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The Shawan Conquest of Sadan Sooddoo Oromo and its Impact from 1870's-1913 Surafel Adissu<sup>1</sup> and Gemechu Kenea<sup>2</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of dramatic political and historical importance for the peoples of the Horn as elsewhere in Africa because of the international imperialism and Shoan feudal colonialism. This paper deals with the expansion of Shawan rule towards Sadan Sooddoo Oromo and the impact of conquest. The Shoan kingdom under Menelik was armed and directly or indirectly supported by European colonial powers for their own interests, and efforts of colonial partition, at the expense of Oromo people. The aim of this paper was to discuss the conquest of Shawan rule and the impact of their rule on Sadan Sooddoo Oromo. For this study, the both primary and secondary sources were consulted and qualitative research methodology with purposive sampling technique was used to meet the objective of the paper. The collected primary data was crosschecked with secondary sources to increase its validity and reliability. The data, which were collected through different mechanism were analyzed qualitatively. This study also casts some light on Shawan conquest of Sadan Sooddoo and its impact in terms of Socio-economic, administration, and religion and land tenure. The paper also came up with the finding that Shawan conquest of the Sadan Sooddoo Oromo meets stiff resistance even though they were defeated at the end.

**Key Words:** Conquest, Impact, Oromo, Sadan Sooddoo, Shawa

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of dramatic political and historical importance for the peoples of the Horn as elsewhere in Africa because of the international imperialism and Shoan feudal colonialism. The Shoan kingdom under Menelik was armed and directly or indirectly encouraged by European colonial powers in their own interests, and in its efforts of colonial partition, at the expense of southern populations (Abbas, 1995). Starting from the reign of Asfaw Wossen (1774—1803) a policy of establishing overall Shawan supremacy through different ways such as political, diplomatic and military pressures on the Oromo was replaced by outright conquest and displacement. It seems that during his reign, the extent of Shawa territory reached the region of the Muger River on the Abbay in the Northwest including the territories of the Abbichu, Woberi, Galan, Meta, Mullo and Macha Oromo to the West of Addis Ababa. In the South West, it seems that conquest had also been extended to the Bacho, Warrab

and Sooddoo Guraghe frontier (Harris, 1884). Nevertheless, comparing to all rulers of Shawa, Menilek was more successful in advancing the policy of expansion than Sahle Sellasie. As the first prince to have claimed the title of king, he was the first to have taken Shawan autonomy from the Gondar based monarchy one-step forward. Through a prudent combination of diplomatic alliance, political subversion and military activity, the king was able to push Shawan sphere of informal influence over the vast, open country to the West and South of his kingdom inhabited largely by the Tulama Oromo. The reign of Sahle Sellasie who came to power following the death of Wosen Sagad, was an important landmark in the history of the region (Tekalign, 1995).

It was during SahleSellasie that the Shawan army expanded towards Sooddoo Oromo. However, the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo in cooperation with the Jidda Oromo, they stood against the Shawan expansion. As the result of the conflict, large number of people were massacred and lost their lives. Even though large number of people lost their lives, the resistance laid a ground against the Shawan domination and the occupation of Sooddoo Oromo by Shawan was temporarily halted.

The Sahle Sellasie campaign towards the Oromo Tulama area did not bring immediate peace in the areas. The military expedition of Sahle Sellasie towards South Western region of Ethiopia was to ensure the continuous flow of the slaves and production from South Western Ethiopia in to the kingdom of Shawa and the need to obtain the cattle needed. Edward Simone further explained that the amount of cattle consumed in Shawa was enormous. Heavy demands were made for cattle and this forced the Shawans to look for Oromo lands in the South West for the cattle needed (Edward, 1975).

The regular campaigns of SahleSellasie had very serious and sometimes lasting consequences. For instance, the death of large number of people, which are thinly populated were the major ones. Regarding this, Harris points out that no doubt with little exaggeration, that in just one surprise raid in 1844, involving 20,000 Shawan soldiers the group suffered a loss of about 4, 500 people, men, women, and children, and confiscation of some 43, 000 heads of cattle (Harris, 1844). Sahle Sellassie used different mechanisms to dominate the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo (marriage alliance and encouraging deliberate rivalry and conflict) among neighboring groups were the major ones.

The death of Sahle Sellasie in October 1847, led for period of slack that enabled the regions or territories to assert their autonomy. Some regions were even able to launch attacks on the Shawans when conditions were favorable for them. Therefore, Hayile Malakot the son and successor of SahleSellasie began his reign with a series of campaigns against the Oromo of Shawa. "Shawans fought and exterminated the Oromo that had rebelled upon the death of SahleSellasie" (Tekalign,

1995). As the situation continued in this way, HayileMalakot without conducting campaign towards the Oromo lands even in 1855, the Amhara kingdom itself was occupied by the forces of Emperor Tewdoros, which gave the best opportunities for the Oromo to throw off the Shawan over lordship (Bairu, 1987).

