Ulrich Braukämper

A History of the Hadiyya in Southern Ethiopia

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Preface

There are very few existing studies that deal with the history of illiterate ethnic groups or peoples in Africa[1] setting down their origins and development up to the present. Some of these studies do not go beyond a descriptive succession of historical and ethnographical materials, but they are nevertheless highly valuable as sources. Others additionally give comprehensive insights into the cultural history of the respective groups.

Whereas treatises on political groups (for both the pre-colonial epoch and that of modern state formation following the colonial demarcation of boundaries), as well as those on geographical regions – often restricted to certain time frames – gained increasing significance in academic literature, it is the monographic accounts of the history of ethnic groups which have not become a specialised field of study for cultural anthropologists and historians respectively. Regarding the first-mentioned academic scholars there was, due to the discipline's given focus of attention on a synchronic perspective, often a lack of interest in this type of study as well as the adequate methodological know-how. The latter, researchers who primarily orientated themselves towards relying on written records, lacked the willingness to augment the sketchy body of materials through field studies, and thereby did not open themselves up to new source areas. The specific conditions as to how studies exist thematically and contextually for illiterate peoples take for granted both historically-compiled subtle source analysis as well as field research. It is difficult to meet the requirements for both domains and undoubtedly parts of this work may appear deficient in accordance with assessment criteria of cultural anthropology or history respectively. The fact that the study deals largely with a historical documentation in a *terra incognita* certainly increases the methodological difficulties.

Considering the scope of a world history like that of Arnold J. TOYNBEE (1951/61, II: 365), Ethiopia existed only as the literate Christian Empire of the north, surrounded by a world of "African Barbarism" and thus hardly able to preserve its singular identity. Southern Ethiopia, inhabited by illiterate non-Christian peoples, was part of that "barbaric" world which did not reach the level of an "advanced civilization" characterized, for example, by the possession of a script. That such a perception meant a factually and morally serious discrimination for the greater part of the world obviously has found too little attention in the field of occidental historiography to the present-day. What has been written about Africa mainly concerns studies on colonial history where historians can revert to a fund of written records, so that their research is not fundamentally different from historical scholarship con-

1 Such works have come out, just to mention some prominent examples, on the Yoruba (JOHNSON 1921), Sudan-Arabs (MACMICHAEL 1922[1967]), Zulu (BRYANT 1929), Bambara (TAUXIER 1942), Beja (PAUL 1954), Bemba (ROBERTS 1973) and Kuba (VANSINA 1977).

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cerned with European territories. The limitation of source materials in this particular context means that research is mainly focussing on the history of European expansion in "overseas" territories in which particularly Africans are more or less reduced to the role of objects in the contact between two antagonistic cultural worlds. Up to the end of the 20th century the indigenous inhabitants of this continent south of the Sahara hardly appear as creative subjects in the process of their own history in which the European part was reduced to taking an interest as foreign observers and chroniclers.

The focus of this work is the analysis and interpretation of the oral traditions in which the Hadiyya preserved their people's past. For the more recent periods of history, particularly from the time of the Italian occupation (1936), there are undoubtedly more written records to be discovered which promise important additions to the fragmentary state of the research presented here.

There seem to be no principal differences in the historiographic methodology regarding literate and illiterate societies. The interrelations of an individualised and a generalised approach necessarily apply to both of them and have to be continuously revised.[2] The individualised or ideographic method derives its criteria from the subject itself, such as a local chronicle, the descriptive account of a traveller, or an oral tradition. The respective sources of information are in each case interpreted for their singularity with all the available background data in terms of the prevailing ideas of the respective time as well as personal concurrent circumstances. The hermeneutic approach, which tries to elaborate the criteria of interpretation by means of a "feedback effect" between a respective subject and its perception, has obviously not yet been advanced enough with regard to illiterate cultures. It can, however, principally be applied in a way which is usual with Europe-oriented historical research. Terms like "holy war" (of the Muslims in the Horn of Africa in the 16th century) or the *gäbbar* system, are examples of "individual totalities" which should not be left in their hermeneutic circle but must rather be comprehended as elements naturally involving a larger historical context.

Admittedly, this study must be partly bound to an individualistic perspective due to the situation of the source materials (chronicles of individual rulers; informants with above-average knowledge). But it nevertheless endeavours to embark on a type of typology where groups of people such as ethnic units replace individual personalities as active and incentive entities. This will be returned to once again later (see chap. 2.2).

It goes without saying that the history of the Hadiyya cannot be separately analysed from the Northeast African cultural, historical and ethnic framework as a whole. This implies the use of certain generalised terms like "Pan-Ethiopic" for

2 Since the first edition of the book on Hadiyya history new stimulating methodological research has been carried out by authors such as MILLER (1980), HENIGE (1982), VANSINA (1985), JONES (1990), just to mention some of the most prominent scholars.

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cultural and social phenomena which exist in more or less similar patterns all over the area.[3]

As for ethno-sociological termini, a comprehensive discussion about their definitions will not be aimed at here just as little as an analysis of their contents. This is reserved for a study on the culture of the Hadiyya.[4] For an understanding of the historical conditions, it is however necessary to summarize some of the important facts. The Hadiyya, who are the subject of this study, are not a homogeneous people but are rather sub-divided into a number of ethnic groups partly with different languages and cultural affiliations. They were initially all inhabitants of a political entity, a kind of state, which in the four centuries following its break-down became remarkably diverse. The Libidoo (Maräqo), Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho remained a language entity and preserved an identity of oneness, the Hadiyya proper; whereas the Qabeena, Allaaba, parts of the East-Gurage as well as descendants of an old Hadiyya stratum living with the Oromo and Sidaama, developed separate ethnic identities.

All of the groups mentioned, which can now be defined as ethnic unities, are composed of patrilineal clans named after prominent forbears. These clans, as local and exogamous entities, are sub-divided into lineages settling together in districts or sub-districts.[5] In the course of turbulent periods of migration from the 16th century onwards, numerous processes of fusion and fission occurred. Several ethnic segments split up from moving groups thereafter frequently experiencing a separate historical development. Others were amalgamated into the body of neighbouring groups of superior power. Thus, processes of assimilation and proliferation steadily changed the ethnic situation in southern Ethiopia. The Hadiyya, who were to a large extent either split up or pushed westwards through new thrusts of people, are a marked example for how eventful the history of the African people was and is.

