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The Northern Hadiya (Kabena) Resistance against Menilek's Expansion.

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a comprehensive study of an important chapter of the Hadiya history. Hadiya is one of the major ethnic groups in Southern Ethiopia. It examines the history of Menilek's expansion to southern Ethiopia, particularly the Hadiya area. It talks about the stiff resistances of the northern Hadiya against the Shawan expansionist force in the years between 1886 and 1889. Based primarily on the NALA, IES archives, student papers and other publications of the period, and also pertinent oral informants, the paper deals with the usage of modern guns on the side of the Menilek's army against spears and arrows that the northern Hadiya equipped with in the process of resisting the invasion. This paper also argues that the conquest of the Kabena and Marako was desisive for Menilek to invade easily the other part of Hadiya. Lack of unity on the part of the Hadiya ethnic groups helped the northerners to attack one after the other. We also argue that the Kabena were strong and brave people who stayed for long infront of the modern guns that the northerners armed with.

Key words: expansion, resistance, spears, arrows, invasion, guns

As described in chapter one, the Hadiya in between the 13th and 16th centuries had been one of the strongest states with Islam as a dominant religious factor. Before the 13th century, the Hadiya people had been adherents of indigenous religion called *Fändänano*. During the era of *Fändänano*, the Hadiya appeared to have experienced fragmentary political system that highly deterred the formation of strong state. With the intrusion of Islamic religion and its takeover of the dominant place in Hadiya, the state building process was believed to have hastened highly.[1] This was mainly because, the newly introduced Islamic religion became a uniting force for the Hadiya people who were affected by the various disintegrating factors of their former

[1] Ulrich Braukamper, *A History of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia,* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, pp. 60-69.

homegrown religion. Islam and the new geo-political and economic development of the horn of Africa helped the Hadiya people to come together and form a strong state under Islamic religion.

This does not mean that, as expressed in chapter one, the *Fändänano* religion was totally uprooted from the lives of Hadiya people. It continued to exist side by side with Islamic religion, though the latter was the dominant factor in Hadiya till the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only creating the unity of the various Hadiya branches who were living independent of each other, Islamic religion was believed to have helped the expansion of the Hadiya Islamic state to vast areas in the south and the southeast in the times before the 16th century. By drawing all the Hadiya groups to unity and expand to vast areas, the religion enabled them to control the long distance trade route that runs from the southwest to Zeila and the fareast.[2] The control of such trade route strengthened the Hadiya both economically and politically, like the other Muslim states of the time. It became a backbone in the process of the formation of the Muslim state of Hadiya. An endeavor to dominate the regional economy considered as the main reason for the conflict between the Muslim states, which also included the Hadiya, and the medieval Christian kingdom.

It is already mentioned that, following the major events of the 16th century, the Hadiya people were dislocated from their former areas and moved to different parts of the nowadays Ethiopia in different direction.[3] Though many of the medieval Hadiya people were remained in their former areas assimilated by the dominating culture, the rest forced to migrate to the present Hadiya land and its surroundings. After their arrival to their current destination, they began to quarrel with each other that believed to dominate the resources of the area and grab more land. Such animosity remained in force for long; i.e. from the 17th to the 19th century.[4] The different Hadiya clans who came to their present dwellings gradually developed a sense of animosity among themselves which had emanated from the need for socio-economic supremacy in the area. Throughout the 19th century till the conquest of Emperor Menilek, there had been frequent wars among the various clans of the Hadiya for land and other resources.

Wars between Sorro and Lemo, Wetto Gira and Sorro, Shashogo and Halaba, Badawacho and Wolayta, Badawacho and Kämbata, Wetto Gira and Kämbata, Ḳäbena and the Sabat Bet Gurage clans and so on had remained the norm of the time. From such conflicts and the latter developments, one can understand that the Hadiya clans were not able to develop a sense of unity and cooperation in the time when external invaders came to their land. The total absence of unity among the various clans of the Hadiya made them easy prey for the Shawan conquerers. The Badawacho, Maräḳo and Ḳäbena showed stiff resistance against the expansionists, albeit they undertook their war independently of their fellow Hadiya groups. The Shashogo, Lemo, Sorro and the Badogo were also forced to fight Menilekean invaders independently.[5]

[2] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo and Damise Mansido.
[3] Ulrich Braukamper, p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Informants: Ayala Lombebo, Beyoro Erduno and Asafa Bunte.

It was in the womb of Shawa that Menilek's grand desire for territorial acquisition and expansion was born. Since the middle of the 16th century, the hitherto dominant Christian kingdom was forced to retreat far north. They were totally detached from the southern states and principalities. This was happened mainly because of the long aged Muslim-Christian conflicts and the pressure exerted on them by population movements. After their departure from the center, they began to develop new cultures and established their permanent capital at Gondar. Eventually, it became difficult for northern Amhara to control Shawa, their medieval political center, let alone the southern non-Amhara people. Shawa began to develop its independent political culture and followed the policy of expansion to the neighboring Tulama Oromo territories mainly since the time of Sahla Sillassie.[6]

In the time of King Sahle Selassie (1813-1847), Shawa was divided into nine administrative sub-divisions. During his time, Shawa was said to have become center for the refugees coming from Begemidir, Tigray, Gojam and Wollo. Mainly because of population pressure, Shawa began to look for new land and as a result territorial expansion to the neighboring Oromo territories began. King Sahle Selassie and his son King Haile Malakot (1847-1855) were effective in the process of their expansion towards the Karayu, Tulama, Mecha, Sodo Gurages, and Lake Ziway areas. After he conquered the northern Gurage (*Kistane* or the Sodo), Sahle Selassie began to call himself as 'King of Shawa and the Gurage'. Kofi Darkwah writes:

> *Sahla Selassie had initiated the expansion of Shawa towards the southerly and south westerly provinces and had made considerable conquests in those areas. His motives had been imperial, religious and economic. Menilek had all these motives, but the imperial and economic ones appeal to have been dominant. This is not to imply that the religious motives faded out of his considerations.*[7]

Sahla Selassie, however, appeared to have given much attention for the political and economic issues than religious. His political and economic motives were by no means equivalent with the religious ones. Conversely, the approach that Menilek had followed in religious spheres was stronger than Sahlasilassie's or Hailamalakot's deliberations. Where ever he went to new areas, the arch and priests usually followed him and blessed his conquered areas. After invasion, forceful conversion of the autochthones to Orthodox Christianity and planting of new Christian churches were the norm of the time.[8] In the face of such an endeavor, it is difficult to say that Menilek's religious deliberation was less than the one followed by Haila Malakot and Sahla Selassie.

[6] Bahru Zawde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, Second Edition, Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press, 2002, p. 61.

[7] Kofi Darkwah, *Shawa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813-1889*, London: Heinemann, 1975, pp. 95-96.

[8] Informants: Asafa Bunte, Aboche Takiso and Abatikun Lamboro.

Emperor Menilek's administrative approach towards the south, the southeast and the southwest was much harsher than the one followed by his medieval ancestors. Unlike the medieval rulers, the Shawan conquest was followed by incorporation, subjugation and exploitation. During the Shawan rule in the south, the local people were given to the Shawan administrators, the *Näfṭägna*, *Mälkägna*, the local appointees (the *Balabats*, *Sanga Qoros*, the *Chiqashums* and the *Wana*) to be 'eaten'[9] and subjugate.[10]

The Shawans and other northern Amhara and Tigrian rulers were reluctant to embrace European modernization and they were resistant to change their traditional practices. Though they were resistant to accept European modernization principles and concepts, they were controversially eager to receive the modern war materials which were made in different European countries. The denial of modernization concepts and principles and their reluctance to accept foreign cultural changes were some of the reasons which were believed to have harmed the development of the country and paralyzed the nation building process. Regarding this, Rey argues that the Abyssinians were hesitant to convert themselves into a mere common place imitation of European state and the Emperor himself, while admitting the necessity for, and indeed urging reform, continually pleaded for time and patience in the work.[11]

It could be said that the process of firearm collection and the southward expansion had direct relationship. Menilek pursued his expansionist policy mainly to strengthen his economic capacity so that he would be able to purchase a large number of modern war armaments. Such an endeavor would also help him to take the imperial power from Tigrians. In this regard, Menilek's intention was not primarily directed to secure his rule over the southern provinces. Rather he came to the south for economic exploitation and plunder so that he would be able to strengthen his military power; that in turn help him to rule over the *Mehal Hager* or the center. His intention was to secure his over lordship over the *Mehal Hager* (the north) by depending totally on the economic resources that would be collected through the plunders and exploitations of the *Dar Hager* (the periphery).[12]

Finally the south, the southwest and the southeast were conquered by emperor Menilek thanks to the arms and ammunitions which were collected from Europeans particularly the French and Italians.[13] In line with this, Perham argues that the ease with which this great extension of the empire was made after the boundaries of Shawa had been halted for many centuries is explained by the superiority over the spear and arrow of the new firearms which the emperor was obtaining in large quantities from France and Italy.[14]

[9] The term 'eat' indicates the intentions of Menilekean warlords to exploit the newly incorporated areas.
[10] Informants: Shiferaw Bifebo and Anshiso Awilo
[11] Charles F. Rey, *The Real Abyssinia*, London: Seeley Service and Co. Limited, 1935, pp. 11-12
[12] Informants: Birhanu Yakob, Tamire Danano, Asafa Bunte, Haji Umar Abasimbo and Shifaraw Bifebo.
[13] *Ibid., p.47.*
[14] Margery M. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia,* Second Edition, London, Faber and Faber, 1969, pp. 293-294.