During the period (1855- 1865), one of the official called Bazu was appointed by Tewodros, campaigned towards Shawa (i.e. to Macha and Tulama). He campaigned to Abbichu, Galan, Jidda, and Sooddoo Oromo. Great war was fought between the two groups, and large number of people lost their lives (Ibid). After the campaign, Bazu returned to the court of Shawa taking a large number of war captives. When Menilek escaped from the court of Maqdella, Bazu resisted him but was killed by Menilek. This removed the last threat to Menilek in Shawa. Then after [1865] Menilek continued the territorial expansion towards the Tulama and beyond (Gabra Sellase, 1959). As the result of campaign conducted by Menilek, the Oromo and other peoples found South of Shawa were incorporated in to the kingdom of Shawa and by then in to the Ethiopian empire (Darkwah, 1975).

## 2. Materials and Method

In this paper, the authors used both primary and secondary data sources. Secondary data sources were collected by assessing published and unpublished materials. To collect primary data, the authors employed individual interviews as well as discussions with the key informants. Historical reconstruction on a certain topic of oral community requires a close assessment of oral traditions using the available written sources for crosschecking. *All human history is oral in origin.*" Since the 1960s in Africa, in general and in Ethiopia in particular significant uses of oral traditions have made the reconstruction of people's past possible (Dereje, 2012). The available oral traditions were used as sources of data in reconstructing this history. All the data analyzed carefully and interpreted in accordance with the standardized canons of the social science disciplines based on the nature of information obtained.

## 3. Result and Discussion

## 3.1. The Resistance of Sadan Sooddoo people against the Shawan conquest

Until the late 1870s, Menilek was busy to secure his throne, the conquest of territories to the West and South of Shawa had been secondary pursuit. Most of the military and political decision in this part became the task of his energetic generals like Menileks' Uncle Ras Darge, Dajjazmach Girmame, Mashasha Sayifu, Dajjazmach Mokonnon, Dajjazmach LeulSaggad, but mainly to Ras Gobana (Bairu, 1967). However, before the end of the 1870s, none of generals were successful to expand beyond the Awash in to the territories formerly raided by the forces of SahleSellasie

(Tekalign, 1995). This period witnessed the crushing defeat of the Oromo by Menilek II who used the policy of divide and the modern firearms he had obtained from the Europeans. The Oromo lost their independence and suffered complete suppression of their language and culture. Most of them were transformed into land less *gabbar* (a sort of serfdom). They were alienated from their land, enslaved, and became servants of the *neftegna* (gun bearers) (Tesema, 2004). Informants also state that by 1870s, the Shawan force lead by *Dajjazmach* Mokonnon and Leul Saggad campaigned to Sooddoo and large numbers of people were killed, and others escaped. However, during the 1870s the Shawans were not able to crush the resistance of the Sadan Sooddoo people, and establish their domination in the area (Worku, 1981)

During the time, Hassen Enjamo made resistance against *Ras* Gobana around Qabbena and Guraghe nearby Oromo of Shawa. He was said to be a resolute man and an excellent warrior. The armies of Hassen Enjamo and *Ras* Gobana fought in the area. According to informants, no war had affected Ras Gobana as that of the war with Hassen Enjamo. Before the final battle of 1889, different wars were fought between the Shawan forces led by *Ras* Gobana and the forces of Hassen Enjamo. Because of the repeated war made between the two groups, their powers were weakened. Both *Ras* Gobana and Hassen Enjamo were no further interested to engage in war.

Finally the army of *Ras* Gobana followed him and a fierce battle was fought at a place called Jabdu in March 1889 and inflicted a final defeat on Hassen Enjamo. Following his defeat, Hassen Enjamo escaped to Jimma and prepared for another campaign. However, *Abbaa* Jifar had no interest to help him because of the fear of Gobana. Hassen Enjamo became hopeless, spent some years, and later died in Jimma (Bairu, 1987).

More than three thousands men died from the side of Hassen Enjamo and only twenty nine from Ras Gobana. According to oral information, Ras Gobana had also lost his son wadaj Gobana at the battle (Ibid).

The defeat of Hassen Enjamo facilitated the occupation of the area to be under the Shawan forces. The year 1870s was, therefore, an important landmark in the history of the Tulama Oromo in general and Sooddoo Oromo in particular, because it was the time when Shawans scored victory, occupied the Oromo and started to establish their permanent settlements deep in the land of the Oromo (Tsegaye, 2009). To get peaceful submission of Sadan Sooddoo, Menilek soldiers used different mechanisms. For example, after conquering the Abbichu Oromo Ras Gobana had used the Warji traders who trade coffee from Jimma to Shawa to convince the known Gadaa leaders of Sooddoo to accept the Shawan rule. At the beginning, Abbaa Bokku of Sooddoo resisted dominance of the Shawan, later on they accepted the rule of the Shawans through time.

The Warji traders also engaged in convincing the leaders of the *Abbaa Bokku* of Sadan Sooddoo. They began to take reside in Galate Gute's home and told him the advantage of the Shawan expansion to the area. However, Galate Gute was not interested and refused them. Then the Warji directed their face to one of the well-known persons among the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo named Guddata Daddu. Then Galate went to the court of Menilek found in Ankober because he feared Gudata's approach to Warji traders. Galate stayed one year in the court of Menilek and accepted the Shawan doctrine. Then they promise him to accept his over lordship, he learned Amharic and returned to Sooddoo. Galate and the Shawan army led by *Dajjazmach* Wube campaigned to Sooddoo. Galate agreed with *Dajjazmach* Wube systematically to convince the Sooddoo people to accept the Shawan rule. However, the patriotic peoples of Sooddoo refused to accept the Shawan rule.

