, *Heera* duties have serious consequences for the member of the *Heera* like sanctions. The sanctions of the *Heera* include confiscating different household items. Nevertheless, the heaviest sanctions would exclude the families from any social participation, which in local term called *Yaayya* (excommunicate). In a society like Kambata and Hadiya that highly depend on the neighbors such sanctions are what each member of the society fears. Therefore, the life of these people is described by an existential dependence on the others. The absolute indispensability of the *Seera* in the *Heera* is common not only limited in Kambata and in the Hadiya society.²⁰

Many traditional societies have created different voluntary self-help associations to overcome different socio-cultural and economic problems. These organizations provide social security for them. When the Kambata and the Hadiya people say “*Seeru yobaich ay moogano?*” which means ‘who buries if not the *Seera*’ they emphasize not only the significance of the *Seera* during the burial ceremony, but also its indispensability in the socio-cultural, economic and political regulations. Politically, *Seera* play an important role by negotiating between different parties who have territorial disputes and if necessary by imposing sanctions as excommunicating the guilty.²¹

Socio-culturally, the *Seera* guarantee the cultural values and norms of the Kambata and Hadiya people. Economically, it is an organization, which fosters mutual aid and co-operation. This economic dimension goes beyond the scope of the *Onna Seera*. As stated above, these socio-economic organizations had played a great role and continued to be significant in inter-connecting the society. Thus, the role of voluntary self-help organizations as *Gezima*, *Dawa*, *Wijjo*, *Onna Seera* and others was and continued to be indispensable for the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and the Hadiya societies.²²

3.1.3. Livestock Breeding

In Ethiopia there were and are various types of animals that live under different climatic regions. Some sources indicate that Ethiopia’s livestock population is one of the largest in Africa.²³ In

²⁰ *Ibid* and Getahun Arega, “A Brief History of Hadiya from 1050 to present”, Paper presented in the *Symposium on the Language, History, Culture and Folklore of the Hadiya People* (Hossana, 1997 E.C.), pp.4-6.

²¹ *Ibid*.

²² Informants, *Ato Abose*, *Ato Somano*, *Ato Demisa*, *Ato Mengistu*.

²³ Bahru, p.191: Shiferaw, pp58-60.

many societies of Ethiopia, livestock breeding is closely associated with their socio-economic and socio-cultural history.²⁴ The Kambata and Hadiya people are part of such societies, whose socio-economic history had long tradition of livestock breeding. Animal husbandry has multiple functions for these societies. They plough exclusively using oxen. Cattle are source of milk and milk products. In addition to this, the manure of these animals is highly used as organic fertilizers, while the dried manure serves as a source of fuel. At earlier times, the people produced clothes from skins and hides of these animals locally.²⁵

Moreover, the importance of livestock breeding is beyond these economic values among the Kambata and Hadiya societies. Animal husbandry had much socio-cultural and socio-economic significance. They considered cattle as measure of social values. In the former times the possession of wider land and as many cattle as possible was considered a sign of good economic position and high social esteem.²⁶ They also measured it as a sign of blessing for the family and its generation depending on the amount of the possessed land and cattle. Therefore, it was not encouraged to sell once cattle and land among the society. Cattle have largely higher social significance for the Hadiya, who lived for centuries as nomadic herdsman, than in an agricultural society like Kambata. Both societies are accustomed to raise cattle as capital saving, as sign of wealth and showing of their property and prestige.²⁷

Animal husbandry and farming in Kambata and Hadiya are functionally inter-connected. Animal husbandry without land cultivation is impossible, because cattle fodder is usually the remnant of agricultural products. To subsist only on animal husbandry is not possible, since there is huge shortage of pastureland, due to over population. To live only on farm products is also difficult, because of the need of milk and milk products. Since milk cannot be bought among the society and the manure of the domestic animals is significant for the cultivation of some plants like enset, cabbage, etc. Furthermore, as we have seen above, domestic animals have the significance of social value measurement.²⁸

²⁴ Solomon Haile-Mariam, *Animal Health Review: Ethiopia 1972-1979* (Addis Ababa, no date), p.10.

²⁵ Braukamper and Tilahun mishamo, p.24; Informants, *Ato Abose, Ato Somano, and Ato Petro*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid* and Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Daniel*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Livestock Breeding was and continued to be among the socio-economic activities that tied the Kambata and Hadiya society together. They share many activities, which could facilitate their closer co-operation and interaction along with the people. Some of the activities could be exchange of animals and animal products through trade as well as other social practices. In addition, there were also other social institutions related to animal husbandry like *Wogano* practice and the practice of *Kumisaa*, self-help practices related to livestock breeding that strengthen the social ties among the people. There has been long established practices of celebrating a feast of significance, where cattle would be counted, blessed and the owners would be given honorary titles. This traditional practice locally called the *Wogana/Xibana* practice.²⁹

The *Wogano* practice is huge and highly respected ceremony among the societies. The ceremony is arranged for the counting of the cattle of the man, whose cattle numbered up to hundred for the first time and the man was given the honorary titles. The Kambata and Hadiya society believed that the possession of a hundred or thousand cattle involves long process and hard work. Thus, the cattle owners, whose cattle numbered up to hundred could be considered heroes and would get new names through the *Wogana* ceremony. In a way, they were called *Maharancho* or *Woganancho* among the Hadiya and *Xibana* among the Kambata. The ceremonial practice could need long time and huge preparation. They prepare honey, butter, bulls (for slaughter) and different types of traditional foods and drinks. Besides such preparation, relatives of the cattle owner, his close friends, community elders and those who had passed through a similar experience would be invited.³⁰

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

²⁹ Informants: *Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Philipos.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya was very great, by interconnecting people from distant and nearby areas.³¹

Furthermore, there were and continue to exist various self-help practices related with cattle breeding. From these the *Wozino* and *Lali Seera* are the main ones. The society organized these practices mainly to help each other at bad times. This is because individuals might face loss of some or all of their cattle due to various cattle diseases. In such cases, they used the *Wozino* and *Lali Seera* to assist the man who face such loses. They used *Wozino* to help the man recover from the loss by contributing money from his clan members. In a way the *Wozino* is only limited to ones lineage groups.³²

They used *Lali Seera* to support the man, who faces such a serious loss of his cattle from the members of that *Seera*. This is voluntary association organized by community members, but not on the bases of blood relation. Thus, all such traditional practices related with cattle breeding played a big role in inter-connecting these societies. Accordingly, the *Woganancho* or *xibana* ceremony, the *Kumaamo* title, the *Wozino* and *Lali Seera* practices served as socio-economic institutions that could inter-connect different societies in the region. Therefore, such socio-economic and socio-cultural practices could facilitate ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya societies as well as with other neighboring societies.³³

However, there was change in livestock breeding after the Menelik's conquest in the Kambata and Hadiya society. The peasants lost their rights of land possession and the conquerors expropriated the peasant's cattle by the name of different taxes as well as they could take main fatten cattle to slaughtering for different ceremonies and holidays. These actions by the Amhara settlers' greatly discouraged the cattle breeding in the region and that decreased the number of the cattle among the Kambata and Hadiya peasants.³⁴ Informants stated that the Italian period saw little improvement in this regard. The Italians had given the freedom for the peasants for the land possession and property ownership. As a result, during the Italian period the Kambata and

³¹ Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Abegaz*, *Ato Petro* and *Ato Daniel*.

³² Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Yaekim*, *Ato Emam* and *Ato Sebro Wasoro*.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Getahun, pp.12-13: Informants, *Ato Abose*, *Ato Somano* and *Ato Petro*.

Hadiya societies continued to practice their former socio-economic activities. That encouraged the society to continue cattle breeding and performing activities related with it.³⁵

After 1941 officials of the imperial regime had direct administrative control over the Kambata and Hadiya cattle herders, in a way the officials abused by exacting cattle for the officials own use. That again discouraged the society's cattle breeding during the imperial period. Moreover, there was no much improvement in the life of cattle herders even following the 1974 Ethiopian revolution. The military regime's agricultural policy encouraged the cultivation of more land that reduced the size of grazing land in the region. Therefore, the previous pasturelands were covered with plants and crops and the remaining grazing land was overgrazed. Due to these factors, the period between 1941 and 1991 was marked by the reduction of the quality and the quantity of the Kambata and Hadiya cattle.³⁶

The period after 1991 saw a few improvements in the field of livestock breeding in the region. The new government granted the freedom of property and land ownership. Due to The changes in the new government's economic policy land was redistributed for the peasants. The redistributed land for the peasants was the former *nafta*'s possession or free land. However, the Kambata and Hadiya people got freedom of property ownership; the society abandoned their tradition of possessing large number of cattle as before the incorporation period. Some of the reasons for this include the increase of population size and continued redistribution of the available land reduced the size of the grazing land in the region. Besides the awareness of the society increased, that led them to focus on quality than quantity.³⁷

Aboveall the socio-economic practices related to livestock breeding played their part in facilitating people's interaction. Therefore, the *Woganancho* ceremony, the *Kumaamo* title, the *Wozino* and *Lali Seera* practices related to livestock breeding strengthen the social ties among the people. In a way, livestock breeding and its related practices contributed for the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people.³⁸

³⁵ Informants, Ato Asaro, Ato Emam and Ato Ersido

³⁶ *Ibid* and Gedeon, pp.20-21.

³⁷ Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Somano and Ato Petro.

³⁸ *Ibid*.

3.1.4 Crafts Work Among the Kambata and Hadiya people

The Kambata and Hadiya society used various handcraft in their day-to-day activities; locally made by the people or exchanged through trade from the neighboring people. As common to any other society, these people had the experience of doing different handcraft from locally available materials like clay, skin, *qancha* (fiber like structure from enset), animal horns, iron, stone and others. These items are parts of the people's culture and identity. These craft works could be used for different purposes. Some of the craftworks and their functions include for preparing and eating various food items like *soro'o*, *leemata* etc (are made of an especial grass called *duffa*). The *buux qasha/buud mooqo* (spoon made of horn) used for eating porridge, *xenqo'o* (a cup made of clay, it is used to drink milk), *qure'e* (a pot made of clay; it is used to cook various food items like potatoes, *ha'michcho*, cabbage and others).³⁹

There are some materials locally made and used for holding materials like *zaambeela* (made of *kancha* or fiber like tinny rope from enset). It is made from *zambaba* leaf and used as female's bag and holding material. *Qara* or container (made of bamboo and used to collect coffee, potatoes, maize and others). Moreover, *ma'inna* (beds) made of trees and animals skin, rope or from timber, *barchu'ima* (benches) used to sit down and made from timber or different tree types. There are also locally made materials used as jewelries and many other functions.⁴⁰

Moreover, labor classification was and is common among the society. In most cases, those who work these crafts were named after the item they work. For example, those who work materials made of clay are called as *shekla seri* or *fuga* (potters); ironworkers are called *tumaanno* or *qatiqachi*; wood workers were called *qenaaxee* or *anaatsi* (carpenters); those who work items from skins and hides were called *faqi* or *awado* and the like. These people were and are despised social groups among the Kambata and Hadiya society. However, there are some improvements recently due to expansion of the modern education and religious preaching among the society; still there is a sign of using derogative names towards craft workers among the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁴¹

³⁹ Getahun, p.45: Belachew, pp.168-170: Informants, *Ato Abose*, *Dana Atiso* and *Imam Desta*.

⁴⁰ Informants, *Ato Abose*, *Imam Desta* and *W/ro Erome*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

However, these materials and local technologies are very important for the society in their day-to-day activities; culturally people who make these items were undermined until very recently. As common to any society, the Kambata and Hadiya people share these craft works mainly from their neighboring societies. Due to socio-economic and socio-cultural inter-connection among these people, there is similarity in using these crafts. Besides buying the item from other areas, it was common among the society to bring the people skilled with these craft from other neighboring areas. For example, well skilled men in house construction, clothe making and those people skilled in making different house hold furnitures can move from one place to the other without ethnic boundary. Such interactions and inter-dependences of the people further facilitated their ethnic interaction among themselves as well as with neighboring peoples.⁴²

3.1.5. Land Tenures system

For performing agricultural activities, the ownership of the land is very important. However, the discussion of the land tenure is very complex to deal in depth; the basic features of the changes and continuity are highlighted in this section. Land tenure is among the main factors that affect agricultural productivity. Before Menelik's conquest, land was owned through inheritance by kinship or lineage by families at a clan level in Kambata and Hadiya region. The *Seera* (customary law) of the society used to distribute and administer land among various households. In a way, elders had a big role in administering all questions related to land.⁴³

According to the tradition of the society, male children could inherit the lands of their fathers. Children could also partition the lands of their fathers among themselves while he was alive. Apart from inheritance, the people could take free and unoccupied land in groups by the recognition of the community elders.⁴⁴ However, this traditional land holding system was not unique to the Kambata and Hadiya society; it was common among the many peoples' like Wolayta.⁴⁵ "Communal land tenure has been a feature of the system of land holding in every

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Getahun, p.18: Informants, *Ato Asaro* and *Ato Ersido*

⁴⁴ Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Petro*, *Ato Heramo* and *Ato Kassa*.

⁴⁵ Feleke Mitiku, "Land tenure system and trade in Wolayta (1830s-1941)", B.A Thesis (Addis Ababa University History Department, 1999), p.17: Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Yaekim*, *Ato Emam* and *Ato Sebr Wasoro*

society at some stage of its history.”⁴⁶ Many African countries had communal land ownership, especially in the pre-colonial period.⁴⁷

Under communal land ownership, all the children of the supposed founding father could claim and obtain land. Similarly, as among many other societies, the Kambata and Hadiya people claim the right to land possession through considering ones patrilineal descent. Under normal circumstances, only men could inherit land, while that denied the right of women inheritance partly because the people feared that land could be transferred to the husbands from other clan. Nevertheless, women could inherit land in the absence of men. As part of their inheritances, women would be given enough property in the form of gifts or *gegeeyya*, when they got married. In addition, their husbands were expected to have enough land that supports his family. The traditional land holding system was changed since 1890s due to the conquest of Menelik II. The incorporation enabled the ruling class to control the peasants land through the tribute system and various land holding rights.⁴⁸

The major forms of land tenure systems applied in the Kambata and Hadiya areas are *madarya* (land in lieu of salary), *yämängist mārét* (the government land), *yägaša mārét* (measured land), *yäbalabat mārét* (local officer’s land), *yägemit mārét* (estimate-measured land) and the like. Therefore, following the incorporation officials who played important role during the occupation period and those who have closer contact with the government owned *yägaša mārét*. The local official appropriated *yäbalabat mārét* whereas his relatives and other officials owned *yägemit mārét*.⁴⁹ The letter from Minister of Interior to Police Force Office verifies the data obtained from informants. The letter states about the amount of the land, that the officials possessed. Accordingly, fifteen *gaša* land was given to each *naftaña* whereas one to five *gaša* to participants of Adwa. Mostly, the part of archive suggests that the Amhara used to live on the land that they inherited with its *gäbbar* that granted to their fathers and grandfathers as *madarya* since incorporation and the battle of Adwa.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ J.C.D.Lawrence, *Communal Land Tenure in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 1963), p.2.

⁴⁷ Sara Bery, "Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land", *Africa*, Vol. 62.3, 1992, p.31.

⁴⁸ Informants, *Ato Abose*, *Ato Somano*, and *Ato Petro*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ See the letter at Appendix-G.

Therefore, the Amhara settlers granted land in lieu of salary for their participation in the incorporation of the Kambata and Hadiya according to both oral and archival accounts. Such land appropriation also continued even after Menelik, during the reign of Iyasu and Zewiditu. According to oral tradition, the immigrant rulers and settlers expropriated and took the fertile land, which the Kambata and Hadiya were using before. Tesfaye expressed similar information to the informants “...naḥḥaḥa (armed settlers) from the north expropriated all the lands of the Kambata and Hadiya. As a result they ruled over them with cruelty and exploitation that reduced the local peoples to the level of slavery and miserable tenancy in the land of their forefathers.” This shows that the government monopolized the Kambata and Hadiya peoples’ land until 1970s land reform proclamations.⁵¹

Informants explain that between 1937 and 1941 the Kambata and Hadiya got limited access to land through the Italians, who abolished the gäbbar system as explained earlier. At the time, the Italians terminated the feudal exploitation. Slave trade was not practiced after the Italian period.⁵² Accordingly, it terminated feudalism and slave trade. As a result, Italian occupation ended exploitative feudalism until it was reinstated after the liberation of the country from Italians. Contrary to ending exploitative feudalism, the Italians also collected different kinds of taxes like firewood, grains, honey, eggs, milk, butter, goats and sheep for meat consumption and intensive labor as well. Moreover, the productive power was killed in addition to it had been serving the Italians interest than own economic right.⁵³

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

⁵¹ Tesfaye, *Some Historical...*, p. 140: Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Ersido* and *Ato Abegaz*.