It is said that both Menilek's Shawa and his empire were a product of European imperialism and the fire arms. "The strongest derive for feudal centralization; expansion, annexation and administration of territories came from Shawa, and was activated and nurtured by European imperialism. The kingdom had acquired access to the growing traffic in arms and ammunitions, especially after 1870s."[15] Lapiso says the advent of European colonialism strengthened, expanded and kept alive Ethiopian feudalism that Tewodros had tried and failed to destroy in the 1850s and 60s.[16] Father Lorenzo, Guglielmo Massaja, Pierre Arnoux, Count Pietro Antonelli, and Alfred Ilg were agents of European imperialism in Ethiopia. Similarly, Kofi Darkwah writes that the influx of Europeans closely affected Shawa's relations with the northern princes, as well as his expansion.[17] He says the influx of various European nationals into Shawa during Menilek's reign had important effects on the final stages of the rise of the kingdom. According to him, Menilek was eager to employ any European willing to work for him on any aspects of development.[18] Accordingly, he brought Pottier (French man), Pino (also French), Alfred Ilg and Zemmerman (Swiss engineers) that was aimed to advance the military service and enhance the road and bridge buildings. In relation to the import of firearms and European personnel, Richard Punkhurst says that in 1876 Menilek used a French man called Pottier to train his troops and to fight against rebels and he also received another French man called M. Joubert to erect gun powder factory near his capital, Ankober.[19]

Ilg was able to build important bridge on the Awash river that would help Menilek to conquer the southern provinces which also included the Hadiya. It was Antonelli who was able to create Italo-Shawan relationship. He convinced Menilek that friendly relationship with the Italians would benefit him than other European countries, especially with the supply of fire arms. In 1887, he succeeded to make an agreement with Menilek II against Yohannes IV who was in a war tension with the Italians in Eritrea.[20]

As indicated above, Menilek was well aware of the advantage of approaching Europeans and other nations which were much better in military technology than the Shawans. Menilek, unlike Tewodros, approached them not mainly to bring those technicians who could establish centers to produce firearms in Ethiopia; rather his relationship was limited to importing war materials. Darkwah says, "… very early in his reign, Menilek realized the immense value which European firearms would be to him. Menilek was, however, frustrated by the British, who feared that arming Menilek would complicate their involvement with Tewodros, made representation to the French officials in Paris and at Aden."[21] From Darkwah's statement, it is possible to understand that the British were reluctant to help Menilek. In relation to this, Markakis notes,

[15] Tasama Ta'a, "The Political Economy…," p. 121.
[16] Lapiso G. Dilebo, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia, 1865-1916: National Unification or Amhara Communal Domination," PHD Dissertation on History, Howard University Domination, 1974, p.49
[17] Darkwah, p. 57.
[18] Darkwah, p. 58.
[19] Richard Punkhurst, "Menilek and the Utilization of Foreign Skill in Ethiopia," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies,* Vol. 5, No. 1, 1967, p. 30.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Darkwah., p. 58

"Britain, the most ambitious colonizer, placed Ethiopia under an arms embargo to keep it weak and pliable. France and Italy, however, thwarted British plans, allowing Menilek to obtain a sizeable arsenal from both."[22] This is to mean that the bulk of firearms were imported to the kingdom, Shawa, from French and Italians. British policy of preventing Menilek from getting modern war materials had failed because of the French, Italian and also the Russian Tzar friendly approach towards the latter.

Regarding the means of exchange, Darkwah writes:

> *… Menilek paid for those fire arms partly in thalers and mainly with local products: coffee, ivory, gold, civet gum etc… There is thus a direct connection between the influx of firearms in Shawa and the pace of the conquest. On the one hand, the more firearms that were obtained the greater was the need for ivory, gold etc. to pay for them, and the greater this need became the more the campaigns were intensified and pushed further a field towards the very source of these products.*[23]

Menilek said to have conspired on Emperor Yohannes in the war that the latter engaged against the Egyptians. Menilek made an agreement with Egyptians to come to their side in times of war with Yohannes and received some firearms from them. He could not, however, came practically to the Egyptian side in the wars that were undertaken in 1875 and 1876 at Gundat and Gura respectively. In this case Menilek betrayed both Yohannes and the Egyptians. It is said that in 1875 Menilek got some 500 rifles and one canon from Egyptian ruler, Khedive Ismael Pasha that was aimed to join the Egyptians in the war against Yohannes IV. By the end of 1870s Menilek had acquired some 4000 firearms from Egyptians, French and Italians. In the years between 1882 and 1883 Menilek got about 8000 muskets and rifles.[24]

From the history of his foreign policy, it is possible to say that Menilek gave priority for the independence of his kingdom, Shawa, and then to pursue the policy of expansion both to the north and the south. In line with this, Kofi Darkwah states, "… In his dealings with the Europeans, Menilek's foremost interest was to safeguard the independence of the kingdom over which he ruled. As he saw it the only way by which he could achieve this was to build up Shawa's military strength to a position strong enough to resist successfully and if possible, conquer, his neighbors, including the northern provinces of the empire."[25]

Considerable quantity of firearms began to flow to Menilek's kingdom with the arrival to Shawa of the two European arms dealers: Soliellet and Antonelli in 1882 and 1883. Soliellet supplied Menilek with 400 and Antonelli with 500 firearms. In the years between 1885 and 1886, Menilek bought from French traders 48,800 rifles, 3000 muskets and 24 guns. In 1886, Menilek also received from Italians 4000 rifles. In 1887, Menilek conquered Harar and confiscated 6 canons and 600 rifles and a huge numbers of cartridges. In the same year the king also received 8000 Remington rifles from French arms dealers. In 1888, it is said that the

[22] John Markakis, *Ethiopia: the Last Two Frontiers*, East African Series, James Currey Ltd, UK, 2011, p. 92.
[23] Darkwah, p. 96.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-98.
[25] Darkwah, p. 58

Italian Prime Minister, Crispi, sent for Menilek some 1000 rifles. In the years between 1888 and 1889, Menilek was able to receive more than 100,000 rifles from both French and Italian sources. In 1891, Menilek got 80,000 and 60,000 rifles from Tzar Nicholas II and French sources respectively. From the battle of Adawa, Menilek managed to collect considerable number of firearms. The supply of firearms and cartridges continued to enter into Menilek's court with huge amount. In the late 1880s, Menilek was able to import large amount of firearms that was mainly aimed to take the imperial power from Emperor Yohanness. The amount of modern war materials in 1896, 1903 and 1935, according to Lapiso, was 112000, 600000 and 60000 respectively.[26] In 1903 the importation of fire arms reached its apogee. Of the 600,000 modern armaments, almost half of them were possessed by the provincial governors.

At the time of Menilek, there were 14 provincial governors. Lapiso notes that out of the 14 provincial governors 13 were 'colonial' governors. In 1935, however, because of arms limitation imposed on Ethiopia, the amounts of arms importation to the Ethiopian land were highly reduced. Huge arms importation continued to exist till 1906. This was the time when the tripartite powers agreed to limit the importation of firearms to Ethiopia. Depending on such huge armament, Menilek succeeded to defeat the southern Ethiopian people one after the other. The Oromo and other southern Ethiopian peoples had no alternatives, except facing the modern armament with their traditional war materials like spears, bows, knife, shields and the like.

It was in the early 1870s that Gobana Dache (the ardent supporter of Menilek) and other Shawan nobilities began to expand their territories to the south and south western Ethiopia. Each Shawan war lord was able to organize his respective regiment which was planned to materialize their grand mission. Prior to the coming of Menilek's army to the southwest, King Tekle Haymanot of Gojam was already there levying tributes from the local people. Menilek was also in need of tribute collection from the same area. Such similar interest in the southwest brought them to war. The two fought at the battle of Embabo in 1882. At this battle *Nigus* Tekle Haimanot was totally routed and surrendered to Menilek. Following the battle of Embabo, Emperor Yohannes IV was forced to give recognition for the over lordship of King Menilek over the southwest. This gave Menilek the license to control the most resourceful area of the country. The control over the southwest was vital for Menilek, largely because it gave him the necessary economic resources to purchase varieties of armaments from European powers like the French and Italians. In doing so, as mentioned above, he had the grand plan of defeating Yohannes IV and taking the Ethiopian Imperial power from Tigrians.[27]

After the defeat of Tekle Haymanot, the south, southwest and the southeast became free for Menilek to expand and to do whatever he wanted.[28] Emperor Yohannes was busy confronting external enemies like the Egyptians, Italians and Mahadists. He could not get time to halt the rapidly growing power of Menilek. While Yohannes was struggling to stop the external powers from encroaching towards the hinterland of

[26] Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…," pp. 61-62
[27] Lapiso, p. 61.
[28] ባህሩ ዘውዴ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ፣ ከ1847 እስከ 1983፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣ 2007 ዓ.ም፣ p. 70.