Those authors concerned with the history of Ethiopia before the 17th century located the settlements of the Hadiyya at that time at the upper Gibe (Omo)[6] where bearers of the name still live today. This localisation implies – not least because a gap of historical research existed in this area – the hypothesis of static ethnic-territorial conditions over a period of several hundred years. Our investigations refute the hitherto assumed continuity of these living areas and render an increasingly com-

3 Pan-Ethiopian traits were clearly defined and elaborated by LEVINE (1974:64, *passim*) in the context of "Greater Ethiopia" as a culture area. Cf. also GASCON (1995, Chapt. Introduction, *passim*) for stimulating ideas in this field.

4 A monograph entitled "Fandaanano: the traditional socio-religious system of the Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia" is being prepared (BRAUKÄMPER n.d.). This refers to the Hadiyya proper, i. e., the Leemo, Sooro, Weexo-giira, Shaashoogo, Baadawwaachcho and Libidoo.

5 Here the concepts of clan and lineage are basically those of Raymond FIRTH (1971:53) in British Social Anthropology. The patterns of social structure of the Hadiyya largely correspond to those of the neighbouring Gurage which were analysed by William SHACK (1969:69 ff., 143 ff.)

6 Cf., for example, PANKHURST 1961a: 109; TRIMINGHAM 1965: 64; HUNTINGFORD 1965: 2; HUNTINGFORD 1969, map 4; TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 133.

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plete picture of ethnic dynamics which can be depicted cartographically as far as possible.

I carried out the field study in Ethiopia during two stays there over a period of two and a half years altogether; from March 1970 to February 1971 and from September 1972 to March 1974. In order to research the history of the Hadiyya proper and the relationship to the tribes of Hadiyya descent, it proved necessary to enlarge the study to a bigger area inhabited by ethnic groups speaking different languages. I worked for approximately one and a half years with the inhabitants of the Kämbata-Hadiya sub-province, around four months with the Arsi in the same-named province as well as in Šäwa and Bale, one or two months in each case with the Qabeena, Allaaba, East-Gurage, Sidaama and also with the Oromo in the Cärcär area.[7]

A difficult problem is posed by the transcription of indigenous terms in Ethiopian languages. Fortunately, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* provides a voluminous corpus of names of persons, places and cultural phenomena, whose standardization can be employed for the field of "Pan-Ethiopian" terms mainly of Amharic and G ᶜ z background.[8] Many Cushitic- and Omotic-speaking ethnic unities followed the example of the Somali and the Oromo and are developing systems of Latin transcription of their own which are, however, neither fully compatible nor, in a number of cases, conclusively standardized. I therefore had to sometimes rely on dictionaries in the process[9] or on word lists which were checked for me by linguistically experienced speakers of the respective languages. Certain deficiencies in the field of orthography are therefore unavoidable. For the Arabic names and words I took the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new. ed. 1960ff.) as an authoritative base. As it is common in anthropological literature, names of ethnic groups, clans and cultural terms in African languages are left in the singular, because pluralisation would be confusing in the different languages (e. g. *gaaxana*, pl. *gaaxanno'o* = war leader in Hadiyya; *balabbat*, pl. *balabbato* = landowner in Amharic). With regard to titles, sometimes different versions are employed, for example, *gärad* in Semitic and *garaad* in Cushitic languages.

7 During the regime of the *Provisional Military Administrative Council* (*Därg)* a continuation of field research in Ethiopia was impossible for me. That is why I transferred the area of my studies to the Republic of the Sudan in the 1980s and to north-eastern Nigeria during the first half of the 1990s. Since 1999 I have resumed new field studies in Ethiopia in order to complete my data for a monograph on the traditional culture of the Hadiyya and on issues of the recent past. In the context of these research programs new data of research on Hadiyyaland and neighbouring areas have been provided by Alke Dohrmann, Dirk Bustorf and Cathrin Horstmann.

8 UHLIG et al. (eds.), 2003-2010. The four volumes hitherto published range up to letter X.

9 For example, GUDISAANCHI HADIYYI ZOO'N LOSA'AN DEESKA (1996 Eth. Cal.).

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Preface to the Revised Edition

The original German version of my book on the history of the Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia was published in 1980. Because it was written in German, it was accessible to only a limited circle of readers who were interested in this topic. Over the past decades, I was repeatedly urged by Hadiyya intellectuals to provide a revised English version of the book which, as a next step, could be used as a base for a translation into their local language.

I am fully aware of the problem that the state of research has considerably changed since the German edition of the history of the Hadiyya was published. It goes without saying that in the new publication a thorough revision and a comprehensive view of the studies, which have been accomplished in the meanwhile, have been undertaken as much as possible. A new generation of scholars has arisen and the participation of Ethiopians in the *Sciences of Man*, particularly in cultural anthropology and history, is continuously advancing. Admittedly, the outcomes of works on the regions of concern in central-southern Ethiopia have not been exploited and analysed to the extent as would have been desirable.[10] However, although a number of substantial studies have appeared, the total contribution of works on the Hadiyya and related groups has remained of fairly limited size. I am therefore optimistic that this book may be of some use as a base for further research.

Some alterations have been made and some unfortunate errors have been corrected. I am obliged to the reviewers Reinhard Escher, Karl-Heinz Golzio, Virginia Luling, Roland Oliver, Günther Schlee, Heinrich Scholler, Bairu Tafla and Edward Ullendorff, who have forwarded suggestions for improvements concerning historical details and problems of chronology. I ask the pardon of those authors who were not acknowledged.

Although I eventually refer in the text or in footnotes to some events which have occurred after the publication of the book in 1980, it is by no means my intention to pursue the historical analysis beyond the 1970s to include the far-reaching political changes caused by the revolution of 1974, the consequences of land reforms, civil wars, villagization, resettlement, the collapse of the *Därg* regime and the rise to power of the EPRDM government in 1991. The completion of research up to the present day situation will be the task of a new generation of researchers in cultural anthropology, political studies and modern history.

10 This refers, for example, to the numerous thoroughly analysed entries in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (2003-2010) with their enormous amount of information on historical, cultural and biographical subjects.

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Acknowledgements

First of all I want to express my deepest gratitude to all Ethiopian informants, academic colleagues, counterparts and field assistants with some of whom I have maintained ties of friendship ever since. Most of the names of these friends and collaborators are purposely not written according to the present way of transcription, because they have mostly been employing the versions utilized here over decades.