⁵² Informants: *Ato Asefa G/tsadiq*, *Ato Gibore*, *Ato Danamo*, and *Ato G/tsadiq* and see archive on appendix B.

⁵³ Informants: *Ato Mathewos*, *Ato Balayneh* and *Ato Deneke* and See archive on appendix B.

and Qadida-Gamela. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya was ruled under Arsi *Teqlay-Gezat* until 1960s when the latter became Shawa *Teqlay-Gezat* and Addis Ababa replaced Asela.⁵⁴

However, the administrative region consisted of Kambata, Hadiya, Ṭāmbaro and Alaba; it was named as the Kambata *Awraja*. As mentioned above, several reasons were given for the choosing the *Awraja* name to be called by the numerically minority Kambata compared to Hadiya. Some of the reasons include the Kambata were less revolutionary society in comparison with the Hadiya, Alaba, Ṭāmbaro, etc. Besides this, the Kambata had obvious early links with northern Ethiopia. Moreover, the Bergano's effort in changing the name of the whole area to "Residenza del Cambatta" during Italian period is ideal contribution to apply this name over the others. Furthermore, they used Kambata as a strategic position to occupy the neighboring peoples. That was why they usually chose the Kambata to make their political focal point and the *Awraja* name called after Kambata.⁵⁵

On the other side, the Hadiya majority persistently struggled for the *Awraja* name to be modified into *Hadiyana-Kambata Awraja*. Their request was deprived and some of them were accused as conflict instigators in the *Awraja*, according to the archival source. Accordingly, Qagnazmach Seyoum Anoré, Haile Gebremichael, Haile Arfičo and Abebe Bušuro were supposed to be troublemakers. Haile Woldemikael and Haile Arfičo tried to ensure that they were not conflict instigators. Rather they tried to show the request of Hadiya people that needs to modify to the name of the *Awraja* into *Hadiyana-Kambata* like Čabona Gurage, *Tagulatna-Bulga* etc.⁵⁶

After the implementation of the administrative structures, the Emperor Haile Selliasie moved to recognize provincial administration and the collection of taxes. In such objective, the emperor took successive actions on land and introduced many tax reforms in the country. That intended to generate a means of state revenue. Like other areas, the post-liberation period brought land measurement, land sales and privatization of many land in the Kambata and Hadiya region. Land was classified in to four categories by law. These were yāmāngist mārét, *Siso* or yābalabat mārét, *Maderiya* (temporarily given to government officials), and Semon meret (land given to the

⁵⁴ Alebachew and Samuel, p. 113; Lapiso, *Abiyotawi...*, p. 119, 121; Braukamper, *Die Kambata*, p. 289; Informants, *Ato Abegaz, Ato Abose, Ato Somano and Ato Petro* and See the titles in archives in appendices E-J.

⁵⁵ Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 101-105: Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Daniel*.

⁵⁶ Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 101-105: Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Seburo and Ato Kassa* and See part of the verification to Public Peace and Security at Archival Sources on Appendices A₁-A₅.

church on permanent basis). In return, these lands were divided among the government, the local chief or the church, which had their own share over the land.⁵⁷

In a way, the imperial regime was intensively involved in land issues after 1941 in the Kambata and Hadiya region as elsewhere in Ethiopia. It began to take punitive measures, particularly on those who were recognized to be ‘collaborators’ with the fascist forces during the occupation years; the prime mechanism of punishment was land alienation and eviction. Consequently, number of poor peasants lost their land. The government was also engaged in distributing land among its officials and political appointees whom it considered loyal to the emperor. Overall, the officials of Haile Sellasie, his soldiers, the Orthodox Church and local chiefs, commonly called *balabatocho*, had large possessions of the Kambata and Hadiya lands between 1941 and 1974. Local *balabats* served in different capacities and were given free holdings. As a result, poor peasants in the region were land less and had been living a miserable life during the imperial period.⁵⁸

The *Qalad* system (named after the rope used to measure land during the imperial regime) was another big drive against the Kambata and Hadiya’s agriculture in general and peasant land holdings in particular. After the introduction of the *Qalad* system land was measured simply by using ropes and given to different *balabats* and government officials. The *Qalad* system facilitated the expropriation of the Kambata and Hadiya land. After the measurement, government could take any land that it considered ‘extra’. However, most lands that the government expropriated through the *Qalad* were not ‘extra’ lands. In a way, *Qalad* enabled the state to appropriate large areas of land either for its own benefit or for that of individuals and institutions it wanted to reward.⁵⁹

Moreover, the *chisegnas* had to render labor services that included grinding grains, tiling land, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, mending fences, constructing houses, collecting firewood, herding cattle and other related activities. Such activities of the peasants performed to the *balabats* in the region served as a means of people’s interaction. At the time, the Kambata and Hadiya region from one center and the Amhara *balabats* had several *gaṣas* in the region that

⁵⁷ *Ibid* and see the archive at Appendix E and F.

⁵⁸ Informants: *Ato* Heramo, *Ato* Abegaz and *Ato* Daniel.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* and Geber Wold Ingda, pp.305-306.

was not arranged in the ethnic bases of the society. Thus, people from Kambata and Hadiya could perform different activities for their *balabats* that accelerated their interaction in the period under discussion. Moreover, this common rule enabled both societies to attend different meetings at common. These hastened their mobilities to and from their administrative centers become source of their interaction in the time.⁶⁰

Besides these services, the *chisegnas* had to pay taxes in various base; like annual fixed amount of taxes, *asrat* (tithe) and tribute in kinds. Failure to fulfill all or some of the abovementioned burdens meant automatic eviction from land. Hence, peasants have to make up all payments and services despite the fact that whether they got surplus production or not. As indicated by informants many peasants fled to Jimma, Shashamane, Addis Ababa, Nzareth, Wonji, Dire Dawa and Metehara in search of job opportunities. Above all, the agricultural performance in Kambata and Hadiya declined. As a result, the economic condition of the peasants was declined.⁶¹

As stated above the land, holding system was changed in the Kambata and Hadiya region following Menelik's conquest in the late 19thc. Consequently, local people lost most of their productive lands to the new Amhara settlers and government's officials. That forced the local poor peasants to work on the lands of these officials and settlers or migrate to the towns and cities or to other areas. The increased nobilities of poor peasants, the coming of new Amhara settlers to the Kambata and Hadiya region and their intermixing with the local people increased the degree of ethnic interaction in the period under discussion.⁶²

Some changes were brought after the 1974 Revolution that nationalized the land. In a way, the 1975 land reform proclamation ended the *melkenga-chiseгна* relationships. Following this, the Derg organized different peasant associations and unions in Kambata and Hadiya *awuraja* to implement its agricultural policy. During the Derg regime, the peasants got some rights to land possession by the land redistribution policy. Even though the Derg tried to improve the peasant agriculture by its development through cooperative campaign, it was not successful as expected.⁶³

⁶⁰ Informants: Ato Shuramo, Ato Yaekob, Ato Heramo and Ato Yaekim.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Informants, Ato Abose, Ato Somano, and Ato Petro.

⁶³ Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil Ediget ...*, p.125; Kidane Mengisteab, *Ethiopia: Failure of Land Reform Crisis*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1999, p.24.

Some of the mentioned factors that discourage agricultural productivity in this period include heavy taxation, shortages of fertilizers, forced villagization and resettlement schemes. Moreover, there were increasing grievances among the peasants who were forced to sell their produce to the government at the fixed price. These weakened the decision-making of the peasants and in reverse; it undermined the agricultural performances of the peasants. There was some decline in agricultural productivity during the Derg regime. The land redistribution and villagization policy played some role in facilitating ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other peoples of the region.⁶⁴

Moreover, the *chisegnas* had to render different services like grinding grains, tiling land, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, mending fences, constructing houses, collecting firewood, herding cattle and other related activities. This activity became center of the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction at the time. Besides, their common administration and participating in different socio-economic and political activities together facilitated these societies' ethnic interaction.⁶⁵

3.2. The Kambata and Hadiya Interaction through Trade

Commercial activities were and are a big channel of communication between different peoples who produce goods and those who consume these goods. As in all economies specializing in primary activities Ethiopian economy depend on the export of primary products and intermediate goods, industrial raw materials and consumer goods. Internally local markets and long-distance trade played a big part for inter-connecting different peoples and for the national economy of the country. Trade was carried out in local markets and in long-distance trade that joins different markets usually conducted for the exchange of agricultural and craft products. Hence, trade enables people to exchange goods, ideas, technologies and the like.⁶⁶

In a way, marketing in the Kambata and Hadiya include supplying agricultural and non-agricultural products on the markets; retailing products within different parts of the regions. It also includes transaction of the products from other parts of the country; distributing industrial

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

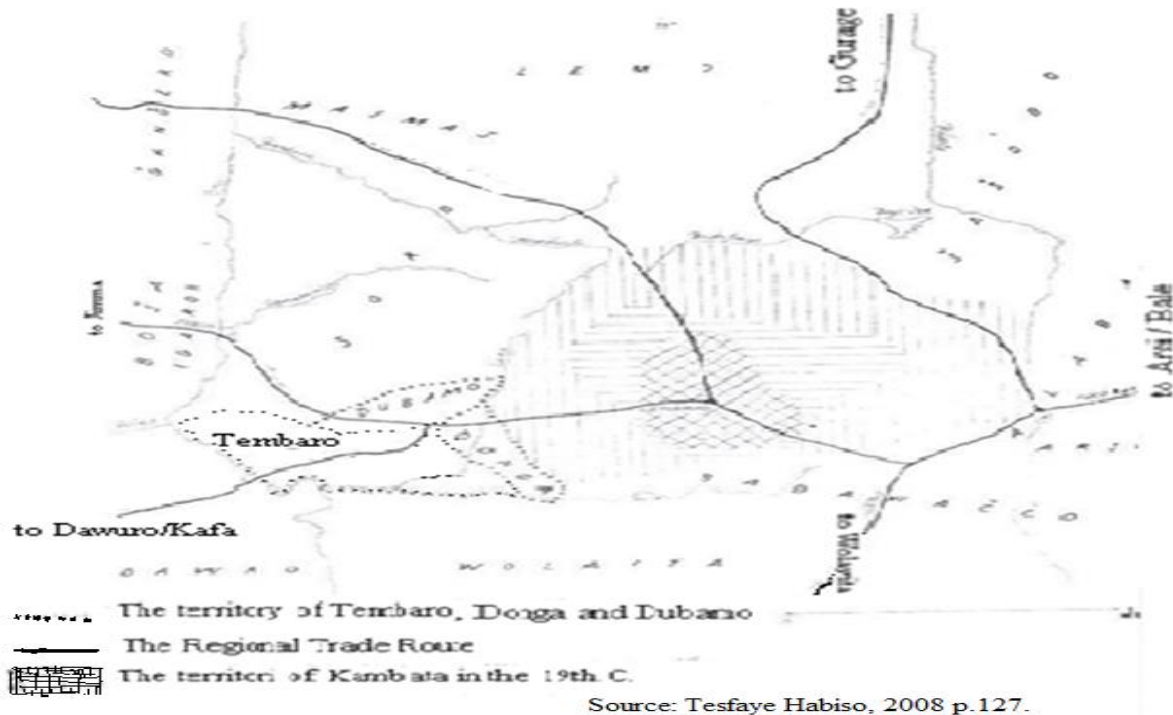
⁶⁵ Informants: *Ato Shuramo, Ato Yaekob, Ato Heramo and Ato Yaekim.*

⁶⁶ Alemayehu Lirensu, *The Function of Periodic Markets in Kambata and Hadiya Awuraja Seminar Paper* (Addis Ababa University, 1983), p.7 ; Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Yaekim, Ato Emam, Ato Sebros and Ato Kassa.*

manufactured items; export of different products to different regions in Ethiopia or to the central market in Addis Ababa etc. Periodic markets are important centers in which the economic life of the urban as well as rural peoples depends. These markets are not only service centers for the local people but also outlets for commodities marketed and distributed by the government.⁶⁷

Trade could be conducted among various states or within a state. Moreover, it became an important source of income to the Kambata and Hadiya people for long period both among themselves and with other territories.⁶⁸ The people have very strong trade connection with the each other as well as with their neighboring communities such as Wolaita, Gurage, Silte, Ṭāmbaro, Yem and the Oromiya regional state and others. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya society maintained a long tradition of commercial activity both within and beyond their territories that could facilitated the ethnic interaction of these societies.⁶⁹ The map below shows the Kambata's territorial expansion and the main trade routes that inter-connect the Kambata and Hadiya as well as other regions through long distance trade in the 19thc.

Figure 8 Map-3 showing the trade routes in the 19thc linking Kambata and Hadiya with their neighbours



⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Gedeon, pp.39-40; Belachew, pp.172-173; Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo and Ato Kassa.*

As stated earlier, the major means of the Kambata and Hadiya society interaction is commercial ties, different economic activities and cultural ties. Thus, commercial activity denotes a big channel for the interaction of the society. Concerning such continued interactions informants expressed that the Kambata and Hadiya society have day-to-day inter-connections by the trade activities. Similarly, both societies have commercial interaction with their neighboring peoples. The local markets are the most regular place for such interactions and transactions. In the context of long distance trade of the past centuries, the people's participation closely associated to the slave trade.⁷⁰

In addition, informants indicated that Kambata and Hadiya have regular commercial contacts with Wolayita, Alaba, Ṭāmbaro, and others at the market centers of Kuluto, Araka, Gimbecho, Doyogena, Durame, Adilo, Hossana, Jajura, Homecho, Shishicho, Shone, Hadaro, and Mudula because of their geographical and long established neighborliness.⁷¹ However, transportation problem and difficulty of the roads in the region become among the major challenges for the trade at times. Some roads were constructed after the 1950s by the collaboration of the people and government. From the major roads constructed at the time, two of them were the highway that connect Hossana to Alemgena and the highway that connect Hossana to Wolayta. These roads were constructed in the early 1960s and others were constructed in the latter years. The Kambata and Hadiya people contributed money and participated in labor work during the construction of these roads.⁷²

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

1. the Hossana-Butajira-Alemgena-Addis Ababa grave road constructed in 1962 (now Asphalted):
2. the Hossana Lera-Wolkite-Addis Ababa (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Abegaz* and *Ato Desta Lenjibo*.

⁷² Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Yaekim*, and *Ato Emam* and A Letter from *Qegnasmach Ruga Ashame* to General Yilma Shibeshi, reference No. 5234/651/62, 1962 E.C see the letters at Appendix-H and Appendix-H.