Ethiopia, Menilek was creating secret relationships and agreements with Ethiopian enemies like the Egyptians, Italians and French.[29]

Borelli, as quoted by Lapiso, states that there were thirty different Sidama groups in the year that he visited the southern Ethiopia, (1888). The thirty Sidama groups were classified under 4 major divisions. One of the four divisions includes ethnicities like Gurage, Hadiya, Maräḳo, Halaba, Kämbata, Danta, Soro, Kambara and Donga.[30] Lapiso categorizes all the southern Ethiopian states, (that excludes the Oromo) into the Sidama stock. Soleillet, (quoted by Perham) who wrote his traveller's account in 1886 also counted fourteen Sidama states including Kafa, before the conquest.[31] Perham on his side tried to divide Ethiopian region into three: the northern highland provinces, the Oromo and the non-Oromo. The non-Oromo, according to him, were further divided into four: the Sidamo Hamites, the Negro, the Danakil and Somali region. Under the Sidamo-Hamites, he included all the today's southern region including the Hadiya.[32] Kofi Darkwah made an attempt to classify the south, southeast and the southwest as the Oromo and Sidama.[33] Markakis's classification of the Ethiopian people is different from the aforementioned writers. He classifies Ethiopia as center, highland periphery and lowland periphery. The Hadiya and its neighbors are categorized under the highland periphery.[34]

Lapiso argues that the name Sidama was first given to these areas by the Oromos.[35] In the book translated into Amharic, we see Alexander Bulatovich criticizing a traveller who came to Ethiopia and visited the south for merely employing the term 'Sidama' for those southern peoples except the Oromo and the Kafa.[36] He writes, "ከዚህ በፊት የነበሩት ተመራማሪዎች (ለምሳሌ ማሳያና አንቱአን ዴ አባዴ) በመሀከለኛዉ የኦሞ ወንዝ ዳር የሚኖሩትንና ድሮ እራሳቸዉን የቻሉ የተለያዩ መንግስታት የነበራቸዉን የዳዉሮን፣ የኮንታን፣ የቁጫን፣ የወላይታ፣ የጋሞንና የጎፋን ጎሳዎች ሲዳማ በሚል ጥቅል ስም ይጠሩዋቸዋል።"[37] It's rough translation reads, "The previous researchers (Masaja and D'Abadie) were seen using collective name, Sidama, for those people who are living along the Omo valley and had their own independent states like Dawro, Konta, Kucha, Wolayta, Gamo and Gofa." Soleillet, nevertheless, tended to include the Kaffa under the Sidama division. Bulatovich came to the south as part of Menilek's expedition force in 1897.[38]

It is my understanding that Bulatovich was on the right track. The trend of inculcating all the southern peoples which are diversified historically, linguistically and racially under the Sidama stock needs to be

[29] Lapiso, pp. 61-62.
[30] Lapiso, "Emperor *Menilek*'s Ethiopia…," pp. 95-96
[31] Perham, p. 316
[32] Perham, p. 263
[33] Darkwah, p. 96.
[34] John Markakis, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*, James Currey, 2011, p. 45.
[35] Lapiso., "Emperor *Menilek*'s Ethiopia…", p. 93
[36] አሌክሳንደር ቡላቶቪች፣ ከአጼ ምኒልክ ሰራዊት ጋር፣ (አምባቸዉ ከበደ፣ ተርጓሚ)፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ፣ 2007 ዓ.ም.፣ ገጽ. 56.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*

reinvestigated through the mirror of historical methodologies. It is also convincing to accept Lapiso's argument. This was largely because of his consideration of the name 'Sidama' not as the name of a single ethnic group, but as an imagined concept. Apart from Lapiso and Bulatovich, the rest of the authors and travellers mentioned above have some sort of misunderstanding regarding the ethnic composition of the south. Giving such a name for such diversified societies indicates that the authors and travellers were unable to bring the diversities into consideration. In the so called 'Sidama' region, there are people that range from deep black to white skinned color, and from the Omotic linguistic group to Cushitic. They have also different historical background.

Particularly in the period between 1875 and 1898, with the help of war mongering lords like *Ras* Darge, *Ras* Wolda Giorgis, *Ras* Gobana Dache, *Ras* Makonin, *Dejj*. Wolda Gabriel, *Ras* Wolde Ashagre, *Dejj*. Wadajo Gobana, *Dejj*. Tasama Darge, *Dejj*. Basha Aboye, *Dejj*. Girmame, *Dejj*. Mashasha Seifu, *Dejj*. Balcha Safo, *Dejj*. Mangasha, *Fit*. Habta Giorgis, *Fit*. Hailu, *Fit*. Teklu and others, Menilek succeeded to create the modern Ethiopian Empire. Though the formation of the modern Ethiopian state had long history and also contributed by invisible hands, the aforementioned Menilekean warlords and their modern rifles played direct role in bringing the various societies of the present day Ethiopia to the Shawan subjugation. Regarding the presence of invisible hands in the formation of modern Ethiopian state, Brian Yates states, "… Abyssinia (Ethiopia) is not solely the product of Semitic civilization and the Oromo are a significant part of this state at all level."[39] It is true that in the formation of the modern Ethiopian state, the Oromo people had played central role, though their contributions wittingly or unwittingly neglected by both modern and early professional historians.[40]

According to Perham, Menilek, as king of Shawa and latter as an emperor, expanded his territories in all directions. He says, in 1875 parts of the Gurage were conquered, but it was in 1889 that the whole Gurage was brought fully to Menilek's empire. In1882, *Ras* Gobena forced the states of the southwest which were previously administered by Kaffa to accept the rule of the Christian kingdom. Most of these states were the Gibe states. These were Jimma, Guma, Limu Enarya, Goma and Gera. They were obliged to submit peacefully to Menilek's emerging empire. As a result, their local rulers were given semi-autonomous status to administer their own people. In the same year the first expedition was sent to the Arsi, but it was unsuccessful. The Arsi people, nevertheless, were defeated and brought to Menilek's empire by Wolde Ashagre in 1886. The war over the Arsi was one of the bloodiest wars that ever undertaken in modern Ethiopian empire. In the same year, *Ras* Gobana was able to force the Wolaga states to submit peacefully.

[39] Brian J. Yates, "Invisible Actors: The Oromo and the Creation of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1913)," PhD Dessertation, University of Illinois, 2009, p. 246.

[40] *Ibid.*

The conquest of Kämbata (in which the dominant group was the Hadiya) which was begun in 1890 was completed in 1894.[41]

In the other direction, Menilek expanded to the east and brought Harar to his empire in 1887. It was after the crush of the strong resistance led by Emir Abdulahi and other Oromo at the battle of Challanko that Harar came to the Shawan rule. At the same time, Illu Ababora was conquered and brought to the Shawan subjugation. In the years between 1886 and 1889, the Sabat Bet Gurage and the Qabena (sometimes named as northern Hadiya) had fought frequent wars against the invading forces. The well-coordinated forces of the Gurage-Hadiya declared *jihadic* wars and were able to score frequent victories over the conquering armies. Finally, they were defeated and incorporated to the Ethiopian Empire in 1889.[42]

In the same year, Dawro, Yam and Konta were brought to the Shawan subjugation. In 1891, the Ogaden, Bali and Sidama were invaded. In 1894, Wolayta, the Badawacho Hadiya and Gofa were subdued and incorporated. Particularly, the Wolayta and the Badawacho stubborn resistances gave hardtimes for Menilek and his warlords. The oral tradition in Hadiya says that the Badawacho warriors were the vanguard force of Tona's army. We know that *Kawo* Tona led the coordinated forces of the Badawacho and Wolayta against the well armed Shawans. The Wolayta and the Badawacho were able to leave aside their traditional animosity and were succeeded to establish a united front against the invading forces. The war against Wolayta was one of the bloodiest battles which were ever fought in the process of the formation of modern Ethiopian Empire. In 1896 and 1897 the Borana people were conquered and brought to Menilek's Empire after their heroic resistance at a place called Mega. It was *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis that was able to bring Borana to the newly emerging Menilek's empire. In 1897 Benishangul was forced to submit peacefully to Menilek. In the same year, Kafa was defeated and reduced to tributary status to the northerners. The Kafa leader, *Tato* Gaki Sherocho fought a bloody war against the forces of *Ras* Wolda Giorgis. *Ras* Wolda Giorgis had also succeeded to incorporate the vast semi-desert areas that stretched upto Lake Turkana into the Ethiopian Empire.[43] In 1900, Menilek completed his territorial expansion and was able to create a vast empire.