Very special thanks go to Mr. Haile Bubbamo Arficio who gave me the first introduction into the cultural conditions of his people in Addis Abäba in 1970. This devoted advocate of his own group, who considerably stimulated my research, died in 2001. I am indebted to Mr. Balay Sabsabe, Mr. Saggaye Wolday, Mr. Sullaamo Lonseeqqo, Mr. Mu ammad ᶜAbdalld´ s Z P g . V g , s Solomoon Daaimo as interpreters and field assistants. Solomoon resumed his cooperation with me in the late 1990s and as an experienced and brilliant field assistant he supported the work of numerous researchers until his death in 2009.[11] My sincerest gratitude also goes to a considerable number of elders who entrusted to me their impressive knowledge of the history and culture of their respective Hadiyya groups. As the most outstanding examples amongst all of them I want to recall only three illiterate old men, the Baadawwaachcho Namana Dilliso, the Shaashoogo Nunishe Manta and the Allaaba Ibrdhim Affuuso, whose wisdom and state of knowledge was extraordinary. (Names and biographical data of important informants are listed in Appendix II). Most of them have gone, but they are recalled with esteem. I vividly remember Mr. Dassalegn Lodaamo and his hospitable family in whose compound I spent my happiest days in southern Ethiopia. Ethiopian intellectuals who contributed to the success of my research and the publication of the revised edition of this book are Dr. Wolde-Selassie Abbute, Prof. Shiferaw Bekele, Prof. Lapiso Dilebo, Dr. Shiferaw Teklemariam, Mr. Tilahun Mishago and Mr. Wondimu Filate.

That this study could be undertaken and presented as it exists, I owe a great deal to friends and colleagues in Germany. Prof. Eike Haberland, the late director of the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, not only energetically initiated and organised our field studies in Ethiopia but also pointed out the yet to be researched and obviously significant position of the Hadiyya in the history of the country. I conducted the study in the area between the Oromo and Bilate together with Dr. Siegfried Seyfarth who contributed valuable information (particularly about the Leemo and Baadawaachcho) for the results presented here. I want to express my deepest gratitude for his friendship and cooperation from the time of the common

11 He published a report about his life as a field assistant (SOLOMOON DAAIMO 2010: 264-74). Cf. also BRAUKÄMPER 2010:690f.

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fieldwork to the present. I would also like to thank the scholars working on Ethiopia for a stimulating exchange of information, particularly Prof. Dr. Helmut Straube, Prof. Dr. Hermann Amborn, Dr. Karl Heinz Striedter, Dr. Werner Lange, Dr. Gunter Minker, Mr. Walter Krafft and Prof. Dr. David Appleyard. I received important stimulus from the staff of the Frobenius Institute and the Institute of Historical Ethnology in Frankfurt-on-the-Main provided me with important stimuli. Ms. Elisabeth Jensen very kindly allowed me to read her late husband Prof. Dr. Adolf Jensen's manuscript which contained then unpublished material on the Sidaama and Gide'o of southern Ethiopia. In the same way, from his fund of field notes, Prof. Dr. Stanislaw Stanley in Addis Abäba passed on revealing information about the Sidaama, one of the groups historically and culturally related to the Hadiyya. Prof. Dr. Bairu Tafla (University of Hamburg) helped me with the chronology of the later history in regard to important references about the period of the Ethiopian wars of conquest under M nil k II. I vividly remember highly stimulating and sometimes controversial discussions with Prof. Dr. Mohammed Hassen und Dr. Negaso Gidada on questions of Oromo history.

The institutions which supported our work in Addis Abäba include the Institute of Ethiopian Studies then directed by Prof. Dr. Richard Pankhurst and Prof. Stanislaw Chojnacki, which obtained the permission to do the research, the German Embassy which helped us with the storage of shipping supplies, equipment and research material, the Goethe Institute under the directorship of Mr. Dieter Vollprecht which became a friendly meeting place for me. The maps were notated by Ms. Gisela Wittner from the Frobenius Institute. The *German Research Council* generously provided the financial resources for the field study and for the printing costs of the publication of 1980 in German.

It may be mentioned at this point that a number of persons and institutions gave invaluable support by encouraging me to embark on a revised edition of the *History of the Hadiyya*. This request was particularly forwarded by Dr. Shiferaw Teklemariam, Prof. Lapiso Dilebo and Dr. Bäyyänä Petros. The idea of such a project was reinforced when a younger generation of scholars, Dr. Alke Dohrmann, Dr. Dirk Busdorf, Ms. Cathrin Horstman and Dr. Burkhard Peter started presenting the results of their fieldwork on the culture of Hadiyyaland and neighbouring regions. I also want to thank my wife Sibylle for her moral support and understanding when I spent so much time at the writing desk.

For the final realisation of this book I am indebted to Ms. Geraldine Krause for the English translation and to Mr. Haik Gregorian for technical assistance of the publication. Logistic support was provided by the Hiob Ludolf Centre of Ethiopian Studies at Hamburg, the Institute of Ethnology of Göttingen University and the Publishing House Harrassowitz in Wiesbaden, Germany. The Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany kindly granted financial support for the publication.

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1. The Hadiyya: People and Living Areas

To understand the historical development of a people, a comprehensive knowledge of the existing natural environmental conditions is indispensable. Especially with groups of people having relatively limited control over nature, the mutual influence of living space and cultural development becomes apparent. For a deeper understanding, it is deemed necessary to outline the ethnic and linguistic situation since the Hadiyya are known under various names and were frequently integrated into the body of other ethnic entities.

1.1 Ethnic and Linguistic Classification

For a long time, alongside the Christian Empire, the name Hadiyya constituted one of the most significant Ethiopian political and territorial power blocs which then broke down in the 16th century and disappeared from historical documentation. Populations with this name – as a proper group numbering approximately 1.3 million and those of Hadiyya descent probably several million – survived in central-southern Ethiopia.[1]

The question then arises as to whether and how extensively connections to the ancient political system and a direct ethnic continuity existed respectively. The denotation Hadiyya still exists today for the Qabeena in western Gurageland and for the most part for integrated groups formerly known as "Gudeella" in the Kämbata sub-province. Some researchers found out vaguely from the fragmentary material at hand that relations existed between the East-Gurage and the ancient Hadiyya[2], however a solution to this problem has not been accomplished either historically or linguistically. Furthermore, as a result of research by Eike HABERLAND (1963a: 442f.), a division of the Arsi (Arussi) became known within Oromo clans and Hadiyya clans.

At the beginning of our research it became apparent that the name Hadiyya occurred with variable significance among linguistically and culturally heterogeneous groups which obviously pointed to the necessity of a field study in a large geo-

1 According to *The Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia* (1996, I, I: 13) the population of Hadiyyaland proper, i. e. the Hadiyya *Zone* (excluding the territory of Libidoo) amounted to 1,050,151. It increased to 1,243,000 in the *Census* of 2008 (p. 76). The number of people originating from the cluster of the ancient political entity Hadiyya in Arsiland, Sidaamaland, etc. can hardly be estimated.

2 Cf. MONDON-VIDAILHET 1902:79, *passim*; D'ABBADIE 1890:116; AZA S 1926: 21; COHEN 1931: 78f., *passim*. Although BUSTORF (2011: 73ff.) has convincingly argued to abandon the ethnic term "East Gurage . V , T T Zg T, I retain the old denomination in this book.