3. the Hossana-Butajira-Zeway-Nazareth-Diredawa (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
4. the Shone-Boditi-Wolayta Sodo-Arbaminch Asphalted road:
5. the Hossana-Angacha-Damboya-Alaba-Shashamane (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
6. the Hossana-Angacha-Damboya-Durame-Shone gravel road:
7. the Hossana-Shishicho- Durame-Awasa road (partly gravel, partly Asphalted):
8. the Hossana-Hadero-Mudula gravel road:
9. the Mudula-Hadero-Shishicho-Durame-Adilo-Halaba-Shashamane (partly gravel, partly Asphalted) are some of important roads that facilitated trade activities in the region.⁷³

Before the constructions of these roads, the commercial activity was limited to a small-scale local trade. However, later on, traders began to visit distant market centers. Such inter-connection of the Kambata and Hadiya among themselves as well as with their neighboring regions facilitated the people-to-people interaction and socio-economic interdependences. Moreover, these commercial activities and social inter-dependences of the people contributed to the very high ethnic interaction in the region. The development of large-scale trade is mostly a recent phenomenon in the Kambata and Hadiya region, except for the slave trade of the past.⁷⁴

For instance, the Hadiya had regular commercial ties with the kingdoms of Jimma, Limmu Enarya and others in the Qebena market in the northern part. The strategic location of Qebena played a big part in the commercial activities. In time, the Qebena market becomes one of the busiest trade centers in the region.⁷⁵ As a result, it becomes a trading center for the people of Qebena, Gurage, Hadiya, Jimma and other areas. Moreover, the Kambata and Hadiya merchant used to exchange goods in the markets of Sodo, Areka, Mudula, Hadero and Shone. The Badawacho Hadiya had regular commercial contacts with the Wolayta, Kambata, Alaba and Ṭāmbaro areas because of their geographical closeness and long established hospitality.⁷⁶

On the other hand, merchants who came from Gurage and Silte used to visit Hadiya frequently. Even today, the Gurage and Silte traders dominate the retail transaction particularly in Hossana town. Therefore, trade served as good means of peaceful co-existence among different ethnic

⁷³ Geber Wold, pp.305-306: Informants: *Ato Aman, Ato Heramo, Ato Makore and Ato Philipos.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Alemayehu, p.7: Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo.*

group. Moreover, it shows the significances of the trade that encouraged ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other neighboring peoples. The indigenous merchants were involved in wholesale trade, hotels and other business activities. Generally, trade has constituted a major form of communication among the people of the region for centuries.⁷⁷

After the conquest of Menelik, the economic importance of trade in the Kambata and Hadiya area weakened to some extent. This resulted from the preference of agriculture by the Amhara *naftaņas*, who even started to force the Kambata and Hadiya peasants to give labor services for their agricultural works and the peasants, had less time to engage in trade. During the Italian occupation period, trade did not show much improvement. The Italians gave much attention to the issues of *gabbar* system, but they did not particularly encouraged local trade. After 1941, population pressure and the shortage of the land in the region necessitated the expansion of trade in the Kambata and Hadiya region. Some poor peasants, whose lands appropriated by the government started to engage in commercial activities. However, the slave trade was losing its ground. In a way after 1941, trade begun to play a significant role in the economy and the interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁷⁸

After the 1974 revolution, commercial activities showed some change in the region. Now trade fell under the direct control of the government; in which the government fixed production and prices. Grains from various rural areas collected and sent to Addis Ababa, Nazreth and other areas. Therefore, the Kambata and Hadiya traders were not permitted to sale their products in the markets where they chose and at the price, they fixed. There were also various associations organized by the government that closely supervised trade activities. Before 1974, a relatively free market-oriented trade exercised in Ethiopia.⁷⁹

After the revolution, however, centralized economic management characterized by an over-restricted trade system was put in place that weakened the development of the trade during the communist period. However, changes after the downfall of the Derg regime led for the development of trade activities. The government policy that allowed the economic freedom of

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil ...*, p.120; Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, and Ato.Anjach Luda.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid* and Muluneh Eyoel, "Trade Liberalization and its Economic Effect in Ethiopia" B.A. Thesis (Addis Ababa University Economics Department, 1999), p.20

the society contributed for such changes. As a result, people got the right to engage in any economic activities they like. Thus, trade activities started to expand after late 1990s.⁸⁰

Therefore, the above discussion justifies the importance of the trade for the inter-connection of the Kambata and Hadiya society. Their closer geographical location and high people-to-people mobilities in the region facilitated their commercial activities. The Kambata societies are almost encircled by the Hadiya and shared longer boundaries. Thus, they had many market places that served for both societies that become center of these people's interaction. Besides, the peoples ethnic, language and cultural closer relation could be mentioned factors for their easier communication through trade and other socio-economic activities. These could be among the main reasons for the high ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁸¹

3.2.1. Items of Trade

The southwestern parts of the country are the source of many items of trade. There were indications that southwestern Ethiopia had been drawn into the Aksumite trade 1500 years ago. Nevertheless, at the time the main challenge for conducting trade activity was the logistic problem. Some of the important trade objects from south-west Ethiopia include slaves, ivory, cotton, musk and the like. During that time, the people of southern and south Western Ethiopia carried on trade in natural products such as coffee, ivory, skill and hides, rhinoceros horn, civet etc.⁸²

In the region, Jiren, Bonga and Gore were the major commercial centers of the country that attracted many traders. As the Kambata and Hadiya are located in this area, it had been part of the long distance trade route. Many valuable products were produced and exported out of this region. The major items exported from the Kambata and Hadiya included slaves, cattle, coffee, skins and hides, honey, ginger, wheat, barley, enset products and so forth. In return, they imported many items like Amole (Salt bar), beads, sugar, textiles, iron and others commodities to the region. Therefore, peoples desire to find these commodities force them to move from place to

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Abegaz and Ato Desta Lenjibo.

⁸² Tesfaye Habiso, *Kambatana Hadiya...*, Pp.364-366: Lapiso, *Abiyotawi Yemertina Bahil ...*, pp.120-121.

place that open a way for their interaction. Thus, trade activities play important role for inter-connecting people from different parts.⁸³

There were markets in Kambata and Hadiya that were important for their neighboring states; like Hossana market, Doyogena Market, Gemasha Market, Hadero market, Durame Market, Adilo market and the Shone markets, which continued to be main centers for exchanging these trade items. Similarly, the Kambata and Hadiya people used to sell wheat, barley, enset products, milk and milk products and others to Wolayta. In return, they bought different locally made cotton clothes (*shema*) from the Wolayta who had better experience in it. Moreover, the Arssi Oromo were highly interested to buy the renowned horses of the Kambata. In exchange, they bring *Amole* (Salt bar), Ivory, rhinoceros horn, iron bar and others. Besides, locally consuming these products, Kambata used to export them in long distance trade with Jimma.⁸⁴

The people's desire for such trade commodities encouraged them to move from one area to the other. People's motilities in return facilitated the ethnic interaction of among these societies. In a way, the Kambata and Hadiya people had built strong ethnic interaction among themselves as well as with their neighboring societies through such transactions. However, this interaction and cooperation was and is not only limited to Kambata and Hadiya community; but it is common to any societies who interact and cooperate among themselves on different issues.⁸⁵

3.2.2. Medium of Exchange

Many of the peoples of southern and southeastern Ethiopia carried on trade in natural products such as coffee, ivory, skins and hides and others. This trade was carried out partly by barter (exchange of one commodity to the other) and partly with the aid of 'primitive money' and currency of various kinds in the 19thc and early 20thc Ethiopia. Concerning the medium of exchange, bartering served as the major means of exchange for a long time up to the 1950s. It

⁸³ Alemayehu Lirensu, *State Commerce and Service Co-operatives in Kambata and Hadiya: An Economic Geography Analysis*, MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, 1984), p.50, 52-53, 55-56:Informants, *Ato* Abose Milkiso, Dana Atiso Lodebo, Imam Desta Lenjiso.

⁸⁴ *Ibid* and Informants *Ato* Abose and *W/ro* Erome Delbeto

⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

was the dominant form of commercial relationship, in which goods for goods were exchange. It is still in existence in some parts of society.⁸⁶

Similarly, the Kambata and Hadiya peoples used different medium of exchange in the trade among themselves and with others. People in southwest Ethiopian used their own local medium of exchange. Before Menelik's conquest, the Kambata and Hadiya peoples mainly used *Amole* and to some extent Maria Theresa Thaler as a medium of exchange for a long time in the nineteenth century.⁸⁷

After the conquest, they widely used coins, which locally called *taammunna*. These were one of the coins introduced during the reign of the Menelik. In addition to these, there was wider use of *Amole* and the Maria Theresa Thaler as a medium of exchange even after the introduction of these coins. Martcho was the other currency used among the Kambata, Hadiya, Wolayita and other southern states in the period.⁸⁸

According to Pankhurst's, Martcho was used as medium of exchange in the Omo valley including the Kambata, Hadiya, Wolayita, Goffa, Gamo and in other adjacent states. He explained it as "a bent piece of iron of 2.5cm length and 2cm wide and somewhat thicker at the center than ends". Martcho was produced in the southwest Ethiopia specifically in Wolayta, Dawuro, Kambata, Konta and others; where the people in the area produced iron in traditional ways. As mentioned earlier, due to their closer co-existences people of the region shared the same material culture and socio-economic activities. They also shared the same medium of exchange in the trade among themselves. This is one of the manifestations for the existences of the high ethnic interactions between Kambata and Hadiya as well as with their neighbors.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Richard Pankhurst, "Primitive Money in Ethiopia," In *Journal de la Societe des Africanistes*, vol.32, no.2 (Paris, 1963). pp. 222-228.

⁸⁷ Alemayehu., pp.50, 52-53, 55; Informants, *Ato* Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta Lenjiso.

⁸⁸ Informants: *Ato* Mathewos, *Ato* Balayneh and *Ato* Deneke.

⁸⁹ *Ibid* and Richard Pankhurst, p.238.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE CULTURAL INTERACTION OF THE KAMBATA AND HADIYA PEOPLE

As already discussed in the previous section, Kambata and Hadiya societies had deep ethnic interactions in their history. Several factors facilitated the ethnic interaction of the people in the region. The socio-economic activities, socio-cultural issues, common settlement and claiming the same origin are the main ones.¹ In a way, cultural activities play great role in interconnecting different people. Thus, they become among the means that facilitate the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya societies. Informants remind that it is difficult to differentiate these societies in their socio-cultural issues. They stated that both societies live in the same community and most people speak their language exchangeably. Moreover, both societies had deep marriage inter-connections and simmiliar cultural practices.²

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

...በከምባታ አስተዳደር የሚኖሩት የከምባታና የሀዲያ፤ የአንዳገኝ ፤ የኤነርና ሌሎችም ማህበረሰቦች ከገጠኞች ሙቶ ክፍሌ ዘመን አንስቶ በብላቴና በግቤ ወንዞች መካከል በሚገኘው ለም ምድር አብረው በመኖር በጉርብትና በንግድ ግንኙነት ፤ በሰላማዊ መንገድና በጦርነት ፤ በጋብቻና በባህል ፤ በቋንቋና በማህበራዊ ኑሮ በረጅሙ የታርክ ጉዞ ዘመን የሕወት ወጣውረዶችን በተመሳሳይ ሁኔታ ያሳለፉት ህዝቦች ከመሆናቸውም በላይ አንዱ የሌላውን በመቀበል፤ በመዋሔድና በመዎራረስ ፤ በቋንቋ ፤ በባህል ፤ በደም ወይም በዘር ሀረግ እጅግ የተገናኙና ተመሳሳ ህዝቦች ናቸው።³

They shared common settlement and have many inter-connections in marriage, trade and other social activities. Moreover, they experienced conflicts and co-operations in their long history. As a result, they exercised simmiliar cultural practices and way of life. This indicates the existences of high ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya people.⁴

¹ Informants, *Ato Dana Damissie Lombamo, Ato Abose, Imam Desta.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Tesfaye Habiso, “*Kambatana Hadiya ...*”, p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid* and Informants, *Ato Abose Milkiso, Dana Atiso Lodebo, Imam Desta Lenjiso.*

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

4.1. The Indigenous Marriage

Marriage is a ceremony or process by which the legal relationship of husband and wife is constituted. Thus, it served as legal union between man and woman and governed by mutual relationship between them. It also implies the act of friendship between one or more men to one or more women.⁵ In a way, the marriage relationship is usually formed with social, religious or governmental recognition or recognition from all three. Hence, it brings two unrelated partners together in any society. In a way, marriage is the starting point of kinship ties, which link together genealogically independent clans or groups and serve as means of Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction.⁶

As common in any society, marriage is one of social institution that makes the beginning of the family among the society. This shows that marriage served as socio-cultural institutions that show their common values and identities. Moreover, marriage practices facilitate social interdependence of the people. Therefore, it serves as means of the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction as well as with other neighboring ethnic groups. However, among the society marriage between endogamous clans is strictly forbidden. As a result, they trace back at least up to seven generations before they approve any marriage relationship.⁷

Inter-ethnic marriage used as the mechanisms for enhancing inter-group cohesion among the society. As indicated by the informants of both societies used marriage relationship for their harmonious relations. This argument justifies that inter-ethnic marriage relationship among the societies was and is the main factor that enhance their ethnic interaction for long period. For

⁵ Edward Wester Mark, *A Short History of Marriage* (London, 1968), p.1.

⁶ Ersido Antese, *Ye Hadiya Bahil Meseretawiyen* (Hossana, 1999 E.C.), P.71: Informants, *Ato Abose Milkiso*, Dana Atiso Lodebo, Imam Desta Lenjiso

instance, king Dogoye of Kambata had married five wives from noble families of the neighboring peoples. Among his wives, Wolame was from Hadiya. His son Dilbato also made it his main task to create peace with Hadiya, who were militarily stronger and territorially wider than the Kambata. Moreover, Inter-marriage undertaken between neighborhoods serves as means of peaceful interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya people that facilitated their interactions.⁸

Similarly, the Ṭāmbaro's Manjole, a supposed daughter of the Boyamo (one of great ten ancestors of Hadiya), as the wife of Moolla. *Woma Waqo* (1768-1803) of Kambata married *Qärichoo* Shashe, *Qärichoo* Laako ana *Qärichoo* Alamme from Ṭāmbaro. The Ṭāmbaro king married *Qärichoo* Sibate from Kambata. Therefore, such inter-ethnic marriage practice was and is common among the Kambata and Hadiya people that facilitate their social interdependence. Consequently, it serves as means of the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction as well as with other neighboring ethnic groups. The Kambata and Hadiya society never marry a member of a despised caste. Selections of wives by parents for their children or by the partners themselves usually governed by social, economic, religious and ethnic factors among these peoples.⁹ In this section of the thesis types of marriage, the wedding ceremony and the role of marriage for the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction are discussed.

4.1.1. Types of Marriages practices

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

⁷ Tagesse Halibo, "indigenous Marriage Practice among the Kambata People of Kachabira Woreda", B.A. Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Sociology Department, 1995), pp.22-24: Informants, *Ato* Dana Damissie, *Ato* Abose, Imam Desta.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Tagesse, pp. 22-24: Informants, *Ato* Abose, *Dana* Atiso, Imam Desta and *W/ro* Erome

are five ways. These include *Heratto*, *Labitu*, *Rage*, *Middu* and *Qorsisha* according to the necessities of the culture.¹⁰

The *Qorsisha (Ilgana)* is a marriage by the consent of parents on both sides. In the past, this marriage type was widespread and most respected form of marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya. In this case, the friend choice was absolutely in the hands of the parents, mostly the father. Parents of young boys and girls would arrange the marriage relationship regardless of the consent of the couples, especially the girl. Prestige and economic interests played a big part in this regard. Informants expressed that, in most cases parents choose a friend for their children from the clans or parents with whom they want to create relationship. In a way, it facilitated the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people at the time, as both societies encourage inter-ethnic marriage.¹¹

Qorsisha involves long and elaborate processes of *bolocha* (wedding ceremony). The bridegroom and his family inform the members of accompaniers called *Sifla* and the best man (*tamishra*). Nevertheless, later, since 1950s the role of missionaries and expansion of modern education increased the ability of the couple's decision-making in marriage issues. Thus, *Qorsisha* as a type of marriage started to decline and currently it is almost abandoned. Therefore, at present decisions for marriage is based by the interest of the couples among the society. However, this doesnot mean that the family and relatives have no role in choice and facilitating marriage process. As a result, the *Laabito* and *Heerato* are widely used marriage types in the Kambata and Hadiya region replacing *Qorsisha*.¹²

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

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Gedeon, pp.39-40: Informants *Ato Somano*, *Ato Petro*, *Ato Heramo* and *Ato Kassa*.

related qualities. After such crosschecking and agreements, the boy's parents would send elders to the girl's parents for negotiation.¹³

After their final agreement to the marriage proposal, they would fix a specific date to give the *qota* (bride price). The bride price would be given in cattle, household utensils and money. It would be given to the parents of the girl, to her grandparents, to her brothers and sisters and to her aunts and uncles. On that especial day, mutual promises or contracts for the future marriage would be entered. Locally it is called *gumagana* or *angsunqa* (ring ceremony). At the end, they fix the date of wedding ceremony. This is commonly practiced marriage type at present among the Kambata and Hadiya society.¹⁴

Heerato is marriage by lure. In most cases, the couple makes an agreement among themselves without the knowledge and/or approval of their parents. Mainly it is conducted through an agent called *gaanna*. The *gaanna* is responsible to facilitate marriage and the subsequent negotiation. In this case, there are no formal procedures or ceremonial practices. After accomplishments of crosschecking they arrange favorable date in which the girl could secretly depart her families and kept somewhere among the relatives or friends of the boy for some days. Then the girl could stay there for some days until the elders would perform the negotiation process.¹⁵

Following the accomplishments of the negotiations, the girl would formally enter into the boy's house. Couple's use such marriage type due to several reasons. Some of them include if the partners fear their parents never permit the marriage due to economic or family background reasons. They also use this option if the boy face financial shortage to give *qota* (bride price) for the girls family and to arrange the marriage ceremony. This type of marriage still practiced at present.¹⁶

The **Middu** (**Gosimma** in Hadiya) or kidnapping was another marriage type that took place among the society. It happens when the kidnapper was asked a dowry that he cannot afford or if the girl or her family refused his marriage request and disgusted him. The kidnapper takes off the

¹³ *Ibid* and Handebo Ergano, "The Family System of the Nationality of Kambata", B.A. Thesis Addis (Ababa University, Sociology Department, 1982), pp.21-23.