Detail discussion on the incorporation and subjugation of the territories apart from the Hadiya is beyond the reach of this paper. Largely because of this, the paper is forced to limit itself to the Hadiya and its surroundings. Since the resistance movements of the neighboring states in one way or another had an effect on the struggle of the Hadiya, separate treatment of the struggle of the latter is found to be an impossible task. For it was part of the medieval Hadiya, this research work gives some light for the history of the

[41] Lapiso, pp. 78-85.
[42] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Asafa Bunte and Haji Umar Abasimbo.
[43] አሌክሳንደር ቡላቶቪች፣ ገጽ 263.

Ḳäbena struggles against the Shawan expansion. The Ḳäbena state was said to have established by the Hadiya people. It is also called by some authors as the 'northern Hadiya'.[44]

In the medieval period, particularly before the sixteen century, the Hadiya had well organized Islamic state which had collapsed following the long period of wars with the Christian kingdom and the then ongoing population expansion. The medieval Muslim state of Hadiya undertook frequent wars against the Christian kingdom which was aimed mainly to defend its economic interests. The Hadiya Muslims had also fought the northerners so as to protect their religion from the Christian assault. The threat of Christianity against Islam was mainly originated from the northern parts of the present day Ethiopia. As indicated above, the Halaba, Sïlti, Maräḳo, Ḳäbena and the other Hadiya people who were assimilated by the neighboring ethnic groups were parts of the medieval Muslim state of Hadiya. For some authors like Lapiso, the Gurage people were also part of the medieval Muslim state of Hadiya.[45] He states, "… some writers, nevertheless, tend to classify the Gurage with the Habasha because of the presence of Semitic linguistic elements in their language. This classification, however, overlooks the historical fact that the Gurage were part of the medieval Hadiya kingdom."[46] The aforementioned peoples developed their own independent historical routes and cultures after the 16th century, but they were clans of the great Hadiya of the medieval period.

Before their disintegration following the 16th century major socio-political developments, the Hadiya were strong enough to resist external challenges that were targeted against their religious, economic and political independence. They were able to develop Islamic brotherhood with the neighboring Muslim peoples and states. They even went to the extent that they managed to establish Islamic educational centers in different parts of their state. They were also succeeded to import Islamic religious teachers to their sultanate. This was planned to strengthen and also expand Islamic ideas to the other peoples of the horn. Such strong Islamic sentiment was discontinued after their disbandment following the 16th century major historical events.[47] The Hadiya clans and peoples who were once under the strong shade of the Hadiya Muslim state were forced to leave their original homeland to different areas in the horn. They also started to develop their own independent historical routes and cultures. After their disbandment, they became easy prey for different cultures and adopted the neighboring peoples' economic systems, languages and other cultural elements.

Following the collapse of the Hadiya Muslim state, Islamic religion began to give way for the revival of indigenous religion, the *Fändänano*. In the late 19th century, Christianity became the major threat to Islamic religion. The former, nevertheless, was not strong enough to uproot Islamic religion and cultures from the lives of Hadiya people. The Ḳäbena symbolized or became the microcosm of the revival or renaissance of the medieval Hadiya Islamic state. After abolishing Umar Bakisa from his power, Hassan seemed to have

[44] አለባቸዉ ኬሚሶና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፣ የሀዲያ ህዝብ ታሪክ እና ባህል፣ አዲስ አበባ፣ ሰፊር አታሚ፣ ሀምሌ 2002 ዓ.ም.፣ p. 69; Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Maskalo Ayano, Asafa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Tashale Abara and Abatikun Lamboro.

[45] Lapiso, "Emperor *Menilek*'s Ethiopia…," p. 94.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Haji Umar Abasimbo and Uliso Tirore.

determined to revive the medieval Muslim state of Hadiya. Though his attempt was partially unsuccessful, he was able to prepare plan to resist the imposition of the Christian rule and establish strong Islamic state in Ethiopia.[48]

Now it is important to give considerable space for the history of the migration of some Hadiya groups to the Gurage land and the Challenges they encountered, and also the process of state formation in Ḳäbena. During their settlement in and around the present day Gurage areas, the Ḳäbena Hadiya people were led by 30 elected and famous warriors as well as horsemen. Among them, Walga Moche (the father of Hassan Enjamo) was the strongest leader and the unifyimg force behind all Hadiya people who established the Ḳäbena state.[49] It is believed that Walga was the overall commander of the thirty Ḳäbena war leaders. Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo states, "በ19ኛዉ ክፍለ ዘመን የቀቤናን ህዝብ በአግባቡ አደራጅተዉና ማንነታቸዉን ጠብቀዉ በጥንካሬ የያዙትን አከባቢ ተቆጣጥረዉ እንዲቆዩ ካስቻሉ መሪዎች መካከል ዋልጋ ሞጬ የቀቤና ታዋቂ መሪና የሀሰን ኤንጀሞ አባት በዋናነት ይጠቀሳሉ።"[50] The rough translation of this idea is: "Walga Moche, the father of Hassan Enjamo, was one of the 19th century strong leaders who enabled the Ḳäbena Hadiya to keep their identity and stay long in their occupied territories."

The major part of the Hadiya oral tradition says that the origin of Ḳäbena people was around Lemo areas.[51] This is to mean that it was from Lemo area that the Ḳäbena started their migration. From Lemo, some section of the Hadiya moved to Mugo under the strict guidance of Walga Moche. The Gurage people who were already settled near to the area opposed the Hadiya settlement. Then the Hadiya were forced to leave Mugo to Enamor. After they stayed at Enamor for some years, they moved to Chaha area; but the Chaha people fought them. Latter on, the Hadiya returned to the 'no man's land' around Enemor.[52] Then the Hadiya named their new settlement Walga (named after their strongest leader, Walga Moche).[53]

Following the initial immigrants, other Hadiya people followed suit. At their new settlement, they formed strong community under the leadership of Walga. The Gurage continued to harass the Hadiya. The Ḳäbena Hadiya people were Muslims and had strong tradition of political administration. This was because they were remnants of the Medieval Muslim state of Hadiya. They became rich in cattle as they were occasionally looted by the Gurage and the surrounding Oromo pastoralists. Alongside with conflicts, intermarriages and cultural mixtures was the norm of the time. For example, Walga Moche was married to Enamor woman, and from whom he got a child under the name, Hassan Enjamo.[54]

[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Warku Nida, "The Revivalist Movement of Hassan Enjamo," B.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa Univerasity, Department of History, 1984, p. 25.
[50] አለባቸዉ ኬሚሶ እና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፣ ገጽ 69.
[51] Informants: Damise Mansido, Shifaraw Bifebo and Masqalo Forsido.
[52] Warku, p. 26.
[53] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Asafa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Shifaraw Bifebo.
[54] *Ibid.*

Latter on a person named, Ali Danabo helped the Hadiya to settle in Zanna Bannar, the latter Ḳäbena. Because of the disagreement that was created between Ali (strong Muslim adherent and leader) and other Chaha traditional religious followers and their leaders, the former was obliged to leave Chaha to Enamor, where the Hadiya Muslim community made their abode. Ali told Walga his intention to help the Muslim Hadiya to settle in Zanna Bannar. Ali accompanied by Walga persuaded the Aklil, Wolane, Sodo and Mekorkor Gurages to come to his side and help him settling the Hadiya in Zanna Bannar. Having achieved in bringing these Gurages to his side, Ali and Walga settled in Damankuarm and Seba in Zanna Bannar respectively. Following such great event, a large number of Hadiya people mainly from Lemo appeared to have migrated to Zanna Bannar. Since Ali was a man from Chaha, considerable number of people from Chaha began to move to Zanna Bannar and embraced Islam. Zanna Bannar is important place for the settlers, mainly because the area is surrounded by two rivers: Kareb in the south and southeast and Wabi in the north. The two rivers had strategic importance for the Ḳäbena people. This was mainly because they were using the rivers as defense from the possible attack coming from the neighboring Gurage clans. After the elapse of some years, the Hadiya renamed their settlement as Ḳäbena. The settlers began to adopt new economic systems like farming, herding and commerce. They founded a renowned market town called Mojar, which was the antecedent of the commercial center of Ḳäbena.[55]