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graphical area.[3] (Thorough knowledge of the spread of ethnic segments of Hadiyya descent, i.e., those who were verifiably genealogically related and who were also in part conscious of this, arose only during the course of the research work.) As a result of this, the task became more complicated in that it involved the remaining descendants of ancient populations who succumbed to the pressure of assimilation by other ethnicities and consequently constituted painstakingly identifiable fragments in other ethnic groups.

To begin with, one could assume from the hypothesis that the groups recognised as and conscious of the name Hadiyya were the scattered descendants of a political-territorial interrelated bloc which existed up to the military turbulences of the 16th century, the so-called "ᶜAdal wars" against the Christian Empire and subsequent expansion of the Oromo people. Most probably the ethnic and linguistic classification was not homogeneous from the start, and only systematic field research could give an informative insight into the historical development of the areas of concern in central-southern Ethiopia.

To most Ethiopians names like Gurage, Ar(us)si, Sidaama and also Kämbata were familiar as they also have featured as province or sub-province designations. As a consequence, most parts of the autochthonous inhabitants have been called after these administrative entities. In the capital city Addis Abäba, however, hardly anyone knew the name Hadiyya. It was only with the onset of a quarrel about the renaming of the sub-province (*Awra a*) Kämbata that the government officials became confronted with this term.[4] As a result, we started our study with the so-called "Gudeella" (Gudela), because here the ethnic classification Hadiyya seemed to have been most distinctively preserved. Furthermore, the area of this group was hardly documented by historical and anthropological studies.

Regarding the origin and importance of the ethnonym Hadiyya, as represented by the Hadiyya name-bearers today, many contradictory statements exist. Mostly, Hadiyya pertains to one person, the progenitor after whom the group was named, and he appears in the genealogies as one of the first ancestors. (This is a common phenomenon among many ethnic unities not only in southern Ethiopia). Some informants from the Allaaba and East-Gurage placed him in their genealogical tree as the son of Abddir ᶜUmar al-Ri d, the legendary ancestor of the Harari who is supposed to have arrived in Harär between 1216 and 1220 A.D.[5] The name Hadiyya was obviously mentioned in a document for the first time in the 13th century (cf. chap. 3.2.1). Historical evidence to verify this chronological linkage is missing; so one can at best presume a formerly existing correlation between Abddir and Hadiyya

3 With a modern term this has meanwhile become known as "multi-sited research".

4 From LUDOLF (1681: LII, c.17) up to the present (e.g. COULBEAUX 1928,II:11) the Hadiyya were often equated with the Kambaata. The name Kämbata is commonly used for the administrative unit, whereas the ethnic group is called Kambaata.

5 WAGNER (1974:97, 1978: 133, *passim*) arrives at this date due to the existing hand-written chronicle "Fat Madinat Harar" of Ya yd Na ralldh.

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on the one hand with the Harari and other populations of the Horn of Africa on the other hand. This issue will be discussed at some length later.

Some versions explaining the name Hadiyya were recorded among the Arsi-Oromo, which can, however, be identified as popular etymologies with limited value as a historical source. Occasionally, Hadiyya was presumed to be the son of Irrdm from a famous Arab family, or of Daffar whose name in the Oromo language was said to refer to the meaning "owner of the land". Mostly it was literally quoted as "God's gift", coined by the Islamic *djih d* warriors under A mad Grañ in the 16th century. They were reported to have gratefully exclaimed the Arabic word *hadiya* (gift or present) during their invasion of the Christian Empire, when they came across the Hadiyya as a predominantly Muslim people and a potential ally. However, because the name occurred significantly earlier, this explanation cannot substantially be verified. Similarly, the version that it was derived from "Mu ammadiya" and means something like "those who have accepted the word of Mu ammad" lacks validity. Another version in the oral traditions of the Bale region claimed the translation of Hadiyya meaning "empty land", i.e., an unsettled territory open for conquest and occupation by the Oromo. In the Cärcär area Hadiyya was equated with "people who stayed behind" as they did not join the exodus of their group westwards as followers in the campaigns of *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid in the 1560s. The Leemo, between the rivers Omo and Bilate, finally translated the meaning of the name with "carrier of everything".

As contradictory as the meaning of the name is the problem of its identity over time. Records by Islamic historiographers, particularly their statement that Hadiyya was a part of the Confederation of Zayla', led later researchers to equate it with ᶜAdal/Harär.[6] Philipp PAULITSCHKE did not agree with the assumption regarding their original identity. However, he concluded from the source materials that in an earlier phase the Hadiyya state was located somewhere in the eastern part of the Somali peninsula.[7] Different authors have also pointed out the risk of mixing-up the Hadiyya with the Hawiya (Hawiye), an important Somali sub-group.[8] Friedrich BIEBER (1923, II: 515) even equated Addio, the western province of Käfa, with Hadiyya:

> "At the time of the rule of Argepo [before 1350] the Gonga settled in Addio of Koro country (Hadiya of the Amhara). Traditions about the number, the names and the duration of the sovereignty and the deeds of these first Gonga kings of the Argepo dynasty as well as the size of the kingdoms Addio or Ko-

6 ISENBERG/KRAPF 1843:23; JOHNSTON 1854, II: 237; BURTON 1856: 307, 323; CONZELMANN 1895:141, fn. 2; PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER 1957b: 311. According to BURTON (1856:1) Harär was „the ancient capital of Hadiyah".

7 PAULITSCHKE 1884: 15, 44; cf. DEVIC 1883: 59. On the map by EGYPTUS NOVELO it is also marked very close to the Indian Ocean coastline.

8 DEVIC 1883: 59, 66; PAULITSCHKE 1884:15; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 72; TRIMINGHAM 1964: 5; BRAUKÄMPER 1973: 43. Awiya is also the designation for a dialect-group in Central-Cushitic-speaking Agäw.

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> ro of the Gonga and the duration of its existence, is apparently not known or no longer known by the Gonga or Kaffitscho themselves."

D'ABBADIE (1890: 259) also referred to a river Hadi or Hadiya in an identically named province of Käfa. At this point it can already be stated that in the course of our research absolutely no indications were revealed which allowed a conclusive interconnection of the Hadiyya with areas of Ethiopia west of the Omo River in an early phase of their history.