On the other hand, (Abbas, 1995) stated that where the Oromo were divided, the Shawan were easily used one against the other, as in the case of the Tulama who became an instrument of Shoan expansionism by enrolling as soldiers and military commanders, the best known being Gobana. For instance, "The Oromo of Galan and the Abichu fought for seven years and every time the Galan were the victors. The war began to be a great interest for Sahle Selassie. He allied himself with the Abichu and gave them support. By siding with the Abichu, he subjugated the Galan, Gidda, Wabari, llamu, Aga, Gerru, Wayyu, Salale. He also concluded that, the internal war of the Tulama weakened the Oromo and strengthened the power of Amhara.

The people of Sadan Sooddoo refused to pay tax and retreated to in accessible areas such as Waliso and Gibe areas. The Sooddoo people led and coordinated by Nagawo Wushi conducted a heroic resistance against the Shawan army led by Dajjazmach Wube. However, while Nagawo fought with the Shawan army lead by Dajjazmach Wube and some groups of Shawans have tried to take his father to the court of Menelik. Then, Nagawo heard the case, followed the army of Shawan, and returned his father. As revenge, the Shawan army burned his father home. Great battle was conducted between the army of Shawa led by Dajjazmach Wube and the Sooddoo patriots. As a result, large number of people lost their life including Dajjazmach Wube. Following the war, the armies of Dajjazmach Wube returned to the court of Menilek found in Ankober. However, while retuning back to the court, Menilek army had taken large number of individuals as war captives. Among the individuals taken by the forces of the Shawans from the area were Balcha Safo, Halko Jilo, Ido Araddo, Ayantu Jilo, were the few.

According to informants, among the individuals taken by the Shawans army Balcha Safo, Halko Jilo have got acceptance and loyalty and become powerful in the court of Menilek. Halko Jilo (woman) became the administrator of chicken house and Menilek used her as his concubine. She

had given birth (two children's) for Menilek. Later Taytu heard their relations and she had secretly killed the children and appealed to the patriarch of the country. The patriarchs mediated their disagreements. The patriarchs told Menilek not to meet again Halko Jilo and Menilek decided to send her to her birthplace. On the other hand, Balcha Safo became responsible to supervise and chicken house.

Therefore, the resistance of Sooddoo people against the Shawans during the reign of Menilek as well as his successors was strong. According to the idea of (Abbas, 1995) without the collusion of the Shoan and Italian colonial policies and without the encouragement or understanding of other colonial powers, Menelik would not have won the war and would not be in a position to dominate the south in general and the Oromo, in particular. Guluma (1996) also stated that the collaboration and acquisition of European firearms have no doubt to facilitate Menilek's expansion during the last nineteenth century. The army of Shawan led by Dajjazmach Wube, assisted by Galate campaigned against Sooddoo for the second time. After the campaign, Galate was ordered to rule his country i.e. the area beyond and between Awash and Gibe River, entitled as the Balabbat of Sadan Sooddoo and those under him to become his Chiqa Shum. According to informants, it was after such resistance that, the representatives of each Gosaa had said to Galate that, "firstly you are our Gadaa leader secondly you are also the Balabbat we have submitted to you peacefully." In addition, Galate had responded to the representatives that "let it be as you have said". Informants said that the people of Sooddoo promised Galate in this way: harra sitti, boor ilmoo kee, iftaan sanyii keetti bulla. Ati nu bulchi, si harkatti bulla si hin abaarru; yoo si abaarre abaarsi keenya eebba siif haa ta'u''. Meaning: "today we are agreed to be ruled by you, tomorrow by your sons, and after tomorrow by your clan. We do not curse you, if we curse you, let it be blessing for you (Negash, 2003)." Under the administration of Galate Gute, Halko Jilo was also appointed as a governor of Gadabano and Geto area around 1892 E.C, which is her birthplace. Menilek gave him the area beyond Awash. However, when Halko Jilo arrived at Hurrubbuu, around (Alemgenna) the area beyond Awash was already given to Galate Gute. Then Halko Jilo stationed at Hurubbu and after staying for two months, Menilek had heard the case and he asked her why she had stayed there and Halko Jilo responded that the country beyond Awash was already given to Galate Gute. Then Menilek gave a choice to Halko weather she wants to take Harar or Wallaga and Halko Jilo responded that "biyya haadha kootiif biyya ilma kootii naaf kenni" (Lit: give me the country of my mother and the country of my son). The country of her mother was Gadabano whereas the country of her son was Geto. So, she was appointed as governor of Gadabano and Geto. Then her name was changed to Walata Sellassie. She had governed the area between Jigo and Summenye

or Wallanne were as Galate Gute had already administered the area beyond Awash, excluding Bacho and his center was Tole.