¹⁴ *Ibid* and Informants, *Ato* Abose Milkiso, Dana Atiso Lodebo, *Ato* Petro and *Ato* Heramo.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

girl while she came from market, fetching water or from other places.¹⁷ The abducting boys would only return to their own villages following the restoration of the peace through the intervention of elders. However, such marriage practices has been abandoned in Kambata, while some of the practices related to abduction have continued even today among the Hadiya, though it was strongly discouraged by the official propaganda.¹⁸

The *Rage (Lago)* or inheritance was also a common marriage type among the society. The brothers or close relative can inherited woman when her husband dies. Informants expressed some of the reasons that rage as a type of marriage among the society. The society practices such marriage in expectation to support the children, property and wife of their deceased relative. The other reason is that, if the wife marries beyond the closer relatives her husband can take the property of their relative. Moreover, there was also fear that the children of the deceased would not get enough support and that would lead to the breaking of the family. Except the *laabito* the rest were abandoned marriage practices among the society. This was due to the religious teachings of the missionaries and expansion of the modern education in the region.¹⁹

As discussed so far, the existence of very high inter-ethnic marriage between the Kambata and Hadiya served as one of the mechanisms for enhancing interaction between the two societies. Informants also stated that their economic, cultural and social interactions contributed to this bilateral marriage arrangements between these societies. As a result, marriage relation may have been among the main factors that contributed to the Kambata and Hadiya people's closer relations. Moreover, their marriage relation is not only limited to the two societies. Due to continued interaction with their neighboring peoples, the Kambata and Hadiya society had also marriage relation with the Ṭāmbaro, Halaba, Gurage, Silte and others. This played a great role for continued ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya peoples as well as with their neighbors.²⁰

¹⁷ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231: Tagesse, pp. 23-25: Informants, *Dana* Damissie, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

¹⁸ Informants *Ato* Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta, *W/ro* Rewida, *W/ro* Erome.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Informants *Ato* Somano, *Ato* Petro, *Ato* Heramo and *W/ro* Rewida Hussen.

4.1.2. The Wedding Ceremony in the Kambata and Hadiya

Marriage is declared by a wedding ceremony among the Kambata and Hadiya society. Locally the wedding ceremony is called *bolocha*. The word *bolocha* implies happiness, joyous feast or great ceremony. Among these people a betrothed lady, her fiancé and their families will make preparations, both materially and psychologically, for the wedding ceremony several months in advance. Best quality *wassa* (*kocho*), *bu'lla*, fattened sheep or goats, bulls, honey, butter, milk and other foods and drinks would be prepared. A few days before the wedding feast girls of the same age group with the betrothed lady would start singing and dancing using traditional instruments especially *xarbee* or *dibe'e* (the small drum). All relatives and friends of the couple informed for the date of marriage ceremony. There have been different levels of marriage ceremonies based mainly on the economic competence of the parents of the couple. These include *Kiiffa*, *Ilmoocha* and *Hoshaaro*.²¹

The *Kiiffa* was an extended ceremony in which many people participate. They usually arrange it for fame. It involves the biggest and most celebrated feast in the wedding ceremony of the Kambata and Hadiya people called *calalaqa*, in which people eat and drink up to their maximum satisfaction. On the wedding day, the bridegroom and *Sifla* would arrive at the home of the bride. After his arrival, all people would eat and drink according to the capacity of the feast arranged. *Sifla/Hamamota* (companion of the bridegroom) would stay for about two days in the home of the bride's parents eating, drinking, singing and dancing. In *kiiffa* before their departure the bride and bridegroom will be given an escorting gift called *gégéya*; usually household materials by the family and relatives of the bride for their new home. Then, elders would give their blessings to the newly married couples and the ceremony would end.²²

Only strong men could arrange such ceremony. This type of marriage had played important role for the ethnic interaction of the people. It enables many people to come together from different areas, clans and ethnic group at a place for days. In a way, it further encourages relation and inter-connection of the society. Currently such extended marriage ceremonies are not being practiced among the society. People started to consider it as extravagant practice. *Hamamota*

²¹ *Ibid* and Tagesse, pp. 25-27.

²² *Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet*, p.70-72: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

could stay only for a day at the bride's house and in most cases arranging exaggerated ceremonies, foods, drinks and the like practices were abandoned. In a way, *Ilmoocha* and *Hoshaaro* types of marriage replaced *Kiiffa* among the society.²³

The *Ilmoocha* is moderate feast whereby the *Sifla/Hamamota* would stay only for a day. Relatively fewer people would participate in *Ilmoocha* than the *Kiiffa*. Similarly, the feast arranged for *Ilmoocha* could also be smaller than that of the *Kiiffa*. The *Sifla* would accompany the bride and bridegroom. When they reach the home of the bridegroom, the bride would enter her new home and all would eat, drink and sing. Following that, the family and relatives of the bridegroom would offer the gifts called *erifo'o*. Both *gégéya* and *erifo'o* are an indication of both families to help in establishing the new home.²⁴

The *Hoshaaro* is a brief ceremony that involves fewer peoples and very small feast. In the case the bridegroom would not go to the house of the bride, the *Sifla/Hamamota* could go and bring the bride. After the arrival of *Sifla* to the bridegroom home, the bride would enter her new home and the participants would eat, drink and sing. Finally, the the family and relatives of the bridegroom would offer the *erifo'o* and the ceremony would end. The first marriage is greatly respected among the Kambata and Hadiya people. Economically weaker people usually arranged the last two marriage ceremonies in the past. However, at present the berief marriage ceremonies are preffered by most of the people in the region.²⁵

Minni-agisha (return invitation) is other form of ceremonies undertaken after wedding ceremony. The *Minni-agisha* is a ceremony that the bride's parents prepare to 'mix' the bridegroom with the new family, relatives and friends. As it can be seen from the analysis of oral tradition, modern religious practices gradually displaced traditional marriage celebrations. People started to abandon and disgust extended ceremonies and polygamy. Modern religious leaders, intellectuals and modern law played a big role for such changes. Therefore, traditional beliefs that previously safeguard traditional practices has already abandoned mainly after the time of student movement and expansion of Protestantism.²⁶

²³ Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

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

²⁶ Informants *Ato Dana Damissie, Dana Atiso, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.*

As stated earlier, marriage serve as the beginning of the kinship relationships and connects genealogically different clans or groups. In such a way, marriage becomes one of the most important social institutions that bind people with different background and create relationship among them. As common to any other societies, there is a marriage ties between Kambata and Hadiya peoples. Thus, marriage is a very significant social bond that involves many people in these ceremonial practices. This facilitates inter-connection of different people and opens a way for the ethnic interaction between Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other ethnic groups.²⁷ These societies used marriage as one of the important political and Economic strategies, for peace, territorial expansion and alliance among themselves. They also use it in order to created diplomatic relationship among themselves and with other neighboring states. Thus, the existence of strong marriage relationship with the Kambata and Hadiya society shows the existence of strong ethnic interaction among these ethnic groups.²⁸

4.2. The Child Bearing Ceremony

Child bearing is instrumental in adding the family member next to marriage. Moreover, in addition to the marriage, child bearing is accompanied by various ceremonial practices among the Kambata and Hadiya society. According to the tradition of the society, women usually give their first birth in the home of their parents if not at her home. This is because it is believed that the experience of her mother could help her greatly. Secondly, her parents are preferred for better protection and care. Thirdly, it is believed that going back to the house of the girl's parents was a sign of honor and respect for the parents. The newly born child could be considered as a child of his uncle (mother's father) and would get right to share the property of his uncle. This inter-connection used as the means that contribute for the people's interaction.²⁹

Some of the ceremonies related to birth ceremonies include pre-birth preparations, practices during birth and post-birth practices. Hereunder, the focus is to deal with the indigenous practices related to childbirth and its role for ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people. Concerning the pre-birth preparations, a pregnant woman would make preparation for herself and the baby for about four to six months before her birth. They start collecting and

²⁷ *Ibid* and Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ Informants *W/ro* Rewida, *W/ro* Erome and *Ato* Heramo.

preparing food items for long time; like barley, spices, butter, bulla and other food types. Especially barley would be ground finely and made ready for various purposes. The preparation of barley required the participation of relatives and the villagers of the pregnant woman.³⁰

The other exhaustive work that needed huge labor was the preparation of *bu'illa* and *qocho* from enset; that used for long period. In a way, relatives and friends of the pregnant woman would participate in groups for such works. Moreover, the material preparation also consider her future baby; for whom they arrange a holding material called *Halaama*, a soft spongy material extracted from the inner bark of the enset plant. They arranged *Halaama* very carefully and to give much comfort to the baby and keeps it warm. In addition, they used it to keep the body of the baby clean. However, at present *Halaama* is not used for such purposes due to the introduction of different comfortable clothes and holding materials. On his part, the husband of woman could make several preparations; provide money for the preparation of all essential materials like barley and butter. He would also prepare a comfortable bedroom called *Jijiira*. Besides these he would prepare fatten sheep or goats for slaughter.³¹

During labour, the home would be heated with fire to ease and facilitate the birth and the pregnant woman would lie on her back on the *Jijiira* prepared for that specific purpose. All of her neighbors would come to her home and encourage the woman but men could not enter the home. Up until very recently in Kambata and Hadiya women would give birth with the assistance of local midwives in their home. At the time, her relatives and villagers support her constantly pray to goddess called *Amma wotaa* for assistance; to mean 'assist the mother's spirit' that was associated with traditional belief. It seems that it was replaced by the teaching of St. Mary after introduction of Orthodox and Catholic Christianity. Perhaps for that reason women say *Amma Marame maarise!* (Mary the mother! help her!) instead of *Amma wotaa*. After safe delivery and the removal of placenta, the women at home would express their pleasure by ululating five to eight times and three to four times for male and female births respectively.³²

This tradition is common among many Ethiopian societies. Then the news of the birth dispatched and females bring butter and put in the head of delivered mother. The villagers and relatives

³⁰ Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta, W/ro Erome and Ato Heramo.

³¹ *Ibid* and Tagesse, pp. 25-27.

³² *Ibid*.

bless saying that “*Hashuu! Hashu! Eman bejigenta- machara affun*” for male and “*Hashu! Hashu! Eemman bejigenta qarata echiye*” for female; respectively it means congratulation! – It inherits you and receives a dowry. Just after birth four day for male and three days for female infants’ a very special ceremony, *Wobeta* would be undertaken in the case of the first-born child. The *Wobeta* ceremony is giving bath to delivered mother and her baby by village and relative women. Up on which the women could celebrate by eating the especial porridge prepared by *bu’Illa* or flour. The men’s even including the husband of delivered could not participate in this ceremony.³³

This has continued to be a warm ceremony. Women would sing, dance and play various traditional games. Anyone who entered while women were singing would be expected to give some amount of money to them. After they receive the money, the women would give blessings to him. Child naming would be an integral part of the ceremony. Traditionally, names are given in *Kambatissa* in Kambata and in *Hadiyyissaa* among the Hadiya to newly born children based on the social and economic circumstances of the society and the family. Nevertheless, after incorporation into the Ethiopian empire Amharic names were used. Some religious names were also used to give Biblical or Quran names to their children, mainly after the expansion of the universal religion in the region.³⁴

Moreover, closer relatives of the woman as well as her husband could visit the woman who gives new birth. Most of the time, this ceremony was arranged by the relatives and friends, mainly after a month. This was carried out in groups; that extend from seven to fifteen women. In which the relative or the friend could organize others who could go with her, preparing especial foods and drinks, including a sheep or goats to slaughter. This ceremonial practice was called *anggi-sunqa* among the Kambata and *Massa’ee* (blessings) in Hadiya. It should be noted that all the practices and the preparations made by the pregnant woman, her husband and her relatives are similar among many societies in southern Ethiopia.³⁵

These common practices as preparations made before birth, the ceremony during the birth and the care her husband, her relatives and her villagers provide are not unique to the Kambata and

³³ Informants *W/ro Rewida, W/ro Erome, W/ro Buta Guta, W/ro Almaz and Denamo.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Tagesse, pp. 25-27: Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, W/ro Rewida and W/ro Erome.*

the Hadiya society only. The Ṭämbaro, welayta, Alaba and the Gurage, the closest neighbors of Kambata and the Hadiya, share a number of common practices in this regard. However, it was not as strong as that of the marriage. Such ceremonial practice could play a great role in organizing people from different parts and cultures. Because of continued and strong marriage, economic and cultural relationships between the Kambata and Hadiya people such ceremonial practices play great role by facilitating their ethnic interaction among the societies.³⁶

The tradition of Kambata and Hadiya encourage high birth rate. In local terms there is saying related to this (*ossut womihansa lee'au*). This means children would be born and grows up according to their chances or a 'predetermined fate'. Hence, the number of children born was not limited. This in turn contributed to the high population density in these areas. The society were very productive and that is the reason why the land is not enough to feed them and the population pressure is a big problem among them even today. However, it has begun to show remarkable change since the 1970s because of expansion of education and contraceptives. Moreover, the role of religious institutions and health centers at least contributed in raising awareness toward family planning roughly after the 1980s.³⁷

In the past the disable births and twins are considered as a curse and thrown into a deep valley. They do the same if an unmarried girl gives birth. Women of the village would take it to throw into a deep valley saying *Keehoo! Keehoo!* This custom was intended as a lesson for other girls. Thus, the Kambata and the Hadiya girl are careful in keeping their chastity. However, after incorporation, particularly following the Italian occupation, adultery spread. Despite its social and economic merits, Christianity also weakened the strict ritual of the society, owing to the principles of mercy and forgiving. Therefore, adultery and births of unmarried girls began to increase in number.³⁸

These common practices related to marriage and childbearing ceremonies were and continued to be among the important social inter-connections that bind various people with different background and create relationship among them. Accordingly, such socio-cultural issues are very

³⁶ Tesfaye Habiso, "*Kambatana Hadiya ...*", p. 196; Tagesse, pp. 25-27; *Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet*, p.70-72: Informants W/ro Rewida, W/ro Erome and Ato Heramo.

³⁷ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.229-231: Informants, Ato Abose, Dana Atiso and Imam Desta.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

important social connection in the Kambata and Hadiya society that involves many people in these ceremonial practices. Therefore, child bearing ceremonies and the whole practices related to it becomes one of the factors that facilitate the inter-connection of different people and opens a way for the ethnic interaction between the Kambata and Hadiya as well as with other ethnic groups.³⁹

4.3. The Circumcision Ceremony

The circumcision ceremony is locally called *nuggussa (Bollochcha)*. It is strictly practiced between the Kambata and the Hadiya society from the very beginning, which is applied on both sexes. In this ceremony the family, relatives, friends and neighbors of the individuals from different parts could participate. That contributes for the interaction of these people. As they get younger children would pass through circumcision (*nuggussa*) to adolescent and adulthood. This ritual accompanied by different ceremonies that create a number of social ties.⁴⁰ According to the Kambata and the Hadiya tradition, boys and girls were circumcised roughly between the ages of 16-20. Thus, the circumcision of small babies was very recent phenomenon. In the earlier tradition, small children were not circumcised for fear that their growth and physical strength would be affected.⁴¹

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

³⁹ Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, W/ro Rewida* and *W/ro Erome*.

⁴⁰ Gedeon, pp.87-89, 90-91: Informants, *Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta*.