Under the rule of Imam Bakisa and Hussan Enjamo, after the death of Walga, Islam grew strong in Ḳäbena. Moreover, politically and economically too the Muslim state of Ḳäbena was advanced in the times of the three rulers: Walga, Bakisa and Hussan. Bakisa came to Ḳäbena from Chaha. The reason for his coming to Ḳäbena was the treason that he committed against the latter. Before Bakisa's expulsion, the Sebat Bet Gurage had a plan to attack Ḳäbena in surprise and destroy it. Their plan to destroy the Ḳäbena was made partly because the Sebat Bet Gurage heard the statelessness of Ḳäbena following the death of Walga. The plan of the Sebat Bet to attack the Ḳäbena was in response for what the latter did against the Gurage. Umar Bakisa, however, disclosed the secret oppression that the Sebat Bet Gurage planned to undertake against the Ḳäbena. He told all the secrets to Ali Danabo, the spiritual leader of Ḳäbena and the vanguard in the establishment of Hadiya settlement in Zanna Bannar.[56]

The Sabat Bet Gurage, mainly the Chaha discovered Bakisa's conspiracy and as a result he was forced to leave the Gurage land. Then, Bakisa arranged the destination of his exile to Ḳäbena. He was warmly welcomed by the Ḳäbena people, because Ali already convinced its inhabitants, the Hadiya.[57] Based on Ali Danabo's recommendation, Bakisa was made ruler of the Ḳäbena people. After coming to Ḳäbena, Umar Bakisa began to attract the different Gurage groups, mainly the Chaha, to Ḳäbena. He was also able to strengthen Islamic religion in Ḳäbena. During his time the renowned Islamic teachers and preachers were

[55] Informants: Haji Umar Abasimbo and Shifaraw Bifebo.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Warku, p. 32.

brought to Ḳäbena. He brought Islamic teachers and preachers like Sheikh Worako from Ifat and Shaikh Umar Dillo from Afar.[58] Lapiso says, "… the Imam made Hadiya (Ḳäbena) into an important commercial center where gather together merchants, soldiers of fortune, deserters and displaced persons and he built mosques, imported teachers, and made the people to send their sons at the age of six or seven to school in these Mosques."[59]

Ḳäbena had maintained commercial and political relationship with the kingdom of Jimma in the time of Bakisa and Hassan. After taking power in Ḳäbena, Bakisa began to rule his people harshly. Per month everybody in Ḳäbena was expected to pay tribute like a *Kuna* of flour, a certain measure of grass and firewood and one *Waket*, a kind of money at the time.[60] Unwillingness to pay such tribute used to lead his subjects to one month imprisonment and a double payment of tribute in the coming month. Such oppression and exploitation was particularly resisted by the Hadiya in Ḳäbena. As a result, Bakisa began to follow discriminatory approach towards the Hadiya than the Gurage. It is said that Bakisa threatened highly the Hadiya in every socio-economic arenas.

In 1875 Imam Bakisa submitted peacefully to Menilek's administration and agreed to pay annual tribute. This is to mean that the Muslim state of Hadiya was agreed to send tribute for a Christian ruler at the end of each year. Concerning Imam Bakisa's submission, Tesfaye states,

> "በወቅቱ የቀቤና መሪ የነበረዉ ኢማም በቅሳ በራሳ ያለምንም ግጭትና ጦርነት ለሚኒሊክ በመገበሩ የደጃዝማች ማዕረግ ተሰጥቶት በየአመቱ መጠኑ በዉል ተለይቶ ያልታወቀ ግብር እየገበረ በእስልምና ሀይማኖቱና በገዥነቱ እንዲቆይ ተፈቀደለት።"[61]

Its rough English translation reads:

> *At that time the leader of Ḳäbena, Imam Bakisa, agreed to pay annual tribute to Menilek without conflict or war. Following his peaceful submission, he was given the title Dajazmach and allowed to rule his kingdom. He was permitted to exercise his religion freely. The tribute that Imam Bakisa agreed to pay was not known.*

This was another fuel that ignited the already deep rooted grievances in Ḳäbena. From the aforementioned quote, one can understand that Bakisa received a title, *Dajazmach* from the Shawan ruler. In addition, he got the recognition of his autonomy over Ḳäbena and religious tolerance from the king. This created strong feud between Imam Bakisa and his subjects, particularly the Hadiya. In spite of such negative endeavors, Islamic religion had grown highly during his rule. He made Mojar his religious, political and commercial center.[62]

There are a number of reasons for the incorporation of Ḳäbena by Menilek's force. One of the reasons was the long stayed tradition in the northern Ethiopia about the existence of medieval church treasuries on the

[58] አለባቸዉና ሳሞኤል፣ ገጽ 70.
[59] Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…," p. 99.
[60] Informants: Kabada Erguno and Ayala Sumoro
[61] Tesfaye Habiso, p. 229
[62] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo and Asafa Bunte.

island of Lake Zway. The second reason was the claim of King Sahile Selassie as 'king of Shawa and Gurage'. The second insistence in particular led his grandson, Menilek to consider Gurage land that was also included Ḳäbena as part of his kingdom. The existence of big market in Ḳäbena was the third reason that attracted his attention. The Muslim market of Ḳäbena was important particularly in slave trade and the dominant one in Gurage. Moreover, other precious items had also been traded in Ḳäbena. The Amhara and Tigrian merchants were said to have participated in the slave market, though the main dealers were the Chaha and Ulbarag.[63] For they are hardworking people, slaves from Gurage areas were highly demanded in the outside world. Having the upper hand in such market was equivalent to controlling large amount of taxes at the end of each year. The fourth reason was the strategic importance of Ḳäbena in the long distance trade route that runs from the southwest to the southeast. Menilek also considered the area as stepping stone for further expansion towards the south and southwest, as Wollo served Menelik for north ward expansion. Without controlling Ḳäbena and other Gurage land, it would be difficult for the Shawans to bring the remaining people of Hadiya, Wollayta, Dawro and so on.[64]

As indicated above, Bakisa submitted to Menilek's over lordship and continued to pay tribute until the late 1870s. Hassan, however, disturbed Menilek's tribute exaction from Ḳäbena, and hampered the harmonious relationship that was developed between the two. Contrary to my informants, Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago argue that the tributary relationship between Menilek and the Ḳäbena continued to exist till the early 1880s.[65] Based on the oral accounts and secondary sources, it is possible to say that Hassan was in a state of expansion towards the Gurage land in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Before starting defensive wars against the Shawan invaders, Hassan was organizing the Hadiya community which was aimed to dethrone Bakisa from his power. He was also engaged in coordinating the Muslim communities for the *jihadic* wars. From the early 1880s, Hassan was working hard to bring all Sabath Bet Gurage to Islamic religion. Therefore, Hassan after assuming power from Bakisa through coup d'état in about 1879 succeeded to halt the tributary relationship that had existed between the Ḳäbena and the Shawans.[66]

In the 1876 campaign of Menilek against the Sebat Bet Gurage, Bakisa served as guide under secrecy. At first Bakisa was guiding Menilek to Gumar. But the former could not help Menilek reach his target. Menelik failed to get the right way and took the direction of Chaha, instead of Gumar. This was mainly because Bakisa was not with him till the final destination. Menilek sent part of his soldiers under Mashasha Seifu and other war commanders twice to Gumar, but the coalition forces of Gumer, Chaha and Geyto defeated Menilek's army. Then Menilek himself and the demoralized army of Mashasha fought the Gurage for the third time. At this battle Menilek scored some victory over the united Gurage forces. Menilek, instead of

[63] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Damise Darsabo and Anshiso Awilo.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] Ulrich Braukamper and Tilahun Mishago, "Praise and Teasing: Narrative Songs of the Hadiya in Southern Ethiopia, Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institute, 1999, p. 21.
[66] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Asafa Bunte, Abatikun Lamboro and Aboche Takiso.

chasing the defeated Gurage, preferred to return to Liche. In these battles, it is said that Menilek lost one-third of his army.[67] As a result, the conquest of the Sabat bet Gurage was delayed until the coalition forces of Ḳäbena and the Gurage under Hassan's leadership were defeated in 1889.

The tolerant approach of Menilek towards Islam in Ḳäbena was considered as the main factor for the rise of Hassan Enjamo. A party began to gather around Hassan Enjamo under the umbrella of Islam and counted him as their *Mahdi*. The party became a strong backbone for Hassan in his rise to power in Ḳäbena, and also to launch Muslim holy war, *jihad*, against the Christian conquerors. Bahru Zawde notes, "…እንዲያዉም ሀሰን እንጀሞ በተባለ የቀቤና መሪ አዝማችነት ጠንካራ የእስልምና ተሀድሶ ንቅናቄ ምዕራብ ጉራጌን አጥለቅልቆ የሸዋን አገዛዝ ከፍተኛ አደጋ ዉስጥ ጥሎት ነበር።"[68] Its English translation is, "Hassan, the leader of Ḳäbena, succeeded to undertake Islamic reformation movement and such an endeavor flooded the western Gurage and endangered the Shawan rule in the area."