Walata Sellassie got a relatively better acceptance in Gadabano, than in Sooddoo area. However, even if she had established many churches in the area, she was not successful in Christianizing the people. Due to this, Walata Sellassie had tried to expand Christianity to Galate's administration. Moreover, different churches were established in the area such as Tole Giyorgis, Taji Abbo, Taraqo Kidus Mika'el, probably before the turn of the 19th century. However, she had faced strong opposition from individuals such as the two brothers Buta and Jijjo Kurfa, Bulbula Badhane, Balcha Beyene, and Dabalo Oritu.

During the administration of Galate Gute, since the numbers of *Gabbars* were small, there was no more resistance. Later on, Galate Gute, was succeeded by Ture. Following his appointment as a governor of Sooddoo, he went to Menilek court to receive order. After he returned, he ordered the people to pay taxes. At the beginning, since the amount of taxes the people paid was too small and it was taken to the court of Menilek through generals like *Ras* Gobana. However, through time Ture began to exercise his autocratic power. It was during this time that each *Gosa* had sent their representatives to the court of Menilek to submit peacefully. From Liban, Qunbi Jilo, from Tumme, Barru Heyi, from Abbadho, Changare Gada and from Mallima, Mannisa Inge sent to the court. They were entitled to power there in front of Menilek and returned to their homes. By then the people of Sadan Sooddoo refused to accept the supremacy of Ture Galate. Then, Ture went to the court of Menilek to appeal the refusal of the peoples and he has said that "biyyi Koo ajajamun dide" (Lit: My country had refused to accept my order). Menilek decided to rule them by their representative. Ture went repeatedly to court and convinced him, and then the army of Shawa led by *Ras* Gobana had campaigned against Sadan Sooddoo to respect Ture's power.

On one hand, the animosity between the people of Sooddoo, Shawans and Ture continued and on the other hand, the conflict between the Shawan forces and Hassen Enjamo broke out in the area. The Sooddoo people accepted Tures and the Shawan domination after the final defeat of Hasan Injamo in 1889 because Sooddoo lost support from Hasan Injamo. They said, "waraanni nu hubee akkuma lammiiwwan keenya bira haa gabbarru malee (Lit: since we suffered from war, let us submit like the rest people). Then four individuals Barru Heyyi, Changare Gadaa, Mannisa Inge and Qumbii jiloo continued to administer their own Gosa and Ture Galate, had become the Balabbat of the rest of the Gosa including the territories of the four; Liban, Tume, Abbadhoo, and Mallima.

#### 3.2. The Impact of the Shawan Conquest on Sadan Sooddoo Oromo

## The impact of Shawan conquest on socio - political administration of Sadan Sooddoo Oromo

The socio-political circumstances of Sadan Sooddoo Oromo during conquest was that they were ruled by Gadaa system including some canon laws enacted at caffee. Following their success in conquering the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo, the Shawans encouraged the emergence of a new system of government with new chiefs, at the expense of the indigenous republican system. After the conquest, Ture Galate began to act as a broker between the local people and Menilek administrators. Such men need to have given official recognition by the Shawans and they would have able to endear themselves among their own community in certain ways more effectively to represent the interest of these people than the officially recognized leaders. Therefore, the exclusive political authority that was once vested in the Gadaa system was further dispersed. In addition, all the various positions of the authority within the Oromo society were downgraded (Blackhurs, 1978).

The Shawan government led by Menilek attempted to enforce uniformity in a land of diversity (Tesema, 1986). However, situations in the newly conquered regions differed from place to place. It is said that certain regions in the South recognized Menileks conquest relatively without any considerable resistance in which they became a tributary of the region. On the contrary, other regions were brought under the Shawan conquest by Menileks generals like Ras Gobana, Ras Darge, Ras Mokonnon and Fitwarari Habte Giorgis. In these regions, those who were appointed as administrators had the authority to impose taxation and run the administration. They also had the right to cultivate land in the regions for themselves and to use and allocate land as they wished (Markakis, 1966). Menelik gave both the people and their land to his armed-settlers known as neftanya. The neftanya who played a pivotal role in the politics and dominated the political landscape of Oromia, owned Oromo people as they owned cattle and slaves. Since the neftanya were neither paid salary nor engaged in productive activities, they were given Oromo gabbars in lieu of salary (Mohammed, 1999).

The generals like Ras Wolde, Ras Wube and specially Ras Gobana did the important role in the conquest of the Sooddoo Oromo. Ras Gobana in turn choose his own outstanding officials as governors of Sooddoo Oromo. Among them, Galate Gute who cooperated with Ras Gobana was the one and assigned to a high administrative post. After the incorporation, the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo participated in different campaigns like Adowa with the Shawan army. The people of Sooddoo campaigned with the Shawan army during the time because unless they took part they were expropriated their lands (Mc Clellan, 1978). Menilek mobilized large army (around 100, 000)

against the Italians. During the campaign, as stated by Bahru, there was no region that had not sent contingents to the campaigns (Bahru, 1991). Informants also confirm that large number of Sadan Sooddoo Oromo campaigned to Adowa. Among them, *Dajjazmach* Balcha Safo was one. He was among the Sooddoo group specifically from Roobee Dayee who organized the dispersed army of Ethiopia and played a significant role for the victory of Ethiopia at the Battle of Adowa. After the battle of Adowa Balcha Safo became a governor of Sidamo province.