⁴¹ Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra*.

selected and would create very intimate friendship between *ille jaala* and the circumcised individuals. In most cases, such relationship would continue to their lifetime.⁴²

On the eve of the circumcision date boys and girls would spend the whole night together singing and dancing. All the relatives and the neighbors would praise the one who is going to be circumcised the next day with the traditional song: *Heelinsomo Helame!* to mean we praise you, be praised; *Kabar Baabooto!* You might be horrified today etc.⁴³ Circumcision takes place usually on Saturday early in the morning with local dance and songs until church songs replaced it after the domination of the universal religion. A piece of basaltic rock (*reeqqeeta*) was used to cut the prepuce before the introduction of the *maggallaale* (very small knife) for male and blade for female. Latter with the introduction of health centers they began to be circumcised in clinics that pave a way to abandon local circumciser and their instruments. The newly circumcised boys and girls would stay in a confinement 3-4 months. During their stay at home, they would be given various gifts from their parents, peer groups, friends, neighbors and relatives.⁴⁴

Above all, they would be provided with special food and drinks so that their body could recover. They would join the society and return to their routine activities after a ceremonial practices called *finajja* for girls and *Gamma Gamma* for boys. During the *finajja*, circumcised girls would sit down in a place where all people see them. The mothers and aunts of the circumcised girls would bring *Sha'imeetaa* or *Borde* (a local drink prepared from barley) and spill it under the legs of the latter in the belief that it would protect them from the 'evil eyes'. These shows the circumcised girls would be free to enjoy and play with their peer groups before their return to their homes at night.⁴⁵

Circumcised boys would wear shorts and shirts, hold a whip and stick, go to their friend's home pronouncing *imma! Imma!* in Hadiya or *Gamma! Gamma!* in Kambata. This is to show their physical strength, provoke their counterparts for wresting and praises themselves. It is free struggle among the circumcised boys that took place as a final stage of the circumcision ceremony, in which they used to test their strength. As discussed above the circumcision

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.267-269: Informants: *Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.*

⁴⁴ Informants *Ato Petro, Ato Heramo and W/ro Erome.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

ceremony play a great role in inter-connecting the society. Thus, such a ceremonial practices were and are among the factors that played important role in facilitating the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction.⁴⁶

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

The funeral ceremony is probably as old as the society itself and they had been following it as part of their requirements. Like many other peoples of Ethiopia, Kambata and Hadiya people pay due attention to mourning ceremony. It is among the serious practices followed by the society. The Kambata and Hadiya society give greater value for a careful and well handling of the corpse that took place immediately after the death of the individual.⁴⁷ After careful handling of the corpse all the relatives, villagers, acquaintances gather and encircle the corpse and begin to mourn. In the past, the people did not use coffin to put the corpse. They simply dig a hole that joins transversally with pocket like opening that locally called as *qoossie*. Gradually tombs become different and an oval shaped coffin made of a single log (*woongro*) used until progressively replaced by rectangular coffin.⁴⁸

Informants expressed that there are different degrees and natures of funeral practices between the Kambata and the Hadiya society, for children, adults, famous persons (heroes, the wealthy, etc). If the baby dies immediately after birth it is said *ciilu ba'eu* or *ciilichch bi'uko* (in Hadiya) to mean the child has lost. In case of miscarriage, it is said *foolli fa'eeu* in kambata or *ciilichch godabone bi'uuko* among the Hadiya; this is to mean the child has been lost in the womb. In both cases, there is no extended ceremony, but women would weep beating their breast and elders would beat their heads to express their sorrow.⁴⁹

When youngsters die, the people could express their feelings to the deceased by performing several actions. According to the earlier traditions of the societies, all mourners who came from distant areas would pierce their faces with thorns to express their deep love and sorrow for the deceased. Men and women will lament and cry, recite funeral songs and sing the praises of the departed. All these are punctuated with the painful notes. They would cry singing funeral poems:

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Tesfaye Sodeno, pp.16-18; Informants *Ato* Yaekim, *Ato* Emam and *Ato* Petro.

⁴⁸ *Ibid* and Alebachew and Samuel, pp. 297-299, 304-306, 308; Informants *Ato* Petro, *Ato* Heramo and *W/ro* Erome.

like *Aye! Aye! Dooyuko!* to mean Ah! I feel sorry. *Lomanchi biyuko! Lomanchi biyuko!* To mean Ah! Great man passed away! and the like. The closer relatives and friends perform different actions to show their sorrow. Some of the practices include tearing their clothes, throwing themselves to the ground; appear in sackcloth and ashes to express their deepest feelings for the deceased.⁵⁰

The funeral ceremony of famous persons involves procedural ceremonial practices of which one is *Lassa* (traditional obituary). *Lassancho* is a person who dispatches the news of the deceased. In all his ways, he could explain the glories of the deceased and informing the date of the funeral ceremony. Many *Lassancho* 's would go in different direction up to distant places where relatives and friends could live. They dispatch news of the deceased's in all their way by singing funeral poems like *Doyouko! Gazaanchu Gonchu....* (Oh! a warrior or leader died ...), *Doyouko! Lomanchi Doyouko!* (Oh! the famous one passed away!) etc for male and for female '*sangema*' *aye!* (Oh! Famous in her cattle!) *Lubaame aye!* (Oh! Our skilful lost) etc were few among such songs sung for the dead as informants remand's.⁵¹ See picture and dresing of the *Lassancho* at Figure 7 below who is dispatching the news of the deceased in Lemmo area.

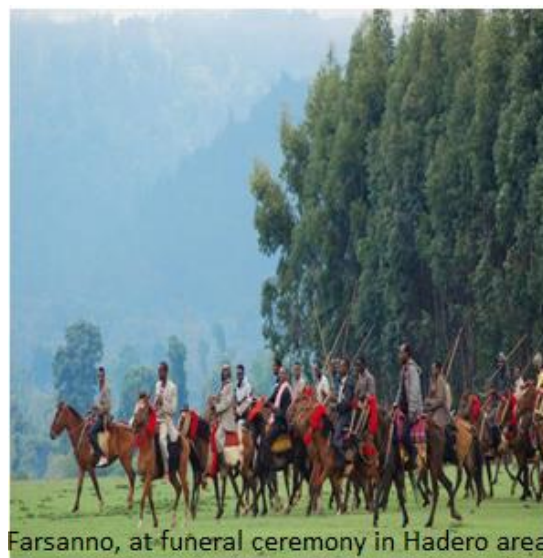
Figure 7 A the *lessaancho*



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

Source: Braukamper and Tilahun p. 112

Figure 7 B the *farsanno* at the funeral ceremony



Farsanno, at funeral ceremony in Hadero area

Source: Yebiherebocho Mikir Bet, p.72

⁴⁹ Informants: *Ato* Abose, *Dana* Atiso, *Imam* Desta.

⁵⁰ Informants: *Ato* Yaekim, *Ato* Emam and *Ato* Daniel.

In most cases the burial ceremony undertaken in three to five days. Playing two big drums or *Negarita* of different sizes and a horse ride treat was part of the burial ceremony. The team that shows horse riding treat is locally called *farsanno*. See the photo above, showing the *farsanno* treat entering to the funeral ceremony in Hadero area under Figure 7 B. The family, relatives and friends make dance like treat, following the beat of the *Negarita*, holding clothes, spear and other things of the dead. This treat was locally called *Nagarritiin Higu* to mean showing funeral treat following the sound of the *Negarita*. Hereby it calls many tears from the attendants. Moreover, mourners would hurt themselves by thorns, by beating their chest, wail and fall down to show their affection. Such practices were gradually casted out by Christian teachings and enlightening thoughts after modern education. As informants reminded that, the sound of *Negarita* “*Bucha qoti injjiji kku'in*” suggests share the sympathy of the bereaved.⁵²

The Kambata and Hadiya people graves are marked by planting trees particularly *Masancho* or *tid* tree as sepulture. Modern burial symbols with Christian cross symbol and the Islam’s half moon marked sepultures introduced after the respective religions. Latter they started to use Well-built and roofed sepultures. A trip at graveyards reveals historical continuities and changes. Except relatives’ mourners who would come after the funeral ceremony would say “*Maganu qaarsuu!*” meaning, “May God consoles you!”. In a way, funeral ceremonies are strong social practices that gather relatives and friends of the people from different areas. Thus, funeral ceremonies played great role in inter-connecting the society. This shows that such ceremonial practices were and are among the factors that facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya societies’ ethnic interaction.⁵³

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

⁵¹ *Ibid* and Tesfaye Sodeno, pp.19-21.

⁵² Informants: *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Kambata and Hadiya people and their different socio-cultural inter-connections indicate high degree of ethnic interaction of the society.⁵⁴

4. 5. Traditional Religion

Religion is a belief in supernatural force. It is a belief and a practice through which men communicate with or hope to gain experience of that lies behind the world of their ordinary experience. Religion is a very strong knot that ties people together in multi-cultural, multi-national and multi-ethnic countries like Ethiopia.⁵⁵ People have a tendency to live in agreement when they have the same religion or when there is tolerance for religious difference. Religion can influence the socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political activities of the people. Religion is classified as traditional or universal.⁵⁶ In this section, focus is made on the traditional religion and its role for the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction.

Traditional religion or belief includes people's belief in visible or invisible objects or entities as saviors, protectors, guardians or destroyers of their environment or their life. From the ancient time people started to worship things around them. In the similar way, this belief led to the emergence of the traditional belief among the Kambata and Hadiya societies⁵⁷ Some sources indicate that the Kambata and Hadiya societies had been practicing traditional religion before 15thC. Concerning this Stéffan Grenstedt and Bahrey Almeida and others confirmed that the Kambata province was practicing traditional religion before 15thC and Christianized by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church between the 15thC and 17thC. Following the expansion of Christianity the influence of traditional religions have declined since 18thC. Similarly, they mention that the Hadiya were practicing traditional religion before the 13th C and were equally dominated by Islam from 13th C to 16th C.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Petrol Michael and Others (eds.), *Reason and Religious Belief: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (Oxford University Press, 1991), p.3; Braukamper and Tilahun misham, p.36: Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Heramo, Ato Gabra and W/ro Rewida.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.200-202, 203, 204-206; Grenstedt, pp.51-53; Almeida Bahrey, Huntingford, and Beckingham, *History of [the Oromo] of Ethiopia: With Ethnology and History of Southwest Ethiopia* (African Sun Publishing, Oakland, California,1993), pp.15-17: Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz, Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Gabra.*

This shows that the Kambata and Hadiya societies had been practicing indigenous religion before the introduction of universal (Christianity and Islam) religion to the area. However, it does not mean that the practice of traditional religion completely ended after this time. As stated above the socio-economic and socio-cultural similarity between the two societies had also been evident in religious aspects. The traditional religion practiced by the Kambata and Hadiya societies is almost similar in its type and ways of worship.⁵⁹ My informants expressed that it is difficult to mark a boundary between these two society's religious practices. They argued that both societies are closely tied together in many aspects; as they are inter-married, both spoke one another's language and there are high inter-ethnic contacts. Moreover, in most cases both of them worship the same god and perform similar religious practices.⁶⁰

Concerning this similarity Grenstedt also reason out that when the Oromo invasion cut off the Hadiya groups from the Muslim center in the east, Hadiya religion was mixed up and became a type of syncretism with Muslim character, known as *fandanano*. When the Kambata and Hadiya people mixed by inter-marriage a folk religion with local variation evolved. That was called the Kambata/Hadiya folk religion that illustrates the Christian and Muslim legacies were merging.⁶¹ Nevertheless, this argument is not convincing as Hadiya's traditional religion called *fandanano* had been practiced long before the Oromo invasion and other written sources as well as informants do not support it.⁶²

The Kambata society used the term *fandaano* to express the people who practice traditional religion or those who did not follow universal religion (Christianity and Islam). In a way, the followers of traditional religion in both societies are called *fandaano* in Kambata or *fandanano* in Hadiya. Therefore, the term *fandaano* or *fandanano* refers to both the religion and its practitioners. The *fandaano* or *fandanano* was an indigenous traditional religious belief among the Kambata and Hadiya societies for centuries. The *fandaano* people had worshiped *Aricho Magano* or *Wa'a* (the sky god).⁶³

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Informants, *Ato Petros, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta and Ato Yaekob.*

⁶¹ Grenstedt, pp.51-53.

⁶² Alebachew and Samuel, pp.200-202, 203, 204-206: Gedeon, pp.50-53: *Ye Bihereseboch Miker Bet*, pp.93-94: Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz, Ato Somano, Ato Petro.*

⁶³ Informants, *Ato Yaekob, Yohannes Serembo and Ato Heramo.*

The *Aricho Magano* or *Wa'a* is believed to be the creator of all creatures, generous, kind and forgiving. The eyes of *Wa'a* can see all of his creatures at once. Thus, no one can hide himself/herself from his presence. The sun and the moon represent his eyes. The people worship the sky god by presenting several gifts. The gifts to be presented include the main parts of their produce as coffee, butter, milk, honey and the like. Then they mix it within *mada* (larger plate) and spray it on the people by longer grass. They believe that this could cure (protect) them from diseases. These and other sacrificial drinks would be sprinkled using a special glass called *Sada*. The sun was worshiped after its rise but the moon and the stars were worshiped at night.⁶⁴

According to Frehiwet, the *fandaano* people had been worshiping other spirits as the *Jaara* and *Woxxa*, besides the *Aricho Magano* or *Wa'a*. The *Jaara* is one of the most respected spirits. Everyone in the *fandaano* had his own personal *Jaara*.⁶⁵ Similarly, informants remind that the *fandaano* try to appease the *Jaara* in different ways. They believe that whenever *Jaara* gets angry it automatically terminates its major functions, as protecting the people. In most cases, an angry *Jaara* could cause disease and danger to the lives, properties and children of individuals. Thus, the *fandaano* supplied part of the first ripened fruits, vegetable and crops to keep *Jaara* pleased. They believe that the *Woxaa* or *Wole* has been the spirit that protects women. Therefore, *Jaara* and *Woxaa* are protecting spirits. Whereas, the *jina*, *ibilisa*, *habusa*, *Shexaana* and others are the major spirits that punish the people, when they do wrong things.⁶⁶

Fandaano believed in spirits possession and make prayers for these spirits. They do this to be protected from diseases, have blessed New Year and future, blessed marriage, blessed fertility, blessed cattle, crops etc. The prayer performed by the *fandaano* to get these and other needs was known as *xibaasima*. In the past *fandaano* used to make prayer under big trees, which they called *adibaara*. The practice of giving praises to the spirits was called *boroodimma*. The *Boroodimma* involves calling the names of the spirits and giving them praises. Mägänancho led the *boroodimma* and all the *fandaano* follow by handing especial grass or *Sada* and showing a dance like treat as shown in the picture below.

⁶⁴ Informants: *Ato Ersido*, *Ato Shuramo*, *Ato Somano*, *Ato Petro*, *Ato Abose*, and *Imam Desta*.

⁶⁵ Frehiwet Adnew Ersulo, *YeKambata Mahbereseb Haymanot* (Kembata Folk Religion) (AAU, Ethiopian Literature and Folk lore, 2005), p.24.

⁶⁶ Informants, *Ato Yaekob*, *Ato Yohannes*, *Ato Ersido* and *Ato Abegaz*.

Figure 10 the *fandaano*'s *boroodimma* treat



Photo adapted from Frehiwet Adnew, p.25

The *fandaano* people strongly believed that all spirits needed regular sacrifices and prayer. Honey, bullo, butter, milk, blood and meat were the major sacrificial foods and drinks in attempt of getting their needs as well as to appease the angered sprits.⁶⁷

Respected people as spiritual leaders would give a special sacrifice. The spiritual leader of the Kambata was Mägänancho. Abba Sarecho was the known Mägänancho in Kambata who lived at Hambaricho Mt. Mean while, the Anjaancho was the main spiritual leader of the Hadiya. They were sacrifice healers and soothsayer. Both of them held special places of importance among the society. They acted as high priests and political influence in the traditional administration and conflict resolution practice of the Kambata and Hadiya.⁶⁸

The Mägänancho had played a big role in the religious, political and social spheres. They were believed to possess a very powerful spirit that could even kill wrong doers. The *fandaano* people believed that for Mägänancho *wa'a* revealed many of his mysteries and given them especial knowledge and wisdom.⁶⁹ The followers (masses) of the *fandaano* religion were known as *awanaano*. The *fandaano* people go towards the Mägänancho for prayer, which they call it *abba fadu* and they present some gifts. However, there were many Mägänanchos among the Kambata

⁶⁷ Informants: Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz, Ato Somano, Ato Petro

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Frehiwet, p.26: Informants: Ato Somano, Ato Petro Ato Yohannes, Ato Imam Desta and Ato Shuramo

and Hadiya, the main ones being Abba Sarecho of Kambata, hazulmancho in Ṭāmbaro and in Soro Hadiya. The *fandaano* in the region used to visit towards Ambaricho, Ṭāmbaro and Soro to present annual gifts at Mt. Shonkola. Moreover, they consult them when they face serious problems.⁷⁰

Furthermore, the *fandaano* worship huge trees like *Tid*, *Zegba*, *Shola* etc. they pray on them and provide gifts by preparing special foods and drinks; at selected places. After providing the gifts, they eat the remaining in-group. Additionally, there was annual visit to the Hambaricho Mountain in Kambata, Mudula in Ṭāmbaro and Shonkola Mountain in Hadiya by the leadership of each clan's Mägänancho where, they provide special gifts for the main *Tid*, *Shola* and *Zegba* trees there, called *abba uccaqaanchu* and for the *abba Serecho* and the *hazulmanchos*, respectively between the Kambata and Hadiya society. They performed this annually in September, which they consider as a beginning of the New Year.⁷¹

Such a common practices of the religious celebrations and the mobility of the people from one area to the other were and are among the main factors that could inter-connect the Kambata and the Hadiya people. In a way, Mt. Hanbericho is considered as holy place in the region. Different religious programs are arranged at the top of the Mountain still today. The catholic region follower make annual trip to the Hambaricho during the main fasting season in March, for the memory of Golgota prayer. Similarly the protestant religion followers arrange annual program at the Mountain in January 11, to the memory of baptism ceremony.⁷²

Informants expressed that *fandaano* had strong respect for the spirit of their forefathers. They pray for their spirits (*anaaka ayaana*), for the remaining family members to be healthy, wealthy, peaceful and blessed. They provide gifts during different festivals to the places, where they were buried. This was locally called *Ĉophisha*. *Fandaano* had a tradition of transmitting their religion to their children and other non-*fandaano*. New converts to the *fandaano* religion had to pass through three stages: circumcision, baptism and fasting.⁷³

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Getahun, pp.23-25: Informants: *Ato Heramo*, *Ato Ersido*, *Ato Petro*, *Ato Abose* and *Imam Desta*.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Informants: *Ato Gabra*, *Ato Abegaz*, *Ato Somano* and *Ato Asefa*.