D'ABBADIE (1890:110), towards the end of the 19th century, knew of the name Hadiyya for three groups on the western ranges of the Rift Valley; the Hadiyya Wambe (Womba), who correlate with the present-day Qabeena, the Hadiyya Abso, presumably a part of the Semitic-speaking East-Gurage and the Allaaba, and finally the Tufte (Guffuttaamo), the forebears of the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho. The Hadiyya in the Kämbata sub-province – with the exception of the Allaaba – were formerly subsumed under the name Gudeella which became known in academic literature through BORELLI.[9] The assertion found in literature that they had called themselves by this name is incorrect. On the contrary, the Hadiyya in this area rejected the name Gudeella, finding it insulting and protested against the Amhara and other groups using it disparagingly. Originally Gudeella was merely the name of a sub-group, documented in a written record for the first time in the 14th century.[10] As the most southern Hadiyya, according to their own tradition, they reached the then Christian province Kämbata with the ᶜAdal troops of A mad Grañ (1531/32). The autochthonous population of that area therefore applied the name Gudeella only to the first Hadiyya immigrants. The clans of this early wave of migration, notably the Haballo, Hayyibba, Waayabo, Hoojjee, Bargaage and Hanqaallo, were collectively labelled Weexo-giira and were long considered by later Hadiyya immigrants as people of a lower position. Meanwhile they have adopted the name Agara-Hadiyya, which means "people of the soil" and consider themselves as having an honorary position, because they possess the longest continuity of settlement in Hadiyyaland west of the Bilate River.[11] According to historical findings and genealogical data, also the Leemo, who penetrated that region much later, were supposed to have descended from the ancient Gudeella (cf. chap. 3.5.5). After the Christian Ethiopian conquest at the end of the 19th century, all Hadiyya groups between the Omo and Bilate including the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho were generally designated Gudeella.

9 BORELLI 1890: 347. Cf. also PAULITSCHKE 1893:33 and CERULLI 1929: 2. D'ABBADIE obviously did not know this ethnic name.

10 It was recorded in the songs in praise of Emperor ᶜAmdä yon I (1314-44). LITTMANN 1914:27. Cf. also chap. 3.2.2.

11 Rivalries concerning the status of clans have always existed, but the above mentioned claim of the Agara-Hadiyya is a phenomenon which obviously did not develop before the 1990s. For further information of this problem cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2005: 369.

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The origin of the ethnic name Gudeella gave birth to two versions in the vernacular, both of which do not differ outwardly very much from each other. Both were associated with the period under the Ethiopian Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob (1434-68), whose herdsmen were said to have been Hadiyya men. When one day they made off with the bulk of the livestock, the sovereign, full of rage, is supposed to have exclaimed "gud", meaning inconceivable. According to the second version, the same word slipped out of the mouths of the dismayed Amhara when they became aware of the Hadiyya custom of cutting off the genitals of their slain enemies as trophies. This cry of outrage is then thought to be the root of the name Gudeella.

The Hadiyya living in the Kambaata sub-province were designated *Kontom*(a) or *Kontab*.[12] According to BORELLI (1890: 278, maps) this term existed as a territorial name together with the area south of the Go3äb, west of Dawro. A historical connection can obviously not be established, however. Also the assumption that *Kontoma* was an attribute of nobility referring to a stratum of Hadiyya who did not practice circumcision could not be confirmed by the results of my field studies.[13] According to informants' accounts, *Kontoma* (sing. *Kontomichcho*) are perceived as the *Non-Booyyaamanna*, i.e. the Hadiyya who did not descend from the ancestor Booyyaamo. Strangely enough, the name *Kontoma* was also applied to the neighbouring Kambaata as a general term for the clans of "commoners" in contradistinction to the *Oyyata*, the king's clan. In the dual system of the socio-political organization of the southern Gu33i-Oromo (Uraaga, Maatii, Hoku) *Kontoma* stood for one of the two halves of the tribe, and in the respective system of the Arsi it was a synonymous term of the *Siko* for the *Mando*.[14] The general meaning of the name *Kontoma* is so divergent in the cited cases, that a polygenetic origin must be assumed.[15]

The Arsi-Oromo generally called the Hadiyya west of the Bilate by the name Garba (Gabaro) whose origin seems to be verifiable. It was collectively assigned to peoples who had been conquered and assimilated by the Oromo in the course of their great expansion from the 16th century onwards.[16] The term Garba originally applied to conquered people – also in the disdainful meaning of "slaves". Because the Hadiyya were the first foreign ethnic group encountered by the Oromo, "Garba" was retained for them in a particularly marked way. In the 1970s, the Arsi were certainly no longer aware of the original significance of the name and understood Garba rather as a neutral ethnic term. To the east of Lake Z^{w}ay they eventually dif-

12 CECCHI (1888: 124) uses the version Kuonteb.

13 The analysis of Ernesta CERULLI (1956: 123) supports this view.

14 This was documented by HABERLAND (1963a: 376 ff.) in his study about the Oromo of southern Ethiopia.

15 In some of the Cushitic languages *Kontoma* means fifteen. I am indebted to B. W. Andrzejewski and Richard Hayward for this information.

16 Cf., for example, SCHLEICHER 1893:21f. See also Enrico CERULLI 1922: 12*, passim.* SCHLEICHER (1893: 18) argued that in the general sense the expression is possibly related to *gabara* which meant "gift of cattle" (bride price). However, this interpretation seems to be doubtful.

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ferentiated between "pure" Oromo and "Oromo Gabaro", who trace back to assimilated Hadiyya clans, and in the Arba-Gugu region the old battle call *oofa Garba* or *dhiibaa Garba* ("expel the Hadiyya") was remembered in the oral traditions (cf. chap. 3.4.3).

Most of the Hadiyya groups between the Omo and Bilate know Guffuttaamo, a kind of ethnonym supposed to be derived from *guffuutta*, a leather cap which was a typical feature of the women's traditional costume. Sometimes Guffuttaamo also appears as an ancestor in the genealogies and likewise it occurs as an ethnic designation among the Baarentuu-Oromo.[17] The abbreviation Gufte for the name Guffuttaamo then became corrupted to Tufte, apparently due to D'ABBADIE's deficiency in transcribing, because he never visited these areas himself. With this name he referred particularly to the people in the Baadawwaachcho region where it was especially remembered and preserved.[18]

The Wälaytta south of Baadawwaachcho used to call all the Hadiyya groups by the term Maräqo. Where it came from remains unknown; according to my state of knowledge not one single genealogy contains this name. According to a dubious explanation, it is supposedly derived from *mar* (= to go somewhere on foot/to walk) and refers to the historical event of an exodus. More specifically, Maräqo[19] is the term for a Hadiyya group in the Rift Valley west of Lake Z^{w}ay who are more commonly known under the name Libidoo (Libishoo) or Mexeebo. They only know the interpretation that Maräqo was presumed to be an ancient term of the land which they had once occupied. Mexee is remembered as a district where their forbear Biimaaddo was alleged to have lived. His descendant Libishoo was one of the most outstanding personages in the history of this group. Repeatedly in the literature the notion is found that Maräqo corresponds to the ancient Hadiyya State.[20]

Till to the 20th century, it was usual for the Amhara and also the European travellers, who were not familiar with the ethnic and linguistic differentiations of central-southern Ethiopia, to designate the people between the Omo and Bilate as "Galla".[21] This name, by which the Christian Ethiopians subsumed the groups of invaders from the south who penetrated into the highlands as far up as Go33am and T gray from the 16th century onwards, was supposed to mean "searchers of land" and "scattered vagabonds". It thus carries a decidedly pejorative connotation.[22]

17 MÉRAB 1921: 1921: 179; BROOKE 1956: 80. According to PAULITSCHKE (1888a: 310) *gufta* was the term for the hairnet of the Baarentuu-Oromo women.