The local community appeared their child when they cry by the following poem.

Oromo  Hururui hururui yaa mucaa koo	Gloss		
	Hururu , hururu , my child		
Hururuu , hururuu yaa mucaa koo	Due to presence of Menilek in Ankobar		
Menilek Ankobar jiru Goobanaa Dacchi Abbichuu jiru Turee Galatee Tokkee jiru Yaa mucaa koo guddinni kee silaa hin jiru .	Due to presence of Gobana Dachi in Abbichu		
	My child your growth is unthinkable.		

The above poem clearly indicates how much the Oromo of *Sooddoo* people hated the Shawan administration and had impact on growth of their children.

## 3.2.2. The Impact of Shawan conquest on Land Tenure System

In countries, especially in the feudal society, the system of land ownership is very crucial and it plays a pivotal role in determining social classes. Moreover, it is the basis for administration, taxation, and military services (Pankhrust, 1966). Under the egalitarian administration of Gadaa system, land was not considered as a private property and was communal property within a particular group, family or an individual had the right to settle and graze his cattle (Ibid). Until the Shawan incorporation animal husbandry continued to be dominant economic activity, land is excess and primary used for grazing of livestock, which was shifted more into cultivation with the shawan conquest (Daba, 1971). After the conquest and occupation of Oromia, Menilek gave twothirds of the Oromo land to his colonial state, his armed settlers known as naftanya and to the Orthodox church, while he allowed one third of the land to be used by the indigenous people on condition, they supplied forced labor for the settlers and various taxes, dues and tithes for his court and the church. In other words, in the sacred land of their birth, the Oromo became landless gabbars (serfs) who were exploited economically (Mohammed, 2000). With Menilek expansion and the emergence of neftegna the system was changed. Gabbar system stood in the way of the state gaining access to the wealthy of those newly incorporated areas for its own benefit. As the result, the state soon developed an interest in the land itself and in the exacting tribute from it. Thus,

following the incorporation of the regions South and Southwest, Menilek issued the measurement of land, which is communally known as the *Qalaad* system (Mc Clellan, 1978).

It was said that Menilek introduced such system of land measurement [Qalaad] when the complaints and criticisms concerning the mistreatment of peasantry had happened by soldiers. However, the system, which is commonly known as Neftegna – Gabbar system stood in the way of the states gaining access to the wealth of those newly incorporated areas for its own benefit (Bairu, 1987).

It was difficult to put the exact date of the beginning of the land measurement in the area. However, informants indicated that the Shawans [Ras Gobana] carried it out. Written sources stated that, in 1879/80 Emperor Menilek issued an order that an inventory be taken of all lands in Shawa. Then registration of tenures and tax obligations was undertaken in each lordship including the Gindabal, Gabbar, Samonagna and Chisegna (Bairu, 1967).

Similarly, it was said that the actual land measurement in the Oromia inhabited territories West of Chaca River took place for the first time around 1883 / 84. During the time, most of these regions were under the overall authority of *Ras* Gobana. The introduction of land measurement was important effort for effective administration. Thus, as its land resources increased, the Shawan monarchies were divided between the state, the church, and the private individuals. The share of the state was generously made available to deserving members of their loyalty and service (Bahru, 1991).

Thus, the Oromo living in those regions were oppressed because the Shawans disposed them from their land and left those with nothing expect their cattle. Further Tekalign (1995) argues that during the early period of territorial expansion, the Shawan king were more interested about moving in and around the areas closer to their own home lands than in areas located relatively far away which was coincided with the establishment of a new court at Entoto. Thus, regions in the South where land measurement was carried out were given the name of *Qalaad*, of which the land of Sooddoo was the one. All taxes and tributaries from this vast region were transported to Menilek's palace through *Ras* Gobana starting from January 1885 (Tekalign, 1995).

Following the introduction of land measurement in the region oral sources indicate that the majority of the Oromo in the region were expropriated their communal lands. On the other hand, written sources for example, Bahru indicate that 1/3 of the land that was measured was set aside for the *Balabbat* s who subsequently came to be known as *Malkagnna*. However, other written sources do not agree with his view as an example Mahatama Selllassie writes that, the land set aside for the *Balabbat*s in the newly incorporated regions was known as *Siso* (1/3), its range could be from three to one (Bahru, 1991; Mahteme, 1962).

The term *Siso* in origin appears to have referred to two things at the same time. First, it referred to the three conventional claimants of measured land namely, the *Balabbat*, the state and the church. Secondly, it also means that the amount of land that each claimant could receive (Tekalign, 1995). Tessema (1980) shows that, the sovereign's interpretation of *Siso* perhaps minimized local opposition to the proclamation. It misled the indigenous peoples because they believed that the land would be divided in to three equal portions. However, the sovereign used the term to indicate together with the state and the church, the local notables constituted one of the three elements with claims on land. In reality, the government did not want to apportion land into equal parts (Tesema, 1986).