The *Fandaano* could freely practice polygamy within the domain of their religion. Their religion is a general code of moral obligation and behavior that cemented the social life of Kambata and Hadiya. These traditional beliefs were replaced by the universal religions, mainly from the 18thc and late 19thc onwards. As a result, many *fandaano* religion followers were converted to Islam or Christianity following the Menelik's incorporation of the Kambata and Hadiya region since 1890s. However, the *fandaano* did not lose their vitality up to the middle of the 1940s.⁷⁴

Moreover, Informants mentioned the existences of some *fandaano* practices that continued today in the region. Some of the examples listed by the informants include some people during their prayer and at the time of beginning jobs say that *anaakane ayaana ka'iline!* to mean our father's spirits help us. Besides, mothers at the time of giving birth they pray saying *ama woxa maarise!* or *kaa'ilise!* to mean mothers spirit help her. Moreover, there is consideration of some practices as sign of success and good luck; while the others as sign of loss. Concerning this the society consider when some animals or a woman carrying empty jack cross their way, they conclude that their way or appointment could not be successful.⁷⁵

In opposite to this if they meet a woman coming with a full jack or a bird frisky singing they say *chiichu danaamo!* to mean sign of good luck. The society also consider some days of the week as very good for performing different activities and appointments; while considering others as odd and not favorable. As mentioned above, there is no logical connection with such believes and the performances of the society's activities. Therefore, these are some of the practices related with traditional belief and continued to these days. Thus except for such rudiments of the *fandaano* practices, they had almost disappeared nowadays. At the time, it helped the people to be tied together and served as the core element of society's socio-cultural and socio-economic life.⁷⁶

Furthermore, these religious practices served many functions among the Kambata and Hadiya society. The religious leaders of the society played many social, economic and political roles in the day-to-day life of the societies. They pray for different problems of the society and find solutions for it. However, the Kambata and Hadiya peoples' traditional religion had their own

⁷⁴ Alebachew and Samuel, pp.200-202, 203, 204-206: Informants: *Ato Heramo, Ato Ersido, Ato Abegaz, Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Gabra.*

⁷⁵ Informants: *Ato Shuramo, Ato Somano, Ato Daniel.*

⁷⁶ Gedeon, pp.50-53: Informants, *Ato Abose, Dana Atiso, Imam Desta.*

social and ideological make up. They played great roles in social interaction and peaceful co-existence of the people. They played important role in settling the conflicts that arise among the society.⁷⁷

As discussed above, the religious celebration centers and the holy places were and continued to be the places, where people from different areas visit. In a way, the *fandaano* religion was one of the factors that tied both societies together for centuries. They continue to practice these traditional religions without ethnic boundaries, as a result people-to-people interaction remained very high. Such common practices and co-existences facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya society's ethnic interaction. Besides the traditional religion, the role of universal religions has been significant in fostering the ethnic interaction of the society.⁷⁸

The Menelik's expansion could be among the main factors that had brought changes in the religious practices of the people. Following the incorporation, the Kambata and Hadiya society were forced to adopt the new religion at the expense of their former traditional beliefs. However, the Kambata society had early contacts with the Ethiopia Orthodox Christianity, it was not as such expanded and most people are followers of traditional religion. Thus, Orthodox Christianity started to influence the society's traditional religious practitioners mainly since 1890s. The *nafta* settlers brought the Ark of St. Mary, which they carried with them, established Ethiopia Orthodox Church (EOC) at Wéra and later expanded to other parts. According to informants, Fitawrari Shonkoro is said to have brought the ark of St. Mary from Arsi in about early 1890s. This is most probably before his death at Adwa and because Menelik's policy of expansion had a religious dimension too.⁷⁹

The link between the Ethiopian government and the Orthodox Church was more obvious. Thus, the Shonkoro Maramme became big and tax-free landowner and received 17 *gaša* of land. This could be, as far as land tenure concerned, regarded as *samon* land. This church was contemporaneous with the Anagacha-Mariam, Qata-Michael, Dato-Medhane-Alem and Donga-Michael according to informants. Now priests and church administrators who came almost entirely from the north enjoyed considerable privileges. Moreover, the early 1930s is the time of

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Informants *Ato Somano, Ato Petro, Ato Gabra, Ato Yaekob, Ato Yohannes and W/ro Rewida.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

early contacts of the Protestant and Catholic Christianities in the Kambata and Hadiya region. This was mainly related to European missionary activities. The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), which was led by Dr. Lambie, started the missionary idea in the provinces called Lambuda (near Hossana) and Taza (Durame) was among such missionaries. The SIM played very important role in expanding Protestant Christianity in the Kambata and Hadiya region.⁸⁰

However, informants cannot date the exact time of its arrival, they repeat that certain foreigners arrived at this land in 1920s. Some sources indicate that the SIM commenced its duties in 1930s in the Kambata and Hadiya. There were also foreigners as Mr. Duff and Annan who visited Ṭāmbaro, Alaba, Badawacho and Shashogo areas. They identified that these areas would easily be evangelized. Staffan Grenstedt's account indicates that, Dato, Megere, Arsha, Mesafe, Qacha, Amburse, Alaba, Kambata and Hadiya peoples were visited by Mr. Duff before the Italian Occupation. For that reason, the arrival of protestant Christianity at the Kambata and Hadiya could be indicated as the early 1930s.⁸¹

In the same way, the French Catholic Father Pascal Luchon along with Abba Amnica, Abba Abag, and Abba Silvestre, arrived at Wassara in Kambata. This shows that Catholicism in this part got its first footstep with Jesuit Father A. Fernandez in the early 17th c. Later on they spread many other places and stationed at places like Soyame and Albo in Ṭāmbaro; Dubo in Wolayita; Jajura, Wagebeta and Sadama in Hadiya; Funto & Masafe in Kambata; and Donga in early 1930s. But the Catholic expansion was soon terminated in the Kambata and Hadiya by the Italian occupation because the Italians are known in expelling missionaries. Accordingly, the expansion of Protestantism and Catholicism would remain for the time after liberation of the country. Moreover, this also discouraged the expansion of modern education and health centers by the Catholic missionaries in the region during the Italian period.⁸²

Besides, religious development in the region there were another critical historical changes after the new settlers that introduced the Amhara language and culture. As stated above, the people who come from the north were different in their religion, culturally, ethnically and language

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Grenstedt, pp.51-53.

⁸² Lapiso, *Abiyotawi...*, p. 98; Informants: Ato Michael Sakalo, Ato Belayneh Madebo, Ato Deneke and Ato Mathewos. See the map by Braukamper that describing the Journey of Jesuit Father A. Fernandez.

from the Kambata and Hadiya people. Thus, after the incorporation the local people tried to behave as if they were Amhara, so that cultural assimilation facilitated among these societies'. In this regard, the name of child they bear tends to have Amharic meaning. The names of the days of the week changed to Sana, Maqsana, Orobbba, Hamussa and Harbba that were modified after Amharic names for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.⁸³

As discussed above, the religious practices were and continued to be among the different factors that facilitated the people mobility from one area to the other for different purposes and religious celebrations. In a way, religion was and is one of the factors that tied the Kambata and the Hadiya people together for centuries. Both societies continue to practice these universal religions many things in common; as a result people to people interaction remained very high. To mention some, the higher administrative structure for both the Catholic as well as protestant religion followers was and is from one center.⁸⁴

The catholic administrative center was and is called '*Sodo-Hossana Hegere Sibket*'; which includes Kambata, Hadiya and Wolayta. Whereas, the Protestants like the Ethiopian Mekane Yesus Church was and is called '*Bewongel Amagnoch Andinet Mahber Hossana Kifelemahiber*'; that includes both the Kambata and Hadiya region. People in the area practice several religious programs, festivals and conferences commonly without ethnic boundaries. Such common religious co-existences facilitated both societies' ethnic interaction. As a result, the role of universal religions has been significant in fostering the ethnic interaction among the Kambata and Hadiya society.⁸⁵

CONCLUSION

The discussion in this study briefly shows the historical developments of the Kambata and Hadiya societies' interaction from the 1890s to 1990s. Ethnic interaction is the relationships between groups or the society in which the members are inter-connected in common interest. It also refers to those who share common relationship and similarity within a society, due to common ancestry, common settlement, socio-economic and socio-cultural issues and others.

⁸³ Wendiye, p. 104; Grenstedt, p. 68; KTZCIO, p. 6 and Informant: *Ato Elias*.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Informants: *Ato Semion, Ato Petro, Ato Yaekom and Ato Yohannes*.

Therefore, the major means's of the Kambata and Hadiya societies' interaction include inter-marriage, commercial ties, socio-cultural values and the like.

In view of that the Kambata and Hadiya societies generally had the same origin that migrated first from the Sidama areas and settled in their present sites probably around 10th to 12th century. Later on immigrants from different areas like Arsi, Bale, Jimma, Walayta, Borena, Alaba, Gamo, Sidama, kafa, Ziway, Gurage, Enariya, Dawara, Amhara and others settled in the region intermingling with the first settlers. Such process continued up to the end of the 19th century. The Ahmaed Gagn wars and Oromo expansion are among the factors that further facilitated the ethnogenesis of the native inhabitants and the migratory settlers. That contributed for the existences of the diverse lineages in the region and interaction of the people. Therefore, this contributed for their linguistic similarities and ethnic relation of the society in the region.

Menelik's territorial expansion towards the Kambata and Hadiya areas was a major historical event in these societies and regarded as a turning point. Following the incorporation, the people started to lose their social, economic, political and cultural elements, which they kept with them for centuries. The administration of the new government led for the territorial combination of the Kambata and Hadiya region. That further encouraged the assimilation of these societies by eliminating the ethnic boundaries among the society. In a way, the incorporation opened a new era for the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interactions.

Therefore, the society's traditional ways of governance could have tied the people together. Marriage relations used by local rulers' as well masses as strategies to avoid conflicts with the neighboring peoples. Such inter-ethnic marriages of the rulers and the peoples could be among the causes for the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya society. Nevertheless, later the indigenous organization and administration of the society were replaced new feudal order. While the societies' interaction continued even after the incorporation as the new authority continued to rule both societies as one administrative structure. The Italians period temporarily led for the end of the Amhara rule in the Kambata and Hadiya region. Nevertheless, it regained after 1941 and sustained to the Ethiopian revolution in 1974; that ended the feudal rule not to return. Thus sharing such common political structures among the Kambata and Hadiya peoples had played a big role in facilitating the ethnic interaction among these societies.

The Kambata and Hadiya societies had and continue to have very strong friendly relations with each other and with their neighbors. However, there were some ethnic-conflicts among the society on boarder issues and some economic causes. That caused fighting with each other as well as with the adjacent communities to gain territory or to defend it. There were different conflicts within the Kambata and Hadiya groups as Lemo, Soro, Shashego and Badewacho, who were fighting against each other mostly on land issues. Therefore, the main cause of this conflict was the Kambata people's territorial expansion at different times mostly before the Menelik's incorporation period. However, both societies' solved such conflicts using their own conflict resolution mechanism, like elder's courts and community meeting.

Agriculture served as the major means of the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction, which facilitated their closer cooperation, by exchanging agricultural commodities, ideas and working experiences. Agriculture continued to have an important role by bringing different people together especially at the time of works that require huge labor force. The societies have the experience of working together in their day-to-day life. Therefore, performing agricultural activities in different working groups and co-operations could be one of the means that encouraged the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and the Hadiya people. These sosio-economic organizations had played a great role and continued to be significant in inter-connecting the society. Thus, the role of voluntary self-help organizations as *Gezima*, *Dawa*, *Wijjo*, *Onna Seera* and others were and continued to be indispensable for the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and the Hadiya societies.

All the traditional practices related to cattle breeding are significant for inter-connecting these societies. Accordingly, the *woganancho* or *xibana* ceremony, the *kumaamo* title, the *wozino* and *lali seera* practices served as socio-economic institutions that could inter-connect different societies in the region. Therefore, such socio-economic and socio-cultural practices could facilitate the interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya societies as well as with other neighboring peoples. In addition, commercial activities were and continued to be a big channel of communication between different peoples. In a way, trade represents a big exchange of ideas involving producers and clients. Accordingly, the Kambata and Hadiya societies interact with each other and with their neighboring communities due to commercial activities. The weekly markets are regular place for such interactions.

Moreover, cultural activities contribute for the inter-connecting different people and they become means of the ethnic interaction. Some of the cultural issues that facilitate the ethnic interaction of the Kambata and Hadiya people include inter-ethnic marriage, childbearing ceremony, the circumcision ceremony, the mourning ceremony, traditional religion and others. Marriage is a very significant social connection of the society that involves many people in its ceremonial practices. That facilitates inter-connection of different people and opens a way for the ethnic interaction. Therefore, marriage served as a means for the Kambata and Hadiya societies' ethnic interaction as well as with other neighboring ethnic groups. These societies used marriage as one of the important political and Economic strategies, for peace, territorial expansion and alliance among themselves.

Besides, various types of ritual ceremonies related to child bearing and mutual co-operation were and continued to be important social inter-connections; that bind various people with different background and create relationship among them. Moreover, the circumcision ceremonies play a great role for the friendly relations of the people. Such a ceremonial practices were and are factors that played important role for the Kambata and Hadiya people's ethnic interaction. Funeral ceremonies are other cultural practices that gather relatives and friends of the people from different areas and become means for the interaction of the society. They played great roles in social interaction and peaceful co-existence of the people. Such cultural issues are important in settling the conflicts that arise among the society. Similarly, the religious celebration centers and the holy places were and continued to be the places where people from different areas visit. Therefore, people-to-people interaction continued to be very high between these societies. Such common practices and co-existences facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya society's ethnic interaction.

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List of Informants

No	Name	Age	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	Abegaz Meharu	79	Angeca	09 March 2014	He has good memory on the traditional myths of Gagn's stones, the list of priest settlers before and after Italians ...
2	Abegaz Tirkaso	88	Hadero	22 March 2014	He known orator with good memory on the traditional administrative sytem of Kambata and Hadiya before and after the Menelik II's occupation.
3	Ato Abera Kibamo	84	Dubancho	01 Mar 2014	He is an old man with good memory. He gave me accounts on the time of liberation from Italian occupation and post 1940s.
4	Ato Abose Mikore	81	Doyogena	26 Mar 2014	He is good oral informant who responded well on traditional socio-political and conflict resolution methods mainly about <i>gudda</i> ritual in conflict resolution institution of the society....
5	Anjach Luda Mishamo	68	Shelela	26 Feb 2014	He told me about some of the traditional religious practices of the societ
6	Ato Aman Nuriye	61	Durame	05 Feb 2014	He is officer in Kambata-Ṭāmbaro Zone Cultural and turism office. He wrote paper to be presented on Kambata Cultural symposium in sep, 2014 on the Kambata traditiona marriage. He gave me important information about this traditional marriage of the society and its role for the people's interaction. Besides he informed me some of the eders, who provided informations on my study issue.
7	Ato Asaro Heramo	87	Woldeyo	28 Mar 2014	He is good oral informant who responded well on traditional socio-political and socio-economic activities and their role for ethnic interaction of the society.