18 D'ABBADIE did not himself know the name Baadawwaachcho, but it can be concluded from his findings (1890: 111, 179, 184, *passim*) that he was referring to an area south-east of imbaaro which actually corresponded to the living area of the afore-mentioned group.

19 Slightly different versions of the name occur. BIANCHI (1884: 287) wrote, for example, Mareco, VANDERHEYM (1896:157) and COHEN (1931: 91) Marocco.

20 Cf. COPPET (GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 580) who refers to a work of VEYSSIÈRE LA CROZE which was not available to me.

21 E.g. JANNASCH 1930:41, *passim*. Cf. also JOHNSTON 1854, II: 361. VANDERHEYM (1896:139) employs the pejorative name "Wolamo-Gallas".

22 See for example REIN 1918/20, III: 370. MÉRAB (1921: 355) and A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU

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Since the 1960s this has increasingly been rejected with the awakening of a new ethnic self-confidence of the members of the group, and "Galla" was replaced by the old self-designation Oromo.[23] It is said to have been derived from a forbear (*ilm Orma* = "children of the Orma")[24].

For the Islamic groups in south-east Ethiopia, who often employed the name "Islama" for themselves, Oromo was long rejected as a synonym for "heathen". At the latest since the revolution of 1974, however, it has been adopted all over Ethiopia as a mighty symbol of a new feeling of ethnic commonness, self-confidence and pride. The Amharic name of the language, Gallinya, was replaced by *Afaan Oromoo* (*Oromiffaa*).

There is much historical evidence that the "original" or "pure" Oromo before the 16th century constituted a relatively small group. Through massive processes of expansion and assimilation they then emerged as one of the biggest ethnic clusters of north-eastern Africa. This spectacular growth is reflected in the saying: "Nine are the Borana [pure Oromo] and ninety the Garba [the assimilated]".

From among all Oromo sub-groups, the Arsi possess the most expansive territory. On the administrative map of the 1970s it encompassed the province named after them Ar(us)si as well as parts of southern Šäwa and northern Bale.[25] Among the Arsi, the proportion of clans whose origin from Hadiyya stock can clearly be traced from historical and cultural criteria was well over half of the entire group.[26]

The name Arsi, which traces back to first ancestor, has been officially accepted since the revolution of 1974 and replaced a previous version, Arussi. According to folk etymology influenced by Islam, this name is supposed to have been derived from an Arabic word *arusa*. This term is said to carry the meaning "eremite", because the progenitor led a secluded life devoted to religion.[27] Most historical data indicate that the Arsi were initially a pure Oromo (i.e. "pagan") group, who were exposed to a growing Islamic impact only after contact with the Hadiyya.

TAFLA) (1987: 91) point out by way of contrast an etymological explanation dating the name back to an Arabic saying "he refuses" because they did not want to convert to Islam. PAULITSCHKE (1888b:8) assumes it stems from a similar sounding battlecry. KRAPF (1858:95) mentions the version that the name is derived from a river Gala in Gurageland where the Oromo are said to have achieved a great victory over the Christian Ethiopians.

23 The presumably first scholarly article mentioning the name Oromo was provided by PAULITSCHKE (1889).

24 Cf. CONTI ROSSINI 1937, II: 327. According to MÉRAB (1921: 354) the name is supposed to mean something like "the brave" or "the free". Bizarre speculations about the historical relationship of the "Galla" with the Celtic Gauls (e. g., MARTIAL DE SALVIAC 1900) are completely outside consideration here.

25 Since the administrative reshuffle of the mid-1990s these territories are part of the regional state of Oromia.

26 The first systematic analysis of this internal division with comprehensive lists of clans of the Arsi was provided by HABERLAND (1963a: 445ff.).

27 Some of the elders listed as informants in Appendix II referred to respective legends and oral traditions.

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D'ABBADIE (1890: 186f. *passim*) writes that the peoples west of the Bilate used to call the eastern people Garjeeda. (Clans of the same name are also represented among the Baarentuu-Oromo, particularly the Ittuu, and among the Somali). The Hadiyya commonly used the name Deebaano for the Arsi (and for the Oromo in general) whose origin was, however, unknown to my informants (cf. chap. 3.4). Relics of groups from Hadiyya descent are also found amongst the Oromo in Cärcär.[28] Clan names with the endings *manna(a)* (= people), *anna* (= father; in the sense of descendants), *-oso* or *-osa* and occasionally *-ama* (= mother), can be identified as elements of Hadiyyisa and therefore indicate a Hadiyya origin of the respective groups.

The Hadiyya have a significant share of those linguistic groupings in central-southern Ethiopia which are labelled with the collective term Gurage. The cultural similarities justify this classification, but we are still far from being sufficiently informed about the historical dynamics which led to this conglomeration. The so-called East-Gurage perceive themselves as Hadiyya although they are today usually identified with the names of their sub-P , T Z P d . Bärbäre, W riro, Wälane and Gädäbano. This fact was indeed implied in the primarily linguistically oriented works of MONDON-VIDAILHET (1902), COHEN (1931) and LESLAU (1952) but not analysed for the historical significance. Also the contributions made by D'ABBADIE and AZA S on this subject[29] do not go beyond the scope of vague intimations. European travellers at the beginning of the 20th century were anyway hardly conscious of the ethnic differentiations so that for some of them Gurage and "Gudeella" simply constituted one and the same group.[30] Since the Hadiyya groups verifiably immigrated first to the area on the western slope of the Rift Valley in the second half of the 16th century (cf. chap. 3.3.4), the autochthonous name Gurage can only be attributed to them afterwards. Regarding the origin of this ethnic term, which in the version "Gerage" was verifiably mentioned for the first time in the chronicle of the Emperor c V g, . ' "-44)[31], two traditions exist. The first relates that around 1330 an Ethiopian army led by *azma* Z from the place Gura[c] in the Eritrean district Akkälä Guzay moved away and founded a military colony in the uplands south of the upper Awaš.[32] According to popular opinion, the name of the land and the people was derived from the word Gura[c]-ge, the land (= *ge*) of Gura[c].[33] This version was more widely accepted than another which would

28 Occasionally, also references to relations of Alabdu-Gu33i, Jiille-Tuulama and Macaa (Mäcca) in western Šäwa and Wällaga with Hadiyya were reported. They seemed to be too vague, however, to be followed up in field research.