The concept of *Balabbat* on the other hand, originally referred to individuals with socially and legally recognized rights to land in specific area (Mantel, 1980). As newly incorporated regions, the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo were not exception. The prominent *Balabbats* appointed over the land of Sadan Sooddoo were Mannisa Inge in Mallimama, Changare Gadaa in Abbadhoo, Ture Galate in Tumme, Qunbi Jilo in Liban, and Balcha Safo in Agabajayi, The other parts of Sooddoo to the West up to Gadabano i.e. Geto, Achabar, Guttazar, Kokir were under Wallatta Sellassie. The Oromo *Balabbats* had obligations to pay annual tax. According to the informants the *Balabbats* collected taxes in honey, butter, a bull, a goat or taller. Furthermore, the *Balabbats* had the obligation to assist the *Shalaqa* and *Abegaz* in local administration and leading their people during the time of war under the commissioned commander. All of the above listed *Balabbats* of the Sadan Sooddoo Oromo were the followers of Christianity and they had also forced others to embrace it (Bahru, 1991). The *Balabbats* served as a bridge between the local people and the Shawan administrators. In return for their services, the *Balabbats* were exempted from paying the *Asirat* or kind of state or nominal taxes. The *Balabbats* were closely watched by the Shawan officials and rewarded or demoted according to their reliability and loyalty (Ibid).

On the other hand, the government share of land by the time was divided in to three major groups, namely *Gindbal*, *Desta* and *Madraya*. These types of land were called government land because they were given to the people who rendered multi furious services to the sovereign (Mantel, 1980). *Gindabal* is a land given to a group of soldiers and officers who took care of and provided tents and renders during the war and peacetime. More specialized group within or closely related to the *Gindebal* in function got *Desta* land. It was named *Desta* land after the tent, which they were entrusted to take care of usually that of the emperor and the *Ras*. In Sadan Sooddoo, both *Gindabal* and *Desta* land were given to ordinary soldiers and officers who had distinguished services (Bahru, 1991).

Most of the soldiers, clerks and servants of Ras Gobana on the other hand, got a Gasha or less from the land known as Madariya. Madariya was lands given to someone in return for the service he rendered. Most of the time Madariya land was given on temporary basis from which the assigned soldiers derived remuneration. They lived in their share themselves, but others retained the indigenous tillers or others brought in new tenants on contractual basis (Ibid).

Emperor Menilek under took the land measurement and the subsequent land confiscation in 1890s. It was after land measurement that new social order began to develop. Until 1890's the people were still holding their traditional *Qabiyye* land though they paid annual tribute to Menilek. However, after 1890s, there was confiscation of land, which subjected most of the people to the status of tenants. This measure in turn brought about a new order of feudal exploitation of the local peasants by their landlords in Shawa in general and that of the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo in particular (Addis, 1975).

Among the consequences of land, measurement was the introduction of system of tenancy. As one of the newly incorporated areas, the Sadan Sooddoo Oromo where land measurement took place, the tenancy system that accompanied the measurement of land, was instituted. The term tenancy refers to both tenants who lived on the land of some body by sharing what he had produced with the owner of the land who had secondary Rist prerogatives that spin off from the Melkengaa (Weissleder, 1965). Tenant was a person who lived on the land of some body by sharing what he produced with the owner of the land. The share could be Erbo (1/4 i.e. the share of the owner of the land got a quarter Maggazzo (1/3 i.e. the share of the owner of the land got a third and Hirata (1/2i.e. the owner of the land got a half of what the Chisagna produced (Cohen and Weitentraub, 1975). Mantel (1980) confirms that tenant was one who lives from cultivating someone else's property, share production. Informants also stated that in addition to sharing what they had produced as well as paying Asrat, tenant were also expected to render labor services to the owner of the land. The Chisegna had to build the house, grind grain, and act as messenger, cultivate *Hudada*, hay for the cattle. The tenants provided the landowner with essential things like honey and fire wood. The tenants had also expected to give gifts to his overlord on occasions like New Year celebration, religious holidays (Mantel, 1980).

According to Bahru (1987), the Chisegna were people who lived on the land of Gindabal (i.e. church or Madraya lands). After the beginning of land measurement, many of the Oromo in the area became Chisegna. It was not until the turn of 20th that tenancy started to take shape in the Oromo inhabited parts of the present Shawa, which delayed the development of stable and systematic linkage between the dependencies of the court and its entourage on the distant Amhara districts for supplies (Tekalign, 1995).

# 3.2.3. The impact of Shawan conquest on Indigenous Religion and the Resistance

Oromo were governed by the *Gadaa* system before the Shawans conquered them. The introduction of a new belief system and religions such as Christianity and Islam in to Oromo land affected the indigenous religion of the Oromo. After incorporation, *Gadaa* system was discouraged in favor of Orthodox Christianity. In connection with this process (Levine 1974) wrote, "Amhara armies were preceded and followed by monks and priests who facilitated the imperial expansion by planting the roots of Amharan Christian culture (Levine, 1974)". The Christian administrators and military officials who governed the newly incorporated areas brought their clergy and religion with them. With regard to this, Harold G. Marcus asserts that: "when the chiefs left for their provinces in the newly conquered [Oromo] lands, they were followed by clerics transporting the Ark sacred objects and bells. In all places where the *Waqeffataa* attend different indigenous ceremony, church was built (Marcus, 1969).