8	Ato Atiso Lodebo	89	Lemo	06 Mar 2014	He is with good memory. He told me about Kambata and Hadiya socio-cultural interaction, mainly their trade and marriage inter-connection.
9	Ato Bekel H/ Mariam	80	Fonko	08 Mar 2014	An old man & the former local chief with good memory. He told me about Kambata and Hadiya relation by trade activities.
10	Ato Biru Birega	77	Amalaqa	29 Feb 2014	He gave me accounts on the time of liberation from Italian occupation and post 1940s.
11	Abba Damitaw Dana	74	Homochera	03 Mar 2014	He belongs to the former Sullo daana. He expressed the Kambata and Hadiya socio-economic interactions. Moreover, he told me about the role of traditional religion for Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction
12	Ato Danamo Agebo	89	Bette	06 Mar 2014	He lives at places where Orthodox church planted, the first Amhara settled and Italians camped so that has sound information related to Menelik campaign and Italian Occupation due to his eyewitness ...
13	Ato Daniel Abebo	78	Qerchicho	01 Mar 2014	He has good memory on the traditional religious practices ...
14	Ato Dasalegn Wolore	77	Farsuma	21 Mar 2014	He was locally reputed informant; he gave me important information about Kambata and Hadiya peoples cooperation and conflicts on different issues.
15	Ato Demisa Gebreyes	73	Belesa		An old man formerly he is coordinator of Kebela
16	Ato Deneke Hafebo	61	Mishigida	22-3 Feb 2014	Culture & information Office personnel at Qedida Wārāda, he told me very valuable information and provided me a book used in this paper.
17	Ato Desta Lenjiso	79	Angecha	08 Feb 2014	He is an itinerant evangelist and has good memory on the religious affairs of Kambata and Hadiya. Particularly he indicated the role of missionaries in expanding education.

18	Ato Dufune Dumore	85	Gonbora	26 Feb 2014	He told me about the Hadiyas orgin, mourning ceremony, traditional political system & others issue
19	Daana Ashebo Tumoro	89	Abonsa	24-5 Feb 2014	Famous village elder Who recount abo the origin and patter of their setteleme with good knowelge about the history relgion
20	Dana Demissie Lombamo	82	Mishigida	22-3 Feb 2014	He is well known Sullo daana with good kowelge
21	Ato Elias Chinasho	52	Durame	22-3 Feb 2014	He is Culture & Information Office expert at Kembata-Ṭāmbaro Zone. He gave me archival materials and some manuscripts that hold of with him ...
22	Ato Ersido Mikore	86	Qedida	16 Mar 2014	He is acknowledged oral informant of Kembata. He told me about several trational practices of Kembata and Hadiya as traditional administration, traditional marriage, conflict resolution and etc.
23	Ato Ertiro Sebro	78	Shafa	18 Mar 2014	He is the member of Kembata traditional political office. He was an eyewitness when Derg was massacaring youngsters at Chacha area.
24	Ato Eshetu Tumiso	60	Haqmuā		He is Culture & Information Office expert at Hadiya Zone. He informed me the elders from whom I will get information for my study.
25	Ato Fikadu Birhanu	40	Heto	20 Feb 2014	A graduate of Hwasa University. He is Culture & Information Office expert at Kembata-Ṭāmbaro Zone. Now served at HZCT office. Knowledgeable informant.
26	Ato Gebere Wamore	87	Danema	28 Feb 2014	He is an itinerant evangelist stayed at Qabena, graduated from Hosna Missionary College and has been developing a manuscript on religious history of Hadiya. he gave me important information about traditional religion of Hadiya, fandanaana.

27	Ato Heramo Guta Delbeto	75	Qedida	03 Mar 2014	He told me about the mourning ceremony, traditional political system... he also told me some of the means that facilitated the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction.
28	Ato Heramo Guta Lejibo	81	Taza	03 Mar 2014	He has good memory on the origin of Kambata, traditional mourning ceremony, traditional marriage, conflict resolution method ... as well as the role of these traditional practices for the Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction.
29	Ato Hirgete Addissie	78	Qedida	27 Feb 2013	He is good oral informant who responded well on traditional socio-political and conflict resolution methods. He also told me changes and continuities on Kanbata and Hadiya relation, focusing on issues after the Menelik's incorporation.
30	Ato Hussen Unamo		Siqe	02 Mar 2014	He told me about Kambata relation with Oromo, Hadiya, Wolayita and the impacts of Menelik incorporation and Italian Occupation in Kambata.
31	Imam Desta Lenjiso	84	Shona	28 March 2014	He told me about hadiya relation with Oromo, Hadiya, Wolayita and the impacts of Menelik incorporation and Italian Occupation in Hadiya
32	Ato Kassa Batiso	79	Doisha	25 Feb 2014	An old man having knowelge about Fandaanana oreligion and theEthnic groups.
33	Ato Markos Onse	76	Damboya	10 March 2014	He has important information on history of the Hambaricho Lamala, traditional Kambata administrative system about the Kanbata and Hadiya relation by trade and marriage.
34	Ato Mathewos Dolebo	87	Shone	27 Feb 2013	He gave me important information on means of Badawacho Hadiya's interaction with Kambata and Wolayta
35	Ato Mendero Abida	79	Darisha	14March 2014	An old man with good memory and told me about Hadiya's co-operation with the Kambata on different issues.

36	Ato Mengistu Nunsha	69	Demala	11 Feb 2014	He is an old man having knowelage in my concer.
37	Ato Petros Gacheno	72	Taza	19 March 2014	He is an old man with good memory about religious issue. He tol me about Catholic missionaries in the Kanbata and Hadiya region; owing to his contacts with Catholic missionaries around Taza.
38	Ato Shuramo Delbeto	86	Qedida	24 Feb 2013	An old man with good memory. He told me important informations about Menelik's conquest, Italian occupation period and post liberation period. Besides, he gave me informations about Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction through socio-economic and socio-cultural issues.
39	Ato Someno Aloto	83	Wota	21 Feb 2013	He is important Kambata oral informant. He told me about Kambata and Hadiya ethnic interaction through socio-economic issues like <i>Dawa</i> and <i>Gezima</i> . He also listed some of the conflicts and co-operations of the society.
40	W/ro Abebech Dindamo	75	Durame	10 March 2014	She is old woman with good memories and told me about Kambata's traditional marriage, childbearing ceremony.
41	W/ro Abebech Hosiso	71	Kachabira	23 March 2014	She is formerly merchant and toldn me about the Kambata and Hadiya relation through trade activities.
42	W/ro Almaz Danamo				She told me about child bearing& related issue the issue mourn dance, the role women in the society...etc
43	W/ro Buta Guta	71	Siqe	03 Mar 2014	She told me about cultural changes and continuities on marriage practices and their role for the Kambata and Hadiya people's interaction. .
44	W/ro Erome Delbeto	73	Angecha	29 Feb 2014	She told me about child bearing, the issue of "amma woṭṭa", the "wobeṭa" ceremony, ...etc.

45	W/ro Haybane Kobro	63	Qedida	24 Feb 2013	She told me about cultural changes and continuities and the “wobeṭa” ceremony, <i>nugussa</i> ...etc
46	Ato Yakob Keshamo	79	Gewa		He is an old man with good memory about religious issue. He is well known oral informant among Kambata society, owing to his contacts with Catholic missionaries.
48	Yaekem Obola	85	Qerchicho	01 Mar 2014	He is an old man with good memory about religious issue. He religious issues and their role for the Kanbata and Hadiya interaction

Appendice

Appendix A-1



אישור: 12.10.1963

אשר
פפא

פ. ד. בוק
P. O. Box
10855
Tel. No. 20856

אשר על פי פקודת
הרשאה ::

26

המשרד מאשר את הרשאתו של המבקש להשתמש
בשם המצויין בפנקס זה לצורך הפעלת עסקו
המיועד לפי חוק המסחר בשם המצויין. הרשאה זו
תהיה בתוקף כל עוד המבקש ימשיך להחזיק
בשם המצויין בפנקס זה. הרשאה זו אינה
מאשרת את הפעלת העסק המיועד אלא
היא מאשרת את השתמשות המבקש בשם המצויין
בפנקס זה.

23.3.63
פ. ד. בוק

המשרד ::
משרד הפנים

אשר על פי פקודת
הרשאה ::

// המשרד מאשר את הרשאתו של המבקש //

Appendix - E

የሕ.የተ.አ.ያ ገንብ ገንጠት መንግሥት



ሕወሓት ግንባር ገንብ ገንጠት

የሕ.የተ.አ.ያ ገንብ ገንጠት መንግሥት
የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ሕ
IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT
MINISTRY OF FINANCE

ለከፍተኛ የሽያጭ ገዢዎች ገዢዎች

አዲስ አበባ

እኔ ከሆነኛ አዲስ አበባ ገዢዎች የሽያጭ ገዢዎች ገዢዎች ለ
የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር የተሰጠውን ስርዓት በጥንቃቄ ያነጻጽሩ ለ
የሕ.የተ.አ.ያ ገንብ ገንጠት መንግሥት ለ/2801/1 ለከፍተኛ ገዢዎች ገዢዎች ለ
ፈ ያደረጉ ገዢዎች ይሆናሉ፡፡

ለዚህ ዓይነት ገዢዎች የሆነው ከአዲስ አበባ ገዢዎች የተሰጠ
ው አስተያየት መሆኑን አሳይተው ስርዓት ለማድረግ ሁኔታ
ወን በሙሉ መረጃ ለሆነው ገዢዎች ገዢዎች የተሰጠው
አስተያየት ገዢዎች አገልግሎት ለማድረግ ይሆናሉ፡፡

የሕወሓት ግንባር ገንብ ገንጠት



የሕወሓት ግንባር ገንብ ገንጠት
የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር

ገዢዎች

ለከፍተኛ የሽያጭ ገዢዎች ገዢዎች
ለሽያጭ ገዢዎች ገዢዎች
ለከፍተኛ የሽያጭ ገዢዎች ገዢዎች
በገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ሕ

ሆነው
ለ ለ

Handwritten signatures and notes at the bottom of the document.

Appendix - F



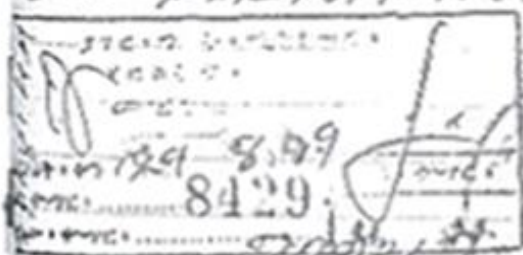
საქართველოს იუსტიციის მინისტრის
განცხადებით

საქართველოს იუსტიციის მინისტრის
განცხადებით

11/11
საქართველოს იუსტიციის მინისტრის
განცხადებით

საქართველოს იუსტიციის მინისტრის
განცხადებით

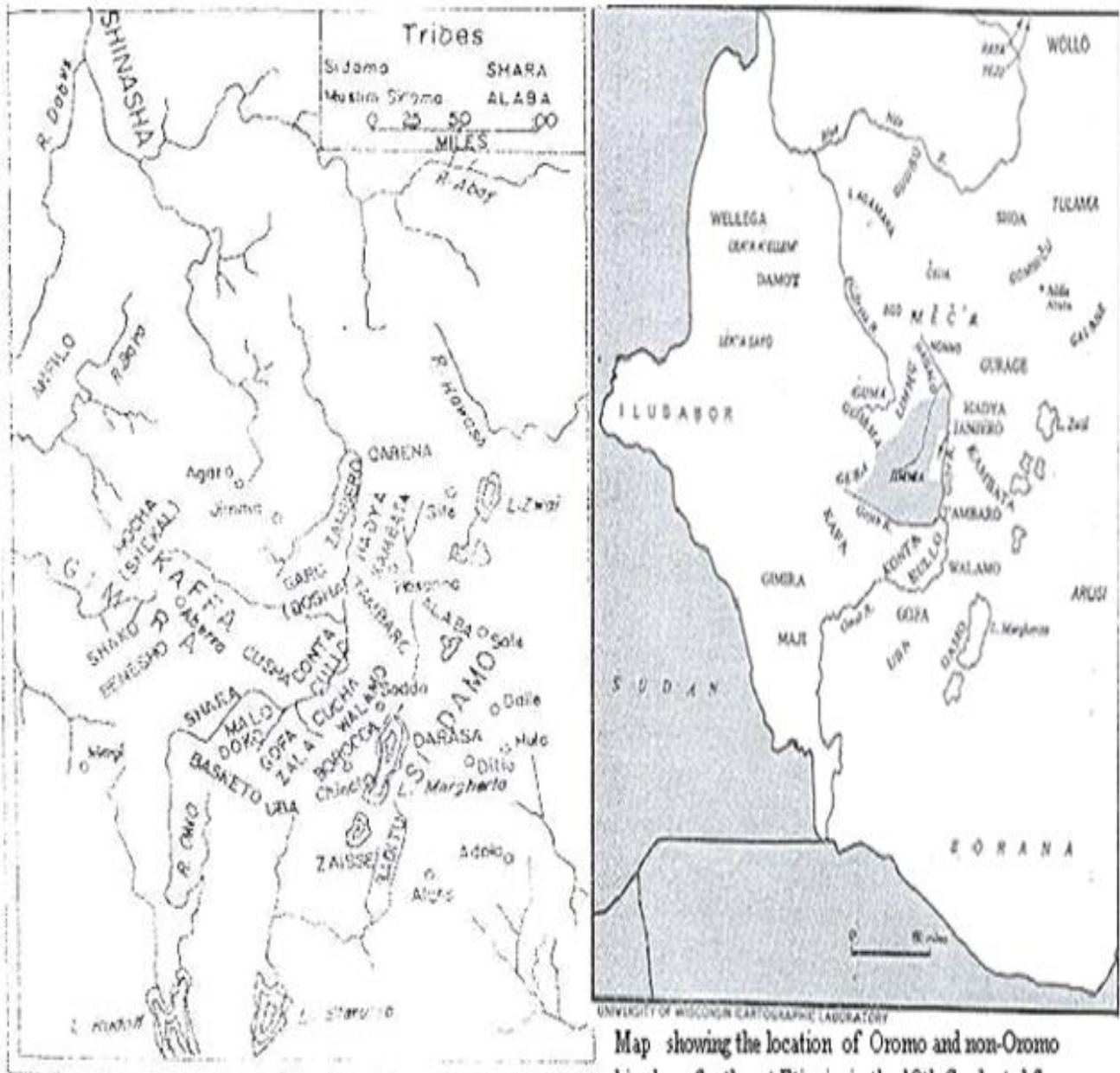
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განცხადებით