29 D'ABBADIE (1890: 116) stated: "W lbaräg is Muslim and speaks the language of the Hadiyya" (our translation from French). Cf. also AZA S 1926: 21.

30 This refers, for example, to LÉONTIEFF (1900: 107), STIGAND (1910: 307) and MÉRAB (1921: 362).

31 For this date see HUNTINGFORD 1965: 78.

32 Cf. COHEN 1931; LEBEL 1974: 101f. WORKU NIDA 2005: 929.

33 TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM (HUDSON/TEKESTE NEGASH 1987:89) obviously played a significant part in the spread of this tradition. Cf. also PAULITSCHKE 1893: 30; MÉRAB 1921: 363;

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have liked to explain the name Gurage as "people on the left side",[34] (when one looks south from Bäg mder and Go33am from where the early settlers immigrated). As far as it can be concluded, the ethnic term was originally limited to the Christian group of settlers from the north, whereas (still in the 18th century) for the present East-Gurage the designation Hadiyya or Adea was common (cf. chap. 3.5.3). The Arsi named them Adaree thus indicating the awareness of their kinship with the Harari who bore the same name in the Oromo language. The Hadiyya proper (specifically the "Gudeella") were accustomed to calling them Gande (derived from *gandadichchoo* = porcupine), because they allegedly dug in the ground like porcupines; and this term generally became a synonym for those groups (including the Kambaata) who from ancient times practiced tillage. According to a second version which was told to me by the East-Gurage informants, the name is said to be derived from Gandareera, an ancestor of the Kambaata in the 16th century.

For the Qabeena west of Gurageland and the closely related Allaaba east of the Bilate River, no narrations concerning their names are known to me.[35] Among both groups the opinion dominated that the ethnic denominations can be traced back to ancestral people, who are, however, not represented in the genealogies.

Considerable parts of the Qabeena and Allaaba live far away from their northern dwelling places amongst the Sidaama, and despite the geographical separation they have clearly preserved the consciousness of descent from a common ethnic stock. The Sidaama from the 16th century onwards developed as an important ethnic group on their own, whose study involves a separate task.[36] Although their affiliation to the ethno-political cluster of the ancient Hadiyya is genealogically and historically beyond question, my analysis for the more recent periods of history will largely be confined to the Sidaama sub-group Qeweena whose affiliation to the Qabeena as part of the Hadiyya cluster is most apparent. The focus of my field work in the Sidaama area (1973) therefore lay with them.

When there is talk of Sidaama[37] in this context, the designation refers solely to the people of this name settling between Lake Awasa and the upper Ganaale River. From the end of the 19th century, it was customary in the literature to use this name as a collective term for all the Cushitic-speaking peoples of southern Ethiopia, with

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BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: Ixix; SHACK 1969: 15.

34 See, for example, ISENBERG/KRAPF 1843: 97; KRAPF 1858: 72; AZAÏS/CHAMBARD 1931: 186. Cf. SHACK 1969: 15. According to the information I received from local informants and from linguists it was stated that the Gurage language certainly had a closer relationship to Amharic ´ . , á P 88 .

35 CONFORTI (1941: 239, 242) incomprehensible to me classified the first mentioned group in Qabeena and Sidaama-Hadiyya.

36 Studies on the culture and history of the Sidaama have increasingly been conducted. For a summary of the modern state of research see. HAMER/ANBESSA TEFERRA 2010: 655-58.

37 In the literature up to now they were mostly referred to as Sidamo. However the name is supposed to be reserved for the historical province of the Ethiopian Empire. HAMER (1976: 338, fn. 2) believed the ethnonym has to be corrected to Sadama which has not become widely accepted.

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the exception of the Oromo, ᶜAfar and Somali.[38] From the 1960s onwards scholars such as Stanislaw STANLEY (n.d.: 28ff.) have rightly started opposing such a classification, arguing that it was senseless applying it to a large number of linguistically and culturally heterogeneous ethnic entities, but it has, however, unfortunately been used continuously in more recent works.[39] In order to avoid confusion, the name Sidaama should, as suggested by Stanley[40], be confined to the ethnic group which officially lays claim to this name.

The Oromo used to combine all foreign ethnic tribes, including the Christian Amhara, under the term Sidaama, which then became a kind of synonym for "alien" or "enemy".[41] The forbears of the Sidaama proper apparently belonged to the first adversaries they came across at the beginning of their expansion in the 16th century. As a consequence, the Oromo seem to have adopted this name for all those who did not belong to their own ethnic body. Among the Baarentuu, a dichotomy dividing the group into *Sarri* (= people) Humbaana (actual Oromo) and *Sarri* Sidaama (assimilated Hadiyya, Somali, Harari and others) existed up to the present. In practical life, however, this division has lost relevance. The Somali liked to refer to the Wabi Šäbälle as Wabi Sidaama (Sidaama river), because its headwaters originate in the Sidaama highlands. In Boša, north of the lower Go3äb River, Sidaama is associated with a title possibly indicating a Christian survival that was associated with the complex of spirit possession.[42]

The Sidaama, together with the Hadiyya proper ("Gudeella"), were eponymous for a cluster within the East Cushitic language family. The *Highland East Cushitic* cluster according to Lionel BENDER's (1971: 167) lexicostatistical classification, also labelled Hadiyya-Sidaama, comprises Hadiyya, Libidoo (Maräqo), Kambaata, Allaaba, Sidaama, Gide'o (Därasa) and Bur3i.[43] It had already been pointed out by a number of researchers from the 1930s onwards that it dealt with languages whose relationship was probably best explained topogenetically.[44] The membership of the Bur3i in this group remained controversial for a long time but was verified through Bender's and Cooper's study about the relevance of "intelligibility items", basic

38 This concept dating back to D'ABBADIE (1890: 170, 263, *passim*), BORELLI (1890: 434f., *passim*), PAULITSCHKE (1893: 30f.) and CONTI ROSSINI (1937,II: 369f.) was particularly strengthened by CERULLI (1938).

39 See TRIMINGHAM 1965: 6, *passim*; ULLENDORFF 1967: 43; ABIR 1968a: 27, 73; TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 6.