One feature of the process of conquest, on traditional religion believer's areas or in the territories directly administered by the Northern was the immediate attempt by the Christian clergy to seek to convert to Christianity. With regard to this, Harold Marcus also indicated that Menilek was often eager to Christianize the traditional religion believers (Ibid). Oral sources also confirm that during that period Oromo were assembled and ordered to go to nearby Rivers to be baptized. The Amhara priests necessary for the occasion divided the group in to two, give women's the name of Walata Mariam and for men, the name Walda Gabriel, then the priests distributes meat slain by the Christian hands to them.

The transition from traditional religions to Christianity was by no means sudden and was gradual. The two religions (Christianity and traditional religion) had existed side by side. They were local influential Oromo notables or the local chiefs who were converted first to the new religion and later played a great role in converting the mass of people to Christianity. Therefore, one can conclude that the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo accepted Christianity without major organized resistance because it was the religion of the politically dominant group and the Shawans first baptized influential Oromo notables such as Balcha Safo, Halkoo Jilo (Walata Mariyam), Galate Gute. The mass of people saw their leaders being baptized and followed their footsteps (Worku, 1981).

In the year 1890s, the Shawa forces led by Ras Gobana that have such information campaigned to Sooddoo Oromo. By the campaign, the Shawan forces massacred large number of Oromo at one place that have come out to worship their Waaqaa and marched for Irreessa to give thanks to Waaqaa. Through force, the communities of Sadan Sooddoo were converted to Christianity at one

## The Shawan Conquest of Sadan Sooddoo Oromo and its Impact from 1870's-1913

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time. The Oromo of Saddan Sooddoo showed their forceful conversion to Christianity by the following poem:

Oromo Gloss

Yaa cufantaa balbalaa Oh, the door of the house

Seera Goobanaa Daaccii It was the law of Gobana Daci

Gamni namaa hin dubbatu The wise does not speak for others

Gotni namaa hin butatu The patriot does no snatch for others

Maal cufamni akkanaa? (Ibid). What type of silence it is?

The introduction of orthodox Churches in the area had also negatively affected the local people. Although it was imposed by force, the new religion could not really capture the heart of the people. Even the new converts found it difficult to follow some of the strict rules of Orthodox Christianity like fasting. To be more successful in the process of Christianization, other Shawan priests adopted some strategies, such as forcing the loyal individuals to be first baptized and then converted to Christianity, as their forefathers accepted previously and approached individuals such as Ganame Galate, Nagawo Ushii and Dagaaga Garito to persuade them as they accept Christianity (Ibid). However, Ganame who was the brother of Galate Gute refused to accept Christianity and made resistance. Informants stated that Ganame refused to accept Christianity by saying: "abbaa koo amaarri ajjeesti harrammoo humnumaan abbaa naaf ta'aa Kun raajiidha" (Lit: the Amharas who killed my father wanted to be my father by force?) (Ibid).

The other individual was Nagawo Ushi who was initially baptized during the forceful conversion of Sadan Sooddoo people in mass and the Shawan priests later needed to became his religious father. Then after Nagawo was advised to fast two days per a week Wednesday and Friday, in month of summer, August for two weeks and winter for two months. He was advised that fasting should include not eating the products of animals. Nagawo had took the advice of his religious father and act accordingly. However, according to our informants, there was a big market in Sooddoo, which was held once a week (Wednesday) and most of the time the neighbors stole cattle and have sold it at the market. His cattle were lost and Nagawo had gone to the market in the morning for search of the lost cattle. When he went to the market, he had ordered his wife to prepare porridge for him on his return. When he returned from the market, he sit under the tree and begun to eat porridge. It was at this time, that his religious father accidentally came and sits with him and had seen the porridge was with butter and he was angry to him. Then the following conversation took between the two: \_

The priest: "maal nama attamiiti ati?' (What type of person you are?

Nagawoo" abba maaltu bade? (Father, what is wrong?

Priest: "kanan nyadhu sin jedhee" (did I ordered you to eat this type of food?)

Nagawo: "Kan akkamiin nyaadharee?" (So what type of food I can eat?

Priest: Qiixxaa, Biddeen goggogaa fi akaawwii akkasumas nyaata waanti looni Kan hin tuqne nyaadhun jedhe malee yoomin marqaa dhadhaa qabu nyaadhu siin jedhe? Meaning: I have told to you to eat foods/porridge free from the products of cattle.

Nagawoo- qoonqoon gogdee oolte waan gogaa akkamitti naaf liqimsiti?". (Meaning: how can I swallow such hard foods because I have Fasting all the day?). Then priest got angry and went away from him. According to informants next day, Nagawo called the cattle herders, and ordered them to take the cattle to nearby River. Nagawo was also gone to the nearby River with the cattle's. According to informants, he took all the cattle's to the River to baptize them. He had baptized them touching them with water and spears and named the bull "Walda Gabriel" and cow 'walatta Mariam'.