საქართველოს იუსტიციის მინისტრის
განცხადებით

საქართველოს იუსტიციის მინისტრის
განცხადებით

Appendix J - 1

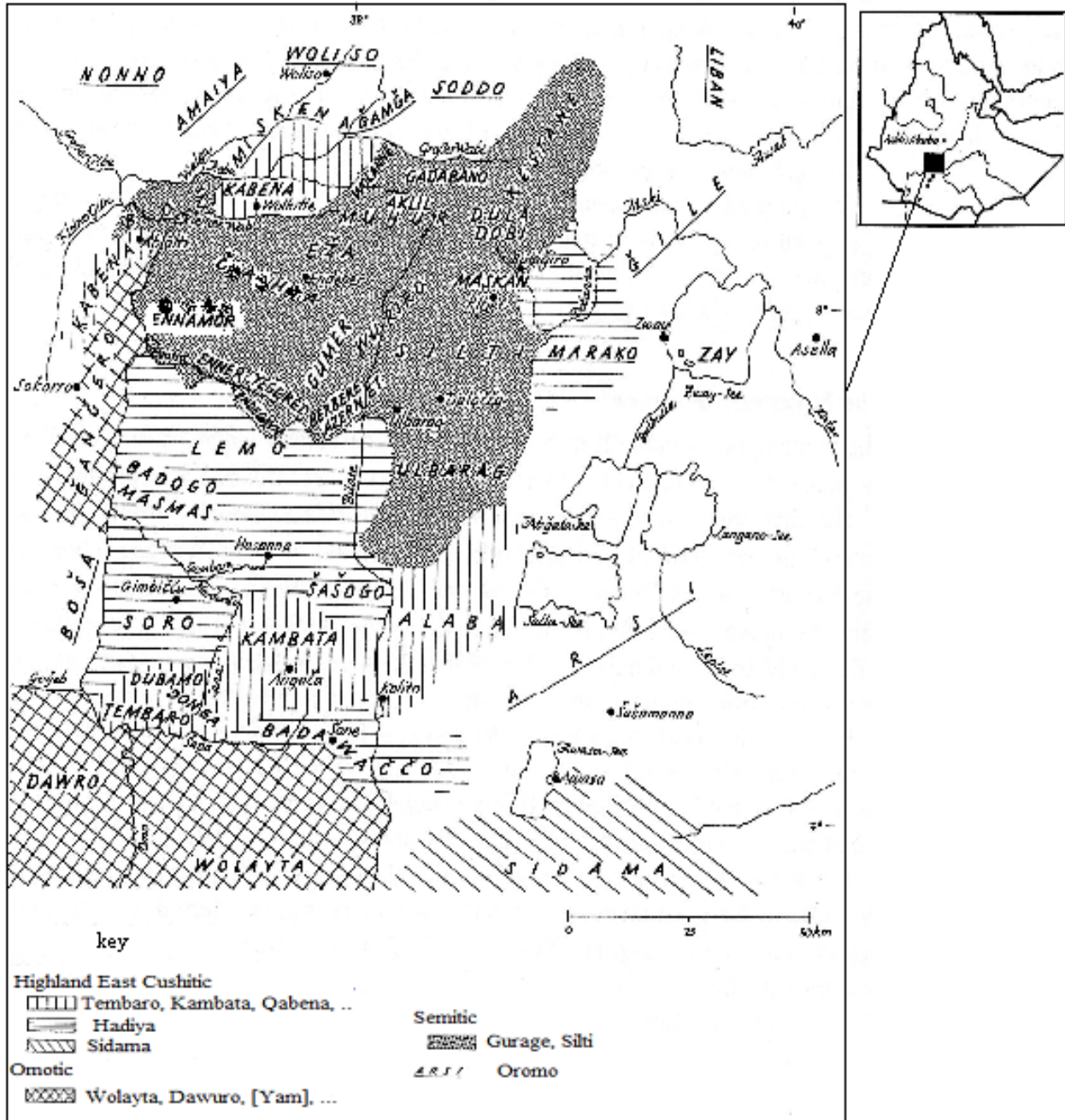


THE SIDAMA REGION; adapted from Trimingham, p. 181

Map showing the location of Oromo and non-Oromo kingdoms Southwest Ethiopia, in the 19th C; adapted from Lewis, p. 36.

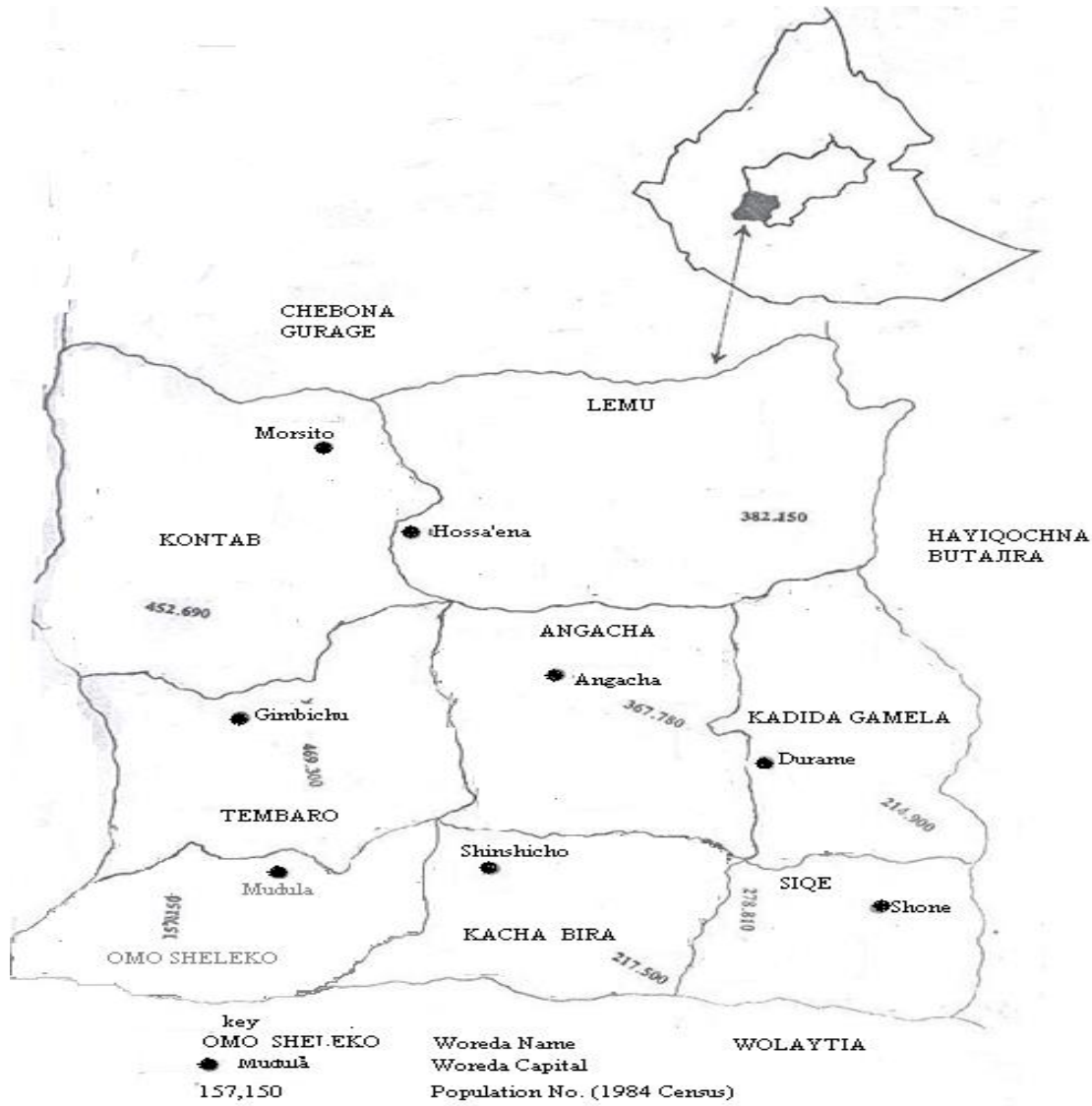
Map -1. The Southwest Ethiopia before and after Oromo Expansion

Appendix J - 2



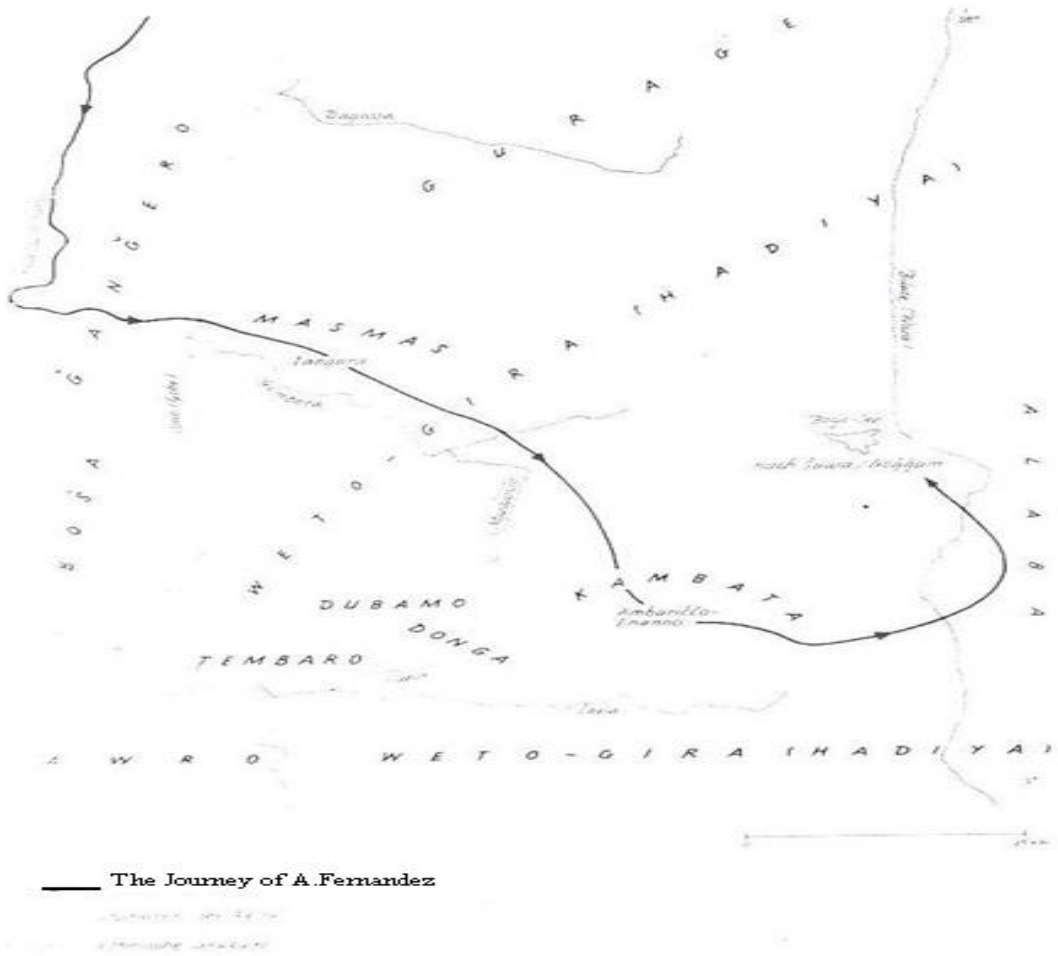
Map 2 Ethnic groups in South Ethiopia before Menelik conquest; Braukamper, p.3

Appendix J - 3



Map 3 Kambatana Hadiya Awraja (Lapiso, 1983)

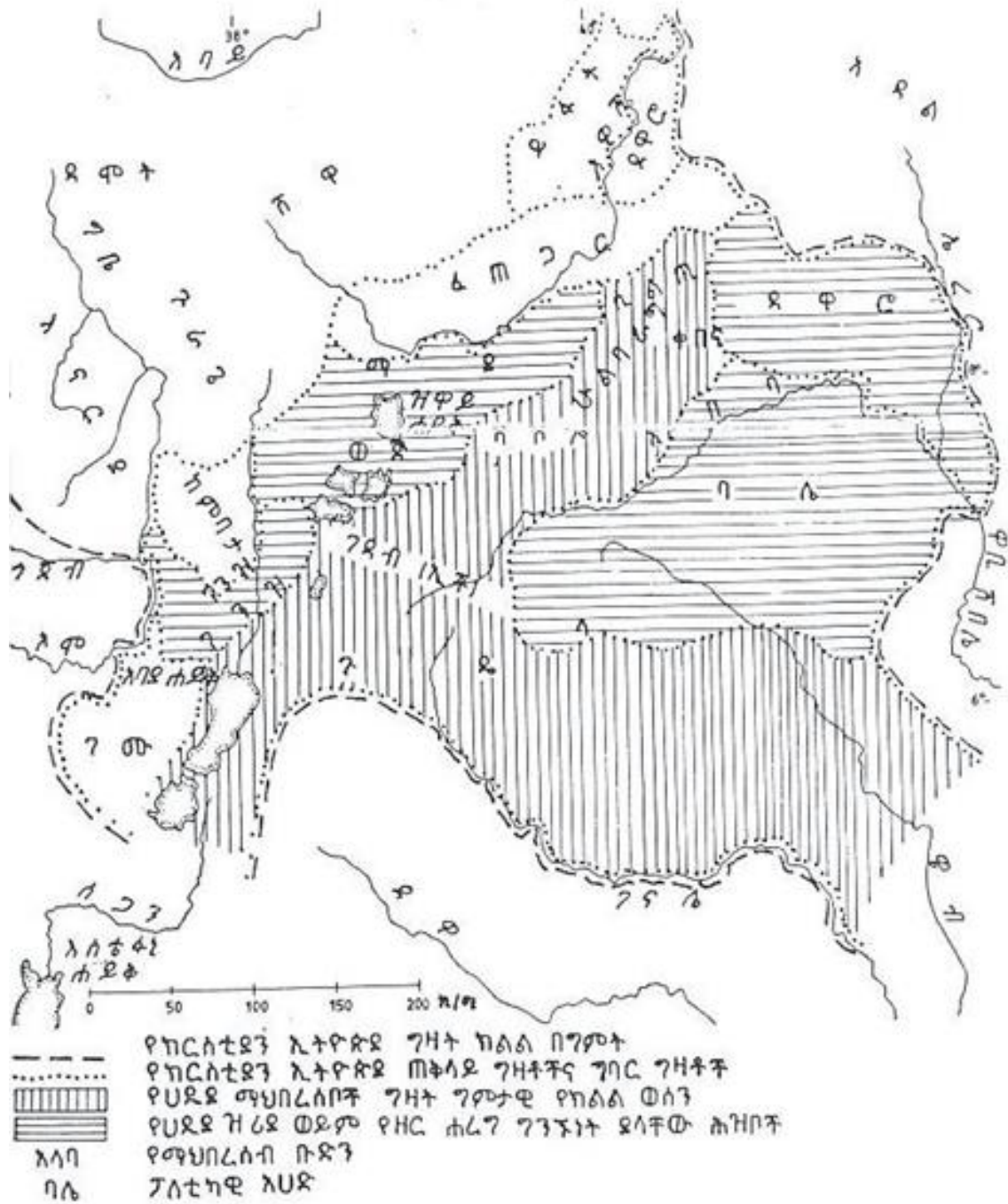
Appendix – K - 1



Map.4 The Kambata region in the 16th c, in Braukamper according to A. Fernandez

Appendix-L - 1

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Source: Alebachew Keimiso and Samuel Handamo. 2002, p. 351

Glossary

Ato	A civil title given to ordinary people equivalent to Mr. in English
Abba	Father, a title given for elders and particularly at Ethiopian Orthodox Church given to a priest or a monk.
Alaqa	Head
Awraja	Administrative sub- province
Balabat	Landlord or local hereditary chief
Balambaras	A military title just below that of Gerazmach
Ĉiqashum	Village chief empowered to collect tax during the imperial regime
Däjach	A military title below Ras and shortened or abbreviated as Däjach
Daña	Judge
Derg	The military government of Ethiopia
Facaasaa	A traditional unit of measuring of land, equivalent to one fourth hectare
Fitawrari	Commander of the Vanguard, a military title below Däjach
Gasha	Unit of land equivalent to 40 hectares
Geber	Tribute
Gabbar	Tribute paying peasant
Grazmach	Commander of the left front, title below Qäña
Gezat	An administrative unit
Hamsalaqa	A military title equivalent to commander of fifty
Lam	Fertile land
Lam-taf -	Semi-fertile land
Lij	Child, Honorific title reserved for sons of royal family or nobility
Madarya	A land given as a lieu of salary to the remunerated officials services
Mahbär	Association
Mamher	Head of Monastery
Marigeta	A religious title given to the clergy who educate the liturgy
Mektel Warada	An administrative unit below the level of district
Mälkäña	A name that the local people used to call the naftaña
Naftaña	a gun-bearer settled and ruled over the area incorporated
Qäbälé	Lowest administrative unit

Qāñazmach	Commander of the right front and shortened as Qāña
Safara	Resettlement scheme or camp
Taqelay- Gezat	Province
Warada	Administrative unit below Awraja
Wayna-daga	Moderate climatic zone
Wayzaro	A title given to married woman equivalent to Mrs. in English
Zāmača	Campaign, and also used as to denote campaigner

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis on “Ethnic Interaction in South Central Ethiopia: The Case of Kambata and Hadya (1890s -1990s)” is my original work and it has never been presented for the degree in any other University, and that all sources of materials that I have used for the thesis are duly acknowledged in the references.

Name: _____

Sign: _____

Date: _____

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university advisor.

Advisor’s

Name: _____

Sign: _____

Date: _____

Submission

Place: Jimma University

College: Social Sciences and Humanities

Department: History and Heritage Management

Date: _____