Hassan Enjamo was the son of Walga Moche. He is Hadiya on his father side and Enamor Gurage on the side of his mother. His father, Walga Moche was the one that led the Hadiya race to come to Ḳäbena and settled there. The first settlement place for Walga was Enamor, but with the strong diplomatic works of Ali Danabo and Walga himself, they were able to settle in today's Ḳäbena land permanently. The center of Walga in Ḳäbena was Seba. But Imam Bakisa changed his seat to Mojar. Hassan took preliminary Islamic education while he was in Enamor, but after coming to Ḳäbena he was made to attend higher Islamic learning under a Wallani religious man called Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz. He was said to have made intimate religious contacts with his Wallani teacher till 1889. Sheikh Abd-al-Aziz ultimately became the ardent supporter and advisor of Hassan Enjamo.[69]

As indicated above, in the oral tradition of Ḳäbena, Imam Bakisa's rule was exploitive and oppressive. It was also discriminatory toward the Hadiya in particular. He took the kingship position after the death of Walga Moche. Walga was from Hadiya ethnicity and led the Hadiya people in their migration from Lemo to Enemor and then to Ḳäbena. In the times of Walga, the Hadiya ethnicity had spent glorious times and enjoyed a lot. But with the coming to power of Imam Bakisa, they began to be considered as the second citizens, next to Chaha Gurage and suffered a lot. Bakisa became hostile to the Hadiya and gave the Chaha greater opportunity in the government and work. Moreover, Bakisa was said to have undermined Hassan's power and tended to take whatever measure without the knowledge of the latter. Bakisa ruled Ḳäbena for 33 solid years. In this period Hassen was believed to have served him as interpreter, since the latter was alien to the Hadiya and their language. It is said that Hassan did his best to persuade Bakisa not to harm the Hadiya

[67] Tasfaye Habiso, p. 230.
[68] ባህሩ ዘዉዴ፣ ገጽ 67.
[69] Informants: Damise Mansido, Asafa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Haji Umar Abasimbo, Bakala Petros and Shifaraw Bifebo.

(his kin's men) and give equal opportunity as the latter did to the Chaha. Such contemptuous treatment grieved the Hadiya and they were waiting the opportune time to rebel and dethrone Bakisa.[70]

The Hadiya also resented the subservient position of their state to the Christian king, Menilek. The Hadiya had long established tradition of Islam, and they prefer to see the adulteration of their religion over their graves. Then they, under their leader Hassan, decided to overthrow Menilek's puppet, Bakisa. Externally, Hassan was supported by the Walani Islamic chiefdom. This was because Hussan was said to have taken his religious education under Sheikh Abdel Aziz. He was also supported by the Muslim Wollo immigrants who came to Ḳäbena under the leadership of Sheikh Ziyin. These immigrants were behind the strong determination of Hassan's *jihadist* endeavor against Menilek and his puppet, Imam Bakisa. Hassan was also supported by *Abba* Jiffar of Jimma in his attempt of expanding Islamic education in Ḳäbena.[71] The latter also gave Hassan religious instructors, both indigenous and foreign. He also rendered Hassan gifts in slave and money (Maria Theresa Taller) before the latter's rise to power in Ḳäbena. Hassan also believed to have received moral support from Mahadist Sudan. His descent from the royal family (as son of Walga Moche), administrative experiences that he developed as spokesman of Imam Bakisa and from his father too, his strong fighting potentials and also his kind and generous behavior were all contributed for the coming to power of Hassan Enjamo.

According to informants, Hassan had a number of objectives as a leader of a community of his own and as a one that was backed by external factors. His first objective was eliminating the hurdle that stands on his path, Umar Bakisa. The other major objective was the need for establishing a strong Muslim empire at the national level and wanted to be the head of such a state. He had also a vision of expanding Islamic religion to non-Muslim areas. Incorporating the neighboring territories and Islamizing them was the other intention of Hussan. Mainly influenced by the Mahadist Sudan and Wollo fundamentalists, Hassan was also in need of purifying Islam from adulteration that was believed to have undertaken during the rule of Umar Bakisa.[72] It is also said that, largely because of his initial frequent victories over the neighboring Sabath Beth Gurage, the Muslims of Ḳäbena worshiped Hassan as a man of divine origin, and also he was persuaded that he was a *Mahdi.*

In the late 1870s, Hassan organized the Hadiya community for revolt in Seba (his father's capital) and marched to Mojar which was aimed to end the long stayed Bakisa's rule. When Hassan arrived at Mojar, according to Worku Nida, Bakisa and his companions were already left their center and their rule to Aklil.[73] But there are sources which argue that Bakisa fought Hassan before his departure from Mojar.[74] The available oral sources, however, are in line with the latters' argument. It is difficult to believe that Imam

[70] Informants: Shiferaw Bifebo and Tumsido Anebo.
[71] Lapiso, "Emperor Menilek's Ethiopia…" p.99.
[72] Worku Nida, pp. 48-49.
[73] Warku Nida, p. 53.
[74] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ገጽ 71-72.

Bakisa left his power without resistance. What so ever the case was, Hassan destroyed the properties of both Bakisa and his companions. The inhabitants of Mojar enthusiastically welcomed Hassan and his Hadiya entourages. Then, after annihilating the properties of his antagonists, Hassan returned to Seba, and made it his center.[75]

In Aklil, Bakisa was able to gather the Gurage around him and inspired them to fight Hassan Enjamo. Many of the Gurage came to his side. Mainly because of the existence of Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz, however, the majority of the Walane refused to back Bakisa, as the former was the teacher and religious advisor of Hassan. In the meantime, Hassan made himself busy of organizing and preparing his troops to defend his power and people in Ḳäbena. The Hadiya in particular were determined to fight their former oppressor, Umar Bakisa.[76] The two parties met at the battle of Mojar in about 1879, where the war continued for three days. At this battle Hassan got decisive victory over Umar Bakisa. This was the end of Bakisa's plan of reinstating himself and at the same time it was the first important victory for Hassan Enjamo Walga.

The name 'Enjamo' was given to him by his family, and it has meaning in Hadiya language. 'Hassan', nevertheless, was given by his Hadiya Muslim companions while he was in *jihad* against the Christians. Moreover, some of his Muslim companions used to call him as 'Seid Hassan'. Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo states, "ሀሰንና ኤንጃሞ ሁለቱም የአንድ ግለሰብ የተለያዩ ስሞች ሲሆኑ ሀሰን የእስልምና ሀይማኖት ስም ሲሆን ኤንጃሞ ደግሞ ቤተሰብ ያወጣለት ስም ነዉ። በእስልምና ስሙ ሀሰን ኤንጃሞ 'ሰይድ ሀሰን' ተብሎ ይጠራል።"[77] Its rough translation reads, "Enjamo was not the name of Hassan's father. Hassan and Enjamo are the name of a single person. The name Hassan was an Islamic name given to him by his fellow Muslims, while his family gave him Hadiya name, Enjamo. His full Islamic name was Seid Hassan. The Muslim knows him by this name." It is apparent that, in due course of time, his father's name was rejected in favor of Islamic name. This is to mean that, the name Walga (the father of Hassan) was replaced by Enjamo or other Islamic name. This is an indication of his strong love and adoration to his religion, Islam.

After the battle of Mojar, as expected, Hassan's confidence raised to high level. It is said that, Bakisa, after his defeat at Mojar, went to Menilek's court that was planned to receive arms and soldiers to avenge his defeat. According to oral informants, the latter was not in a position to agree with the proposition of the former. Following Menilek's disapproval of his demands, Bakisa returned to Chaha with great frustration.[78]

According to Lapiso G. Dilebo, Hassan appeared to have forced all the Sabat bet Gurage, the Hadiya and the neighboring Arsi Oromos to embrace Islam.[79] It is true that before the coming to power of Hassan Enjamo,

[75] *Ibid.,* p. 69.
[76] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo and Haji Umar Abasimbo.
[77] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 71.
[78] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Damise Mansido, Shifaraw Bifebo, Asafa Bunte, Gabramichael Wachamo and Abatikun Lamboro.
[79] Lapiso, p. 99.

the Sabat Bet Gurage were followers of either Christianity or indigenous religions. It was Hassan Enjamo who succeeded to bring all the Sabat bet Gurage (except the Wolani) to Islamic religion, albeit the majority returned to their former religion after the defeat of Hassan in 1889. The Hadiya, however, were strong adherents of Islamic religion before the coming to power of Hassan Enjamo. They were Muslims even before their coming to Ḳäbena or Enamor.[80]

According to the oral tradition, the ideas and influences of the Mahadists were infiltrated into Ḳäbena in two directions: the first one was through Wollaga and Jimma, and the second one was through Wollo. The idea of the Mahadists came to Ḳäbena with the help of Islamic fundamentalists. In the former direction, it is believed that Hassan had directly interacted with a Mahadist official, a certain Said Ahmad Tayib through the strong service of Mohammad Tahera. As said earlier, Hassan was in regular contact with Walani religious figure, Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz. The latter advised Hassan to declare *jihad* against "the non-believers" and conduct *hijira*, as per the rule of Prophet Mohammad. Then Hassan, Sheikh Zeyin (the leader of Wollo refuges), Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz, and his followers made *hijira* to a hilly side called Garbaja (in Ḳäbena). The *hijira* was undertaken from Seba to Garbaja.[81] Seba became Madina, and Garbaja became the Macca of Hassan Enjamo.