Then on the next day [Friday] in the morning, Nagawo drunk milk and went to his religious father. He said to him "abba loon kiyya kiristinnaan kaase" (Lit: father I have baptized my cattles), then the priest asked why? Then Nagawo answered that "kiristinnaan lamaan wal hin soomu jedheetan aannan loon kootii dhugee dhufe" (lit: the two Christians do not fast each other and I drunk their milk). The priest became angrier at the work of Nagawo and excommunicated him.

This shows that although it was imposed by force, the new religion could not really capture the heart of the Oromo people. Even it is difficult to follow the strict rules of Orthodox Christians like fasting. Therefore, one can safely argue that there was not any example more than that of Nagawo that resisted Christianity among the communities of Sadan Sooddoo. Even, following his death, it was said he was buried around his home, not in a church like other Christians and still his families worshiped in his burial place.

The Oromo of Sadan Sadan Sooddoo had good working habits before the introduction Christianity. Formerly the peasants of the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo had worked throughout the week except on Sunday, a day for reconciliation for quarreled persons and visiting sick people. However, the introduction of Orthodox Christianity affected this working habit in the region while the farmers were prevented from working on numerous religious days observed by Orthodox Christians in the name of different arch of covenant not even established in the area.

## 4. CONCLUSION

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of dramatic political and historical importance for the peoples of the Horn as elsewhere in Africa because of the international imperialism and Shoan feudal colonialism. The Shoan kingdom under Menelik was armed directly or indirectly and encouraged by European colonial powers in their own interests, and in its efforts of colonial partition, at the expense of southern populations. Although it is difficult to put exact date for incorporation of the Sooddoo Oromo into the kingdom of Shawa, the region of upper Awash had been subject to irregular and coercive campaigns to make the area tributary of Shawan ever since the days of Sahle Sellassie (r. 1813-1847). Starting from the reign of Asfaw Wossen (c. 1774—1803) a policy of establishing overall Shawan supremacy through different ways such as political, diplomatic and military pressures on the Oromo was replaced by outright conquest and displacement. Nevertheless, comparing to the other rulers of Shawa Menilek was more successful in advancing the policy of expansion. However, the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo did not give their hands and they stood against the Shawan domination. Without the collusion of the Shoan and Italian colonial policies and without the encouragement of other colonial powers, Menelik would not have won the war nor would he have been in a position to dominate the south in general and the Oromo, in particular. Following their success in conquering the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo the Shawans encouraged the emergence of a new system of government with new chiefs, at the expense of the indigenous republican system. There was a change in politically, socially, culturally and economically in Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo. Therefore starting from the beginning except few individuals who accepted the rule of Shawa and Menelik Oromo of Saddan sooddoo strongly resisted the harsh rule imposed on them. The state expropriated almost all the land, which it distributed to soldiers, to the Church, officials and the nobility. In other words, they lost a considerable number of their population, their property (cattle), and dignity and land, their representative institutions were destroyed and their culture marginalized.

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## LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name of informants	Age	Date of interview in	Place of interview	Remarks
1	TesfayeMulata. (Ato )	68	27 / 05 / 2013	Tolle Balakasi	He has given us about economic activities practiced in the area.
2	Bedhasa Degaga( Ato )	72	23/ 05 / 2013	Harbu Chulule	One of the resourceful informant about the history of the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo.
3	Birhanu Merga (Ato	68	13/ 08 / 2013	Harbu Chululle	Know very well about the history of Sooddoo.
4	Birhanu Tullu (Ato)	76	11/07/2013	Tullu Nagawo	Peasant having invaluable information about the introduction and expansion of Christianity.
5	Gelan Bedhane ( Ato )	78	24/ 05 / 2013	Harbu Chululle	He have a good knowledge about how Shawans incorporated the Oromo of Sadan Sooddoo
6	Gragn Gonfa (Ato	69	13 / 08 / 2013	Madana Abbayy	Community elder with good knowledge about the history of the people.
7	Hayilu Ibsa ( Ato )	41	24/ 05 / 2013	Harbu Chululle	The head of agriculture office of the Woreda who have knowledge about Galate Gute
8	Jira Faka ( Ato)	40	9/ 07 / 2013	Harbu Chululle	He have knowledge about the history of Sadan Sooddoo Oromo
9	Memmire Mulata ( Ato)	59	25 / 05 / 2013	Tullu Bollo	A priest who has gathered an impressive amount of information's. Specially about the introduction and expansion of Christianity
10	Mulugeta Bekele ( Ato)	38	25 / 05 / 2013	Harbu Chululle	Even if it seems a young, he have a good knowledge on the history of Oromo in
11	Negash Birhan ( Ato)	48	28 / 08/ 2013	Harbu Chululle	The head of information and communication bureau of the Woreda that provide us with some information's.
12	Sime Dame (Ato)	81	11/ 08 / 2013	Harbu Chululle	One of the magnificent informants about the history of Tulema Oromo and that of Sadan <i>Sooddoo</i> Oromo
13	Tesfaye Jabessa	54	9/ 08/ 2013	Harbu Chululle	Resourceful informants.
14	Tilãhun Jamama (Ato)	77	10/ 07 / 2013	Tullu Bollo	Despite his age he is one of resourceful informants about Galate Gute