After their arrival at Garbaja, many Muslims from different parts of the Gurage, Sïlti, Hadiya and other places flocked to Garbaja. Such event ultimately boosted the power of the *Jihadists*. The sub-commanders of the *jihadist* forces under Hassan Enjamo were: Umar Bakisa from Chaha, Hassan Mane from Aboshe clan, Saliya Namcha from Safato clan, Muktar Jalishe from Safato clan, Eso Fandino from Safato clan, Sulamo Bule from Toro Bora clan, Kabiso Habibo from Dula clan and Jafaro Bamado from Toro Bora clan. Hassan was the overall commander of the *jihadist* forces.[82] Hassan attacked first the Christian garrison which was already established in Ḳäbena under the command of *Qagnazmach Wube Argano*. Defeated by Hassan, Wube was forced to leave Ḳäbena to Shawa. Hassan's second target was towards the neighboring peoples of the Oromo: Amaya, Nadare and Woliso, and also the Sodo Gurage. Hassan also attacked the Shawan garrisons in these areas and was able to Islamize the Oromo people living there. He was able to bring Sïlti, Wulbarag, Wuriro, Amaya, Nadare and the neighboring Oromos to his side. *Azmach* Ormira from Sïlti and Banti from Amaya Oromo were active participants of the *jihadic* war against the Christians.[83]

Menilek was said to have sent letter of submission to Hassan. Following the refusal of the latter, Menilek reported to have sent about 3000 Shawan troops under the leadership of Basha Habta-Sellassie. Then, Habta Sellassie was made to settle at Damakash, about 12 hours journey from Garbaja. Once again Menilek dispatched a letter of submission to Hassan, and in return he would be awarded with a title *Ras* and to rule a

[80] Informant: Shifaraw Bifebo
[81] Informant: Shifaraw Bifebo and Hailu Kintamo.
[82] Tesfaye Habiso, p. 231.
[83] Informants: Aboche Takiso, Damise Mansido, Shifaraw Bifebo, Asafa Bunte, Gabramichael Wachamo and Abatikun Lamboro.

vast area south of Awash, including the modern Kämbata and Hadiya *Awraja* areas. With the strong religious advice of the Walani Sheikh, however, Hassan refused to accept the demands of Menilek. According to the tradition of Ḳäbena, Hassan replied, "I am not in need of your promotion; rather I have the capability to have the crown."[84]

After such conversation, the battle of Wutin (sometimes named Yamutign or **የመ·ጠ.ኝ**) followed. This battle was undertaken between the army of Hassan and Habte Sellassie in about 1882. For about half a day the two forces undertook bitter fight, but the victory went to the side of the Muslims.[85] This was an important victory for Hassan, because it was his first major victory over the Shawan forces. Once again the victory boosted the moral of the *jihadists.* Hassan was able to collect a large number of war materials and other forms of booty from the defeated Shawan army. Then Menilek had to fight the armies of *jihadists* frequently till 1889. Hassan believed to have sent a messenger to the court of *Abba* Jifar of Jimma for help. But the response of the latter was discouraging for *jihadists* like Hassan who wanted to gather all Islamic elements for the sake of the expansion of Islamic religion. Oral tradition in Ḳäbena says that *Abba* Jifar was not in a position to keep his former promises and replied to Hassan saying, 'I am not a soldier of *Jihad'*. Despite such discouraging responses, Hassan continued his *jihadic* war against the Christian "infidels" as well as the neighboring traditional religious followers of Ḳäbena.[86]

After controlling the nearby Oromo tribes and converting them to Islam, Hassan dispatched letters to the leaders of Sabath Bet Gurage to embrace Islam and to force their subjects to do the same. Except the chief of Muher, the remaining rulers of the Sabath Bet accepted the demand. In spite of their willingness to embrace Islam, Hassan made frequent campaign against them so that he would check whether they embraced Islam practically or not.[87] His first campaign was undertaken against Makorkor. He entered there without resistance. He destroyed the churches and centers of traditional religions in Makorkor. And then he moved to Aklil, and like the Makorkor, Hassan faced no resistance. The churches and traditional idols faced the same fates as Aklil. The people of Aklil, willingly or unwillingly, embraced Islam. But their leader, Fankir Obate (a Christian) had already gone to Muher to join Agaz Shabata Sorgano (king of Muher). The *jihadists* set to fire the properties of Fankir Obate and his followers. In the meantime, nevertheless, Umar Bakisa came to Aklil with his Muslim companions and submitted to Hassan. The coming of the former to the side of Hassan not only boosted the *jihadist* army, but also the army began to be ruled by two leaders. Bakisa's submission is an important step for Hassan, largely because Bakisa had his own army and such an event led Hassan to consider himself as 'God chosen' leader of the movement and further raised his confidence. Then, the two forces marched to Ezha in different directions and destroyed the altars of traditional religions. There were no churches in Ezha to be destroyed by the *Jihadists*. This was because the area was devoid of Christians. Then

[84] Informants: Haji Umar Abasimbo, Tarakagn Suldolo and Girma Lonsako.
[85] **ወንድ·ና ጌዲዮ·ን**, p. 273.
[86] Informant: Shifaraw Bifebo.
[87] Informants: Abinat Mandido, Tasama Kalbore and Shifaraw Bifebo.

the two *jihadist* forces moved to Chaha and controlled their land without resistance. The people embraced Islam willingly or unwillingly. The Muslims burnt the altars of traditional religions to the ground. Then the *jihadists* moved to Enamor and converted the people and their leader. As usual they destroyed the traditional religious centers.[88]

In the time when the two *jihadist* forces were about to march to Endegagn, the latter's leader came to Enamor and asked Hassan not to march to his land. He said that he was ready to embrace Islam and force his people to do the same. Hassan and Bakisa agreed with the proposition of Endagagn ruler and changed their direction to Geyto.[89] The leader and inhabitants of Geyto were forced to receive Islam. The *jihadists* destroyed their traditional religious centers. While Hassan and Bakisa were at Geyto, Muslims from Inakor, Wuriro, Sïlti, Wulbarag and others from neighboring areas came and warmly welcomed the *jihadists*. Then the *jihadists* moved to Gumar, and like the other parts of the Sabath Bet Gurage, the people of the latter accepted Islam with the exception of some of their leaders.

Unlike the other parts of the Sebath Bet Gurage, Hassan faced stubborn resistance in Muher. The people of Muher were strong Christians and had good war experiences. Hassan undertook a campaign against Muher after he secured the submission of other Gurages of the Sebath Bet. The leader of Muher, Agazh Shabata, and its people determined to fight the Muslims. Refugees like Fankir Obate of Aklil and the latter *Kegnazmach* Agebo of Gumar participated in the war on the side of Muher. As expected, the morally boosted and numerical superior army of Hassan defeated Muher at the battle of Aechana and chased them to the far distant areas.[90] The aforementioned leaders of Muher escaped to Shawa to report the issue to King Menilek. The other branch of the Christian Muher, who was headed by Agazh Aemado, fought against the *jihadists* in the area of Kolla Muher. The leader of the *jihadists* was Salia Lamacha. As usual the Muslims scored victory over the Christians and the two fronts of the Christian Gurage resistance were crushed. Then the *jihadists* destroyed Muher and killed many of its people. But the people in Muher forced to embrace Islamic religion. Many of them, nevertheless, returned to Christianity after the fall of Hassan Enjamo in 1889. The *jihadists* (Hadiya and Gurage coalition) left their prior animosity and united under one umbrella, Islam.[91]

[88] Informants: Haile Ergano and Erbalo Agago.
[89] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo and *Haji* Umar Abasimbo.
[90] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo and Bakala Lamado.
[91] Informants: Asafa Bunte, Damise Mansido, Abinat Mandido, Tasama Kalbore and Shifaraw Bifebo.



A sword of Hassan Enjamo[92]

From the aforementioned historical record, it is possible to conclude that the origin of Islamic religion in today's Gurage zone was the Muslim state of Ḳäbena. Before the coming of the Hadiya people and their state formation in Ḳäbena, Islamic religion was limited to some individuals and very small places in Gurage, like the Walani. The credit for conversion and existence of a large number of Muslims in today's Gurage land should go to the Hadiya of Ḳäbena, whose leader, Hassana Enjamo played a leading role. Before the *jihadic* movement of the Ḳäbena, many of the Gurage people were either the adherents of indigenous religion or Orthodox Christianity.

According to Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo, the Ḳäbena were the first to bring Islamic religion to Gurage area.[93] However, there are sources which say that, before the arrival of the Hadiya to Ḳäbena, there were strong Islamic adherents in Walani, albeit small in number.[94] The second argument seems plausible. This is because Hassan Enjamo himself took advanced Islamic education in Walani by Sheikh Abdel Aziz. In the oral tradition and some literary works, Hassan was sent to Walani to attend advanced level of Islamic education under Sheikh Abdel Aziz. It was his father (Walga Moche) and Ali Danabo (religious advisor of Walga) who sent Hassan to Walani. Ali Danabo was considered by Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo as the one who was born and grown up in Ḳäbena.[95] With regard to Ali Danabo's origin, all of my oral informants say that the initial place of Ali Danabo was in Chaha. It was from Chaha that Ali Danabo joined Walga Moche and helped the latter to settle in Ḳäbena.

[92] ወንድሙና ጌዲዮን፣ ገጽ 274.
[93] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 69.
[94] Informants: Lolamo Detamo, Lamboro Shomoro and Abaye Side.
[95] አለባቸዉና ሳሙኤል፣ ገጽ 70.

After invading and controlling all the Sabath Bet Gurage people, Hassan fought *Dejazmatch* Wolde Ashagre (the governor of Sodo or 'Kistane' Gurage). Prior to this, however, the Shawan army under the leadership of *Ḳägnazmach* Wube Argano and Habta Selassie confronted Hassan in different times. In such confrontations, Wube and Habta Selassie were defeated. In 1886, Wolde Ashagre also faced the same fate as Wube and Habta Selassie. He was defeated and his brother was killed at the war front. In 1887, the Hadiya-Gurage coalition was extended to include the Arsi in their *jihadic* campaign against the Christian force. Then, the name would be changed to Hadiya-Gurage-Arsi coalition force.[96] Before a year, it is known that, the Arsi were defeated by the Christian army commanded by *Ras* Darge after strong resistance and considerable bloodshed. But now the Arsi formed a coalition force with the Hadiya and the Gurage and stood against Menilek's army for revenge.[97]

In 1888, Menilek sent once again a huge force under the leadership of Wolde Ashagre against the coalition forces. After his arrival in Gurage, Wolde on his turn sent about 3000 troops under the leadership of *Dejjazmatch* Garadaw and *Basha* Wochiso to fight the *jihadists*. The two antagonist forces met at the battle of Williqo in Walani. The united *jihadist* force totally routed the Christians at Williqo. The defeated and demoralized army of the Christians retreated to the base of *Dejazmach* Wolde. Hassan and Bakisa chased the defeated Christians till their base and brought the army of *Dejazmach* Wolde to the state of danger. At night the Muslims took a surprise attack and undertook summary execution against the Christians.[98] Then Hassan and Bakisa returned to Garbaja, their *hijira* center.

While *Dajazmach* Wolde with his remaining forces was running to Shawa, he met with other Christian force which was headed by the commander-in-chief of the Shawan army, *Ras* Gobana Dachi. According to Alabachaw Kemiso and Samuel Handamo, *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis was also took part in the march, though the overall commandment was left to Gobana Dache. Wolde decided to return to Ḳäbena with the forces of Gobana. After camping at Kille in Walliso, Gobana was said to have been sent a messenger to Hassan for peaceful submission. As usual Hassan was not ready to submit peacefully and he was in favor of war.[99] Oral informants in Ḳäbena say that the messenger of Gobena was slaughtered by Hassan. This led Gobena to give up the peaceful solution and determined to vanquish the *jihadists*. Then war started between the Muslim coalition forces and the well-armed forces of Gobana and Wolde at the battle of Jabdu Meda. At this battle, it is said that, Agazh Shabata of Muher and others said to have been joined the Christian forces against the Muslims. The assignment to carry out the issue of Islamic religious matter on the side of the *jihadists* was left to Abd-el-Aziz of Walani and Sheikh Zayini of Wollo. At Jabdu Meda, it was Hassan that began the war. Depending on his prior military experiences and war tactics, Gobana was able to defeat the coalition forces at Jabdu Meda in 1889. This became the end of the long aged *jihadist* war in south-central Ethiopia. At the

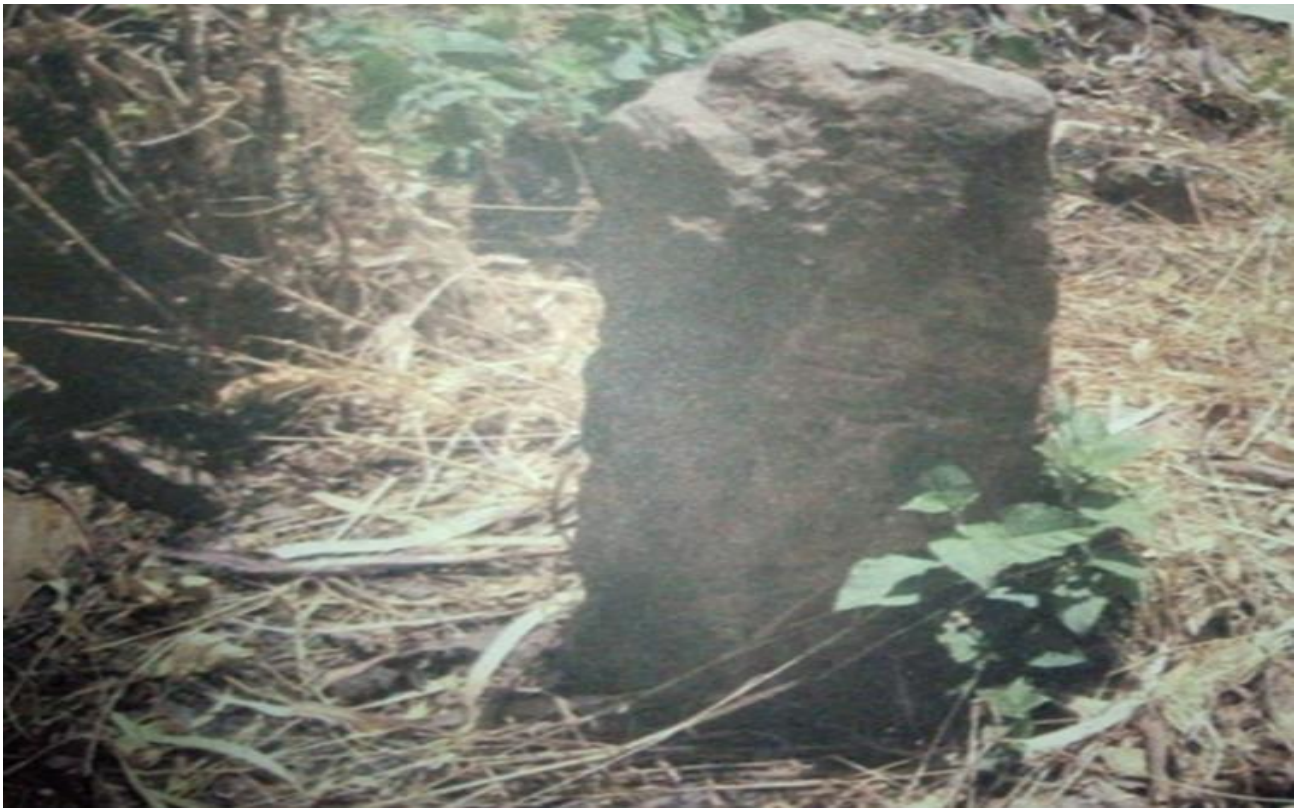
[96] Informants: Ababa Kemiso and Fitebo Ersumo.
[97] Informants: Shifaraw Bifebo, Asafa Bunte, Aboche Takiso, Lolamo Detamo, Lamboro Shomoro and Abaye Side.
[98] Informants: Muktar Hassan, Ali Sundako and Seid Mohammad.
[99] *Ibid.*

battle, Gobana's son, Merid was killed. Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz and Zayni were also lost their life at the battle. Regarding this Atme Giorgis, quoted by Kibamo Addise, states:

> ጎበና ወዲያዉ ዘምተዉ ነበረ ወደ ቀቤና፣ በመጋቢት 18/1881 ዓ.ም. ቀቤናን ቸሀን ስልጤን የእስላም ሀገርን ሁሉ አጠፉት፣ መሬቱን እየከፋፈሉ ላማራ ሰጡት፣ ኡመር በክሳን ያዙት፣ እንጃሞ ወደ ጅማ ሸሸ፣ አገሩን ይዘዉ ሰራዊቶን በዚያዉ ሾመዉ አደላድለዉ በሰኔ ወር እንጦጦ ገቡ።[100]

This can be roughly translated into English as:

> *Immediately Gobana campaigned to Ḳäbena and in 1889 he destroyed Ḳäbena, Sïlti, Chaha and other Islamic countries. The invaded land was distributed to Amhara. While Umar Bakisa was captured, Hassan was able to escape to Jimma. After stabilizing the Ḳäbena country and appointing his men, Gobana returned to Entoto.*



The grave site where Hassan Enjamo was buried.[101]

[100]Kibamo Addise, "A Political History of Hadiya People," M.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2007, p. 57.

[101]ወንድሙና ጌድዮን፣ ገጽ 277.

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