40 STANLEY n.d: 14ff. He speaks of "true Sidaama" in this connection. BOTTEGO (1895: 210), who had recognised their linguistic difference from the Oromo, but had not become fully aware of their ethnic individuality, called them "Arsi Sidama"

41 Cf. CECCHI 1888: 50; SCHLEICHER 1893: 22; CERULLI 1938: 31f.; BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: li and fn. 1.

42 For this information see LANGE 1982: 91.

43 BENDER (1971: 167). His lexicostatistical classification is based on the method elaborated by Josep Greenberg.

44 CERULLI 1922: 12; CERULLI 1938: 242-48; MORENO 1940: 285; LESLAU 1952a: 348; TUCKER/BRYAN 1956: 123.These authors commonly speak of a "Sidamo group".

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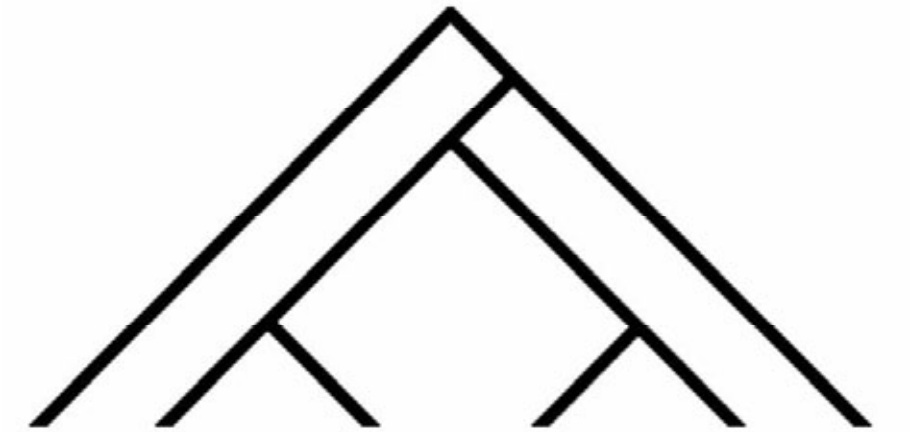
vocabulary, root morphemes, grammatical morphemes and aggregate morphemes in the six researched "Sidamo" languages (Allaaba, Kambaata, Hadiyya, Sidaama, Gide'o, Bur3i).[45] The genetic relationship within this language group was illustrated graphically by BENDER and COOPER (1971: 38) as follows.

Old Sidamo (Highland East Cushitic)



The linguistic classification of the Oromo proved to be relatively unproblematic. Despite their widespread expansion from central Kenya up to T gray in northern Ethiopia they have remained an amazingly homogeneous linguistic community. The Arsi and Baarentuu, who are important for the history of the Hadiyya, belong according to CERULLI's (1922: 11f.) up to now basically unchallenged classification to the eastern dialect cluster called "Boorana".[46]

The only non-Cushitic-speaking descendants of the ancient Hadiyya are the East-Gurage who preserved a Semitic language closely related to Harari (Adaree).[47] The linguists concerned with this area assume, however, that "Sidaama" constituted a type of substratum language.[48] We have to return to this problem briefly in the context of the historical analysis.

45 See BENDER/COOPER 1971: 45, *passim*. SASSE/STRAUBE (1977: 265) refer to a special status and ´TVRR R , . , R´T 3 .

46 CERULLI '' R á´T , , ´T V T T , V. P , ´ R , . T ZTTV s s CC . Vá .

47 For the linguistic classification of the Gurage see COHEN (1931: 42ff.), AZAÏS/CHAMBARD (1931: 186f.), LESLAU (1950: 11), SHACK (1969: 7). The modern state of research was abstracted by GOLDENBERG (2005: 924-28).

48 COHEN 1931:44 ff.; LESLAU 1952b: 63; GOLDENBERG 1974: 247. LESLAU (1959: 290) be-

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The linguistic situation in southern Ethiopia depicts that the descendents of the ancient Hadiyya community were spread over five linguistic clusters:

1. The Hadiyya proper who for the most part appeared in the literature under the name Gudeella which, as has already been pointed out, should be avoided because of its negative connotation. Their sub-groups, the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho,[49] who experienced a largely separate historical development, occupied an area which approximately came up to the present Hadiyya *Zone*.[50] As already mentioned, their number totalled approximately 1,3 million people according to the Census of 2008. A slightly varying and gradually vanishing dialect of the same language is spoken by the Libidoo (Maräqo) in the lowlands of the Rift Valley between Lake Z^{w}ay and the eastern escarpment of the Gurage Mountains.[51]

2. The Qabeena and Allaaba who speak dialects of the Kambaata language and number approximately 52,000 and 126,000 people respectively.[52]

3. The Sidaama, who within the framework of the "Highland East Cushitic" are closely related to the Hadiyya proper and to the Qabeena and Allaaba. The whole group is presently estimated at approximately 3 million people.[53]

4. The large Oromo-speaking community into which numerous groups of Hadiyya descent were incorporated. This process mainly involved the Arsi with a proportion of about two thirds of "Hadiyya clans" and to a much lesser extent factions of the Baarentuu such as the Ittuu.[54] It is impossible to present reliable demographic figures in this case.

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lieved to be able to prove an influence, for example, on the Harari. "Sidamo is the substratum language and influenced considerably the vocabulary".

49 In principle MÉRAB (1921: 362) had already recognised this classification, although the names were incorrectly reproduced. He spoke of ibadouatcho, sémo, soro and chachago.

50 Cf. BENDER/COOPER 1971:37. Contributions about the language of the Hadiyya were provided, for example, by PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1961; 1964), STINSON (1976) and CRASS (2005).

51 According to the *Population and Housing Census* of 2008 (p. 76), the inhabitants of "Mareko-Wereda" amounted to 63,436.

52 Research on the language of the Allaaba was carried out by CONTI ROSSINI (1938a), MORENO (1939, 1941), PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1962) and recently by CRASS (2003). LESLAU (1952a; 1956) concerned himself with the closely related Kambaata language, but without having specific knowledge of the geographical extension. Data on the present linguistic situation were provided, for example, by CRASS (2003: 205) and CRASS and TREIS (2007: 334f.).

53 HAMER/ANBESSA TEFERRA 2010: 655. A comparatively large number of linguistic studies have been devoted to the Sidamaa, for example, by CERULLI (1938), MORENO (1940) and BENDER (1971).

54 To go into the voluminous literature on the Oromo will not be aimed at here. An instructive abstract has recently been provided by BANTI (2010: 54-59).

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5. The East-Gurage who form a linguistically related block with the Harari and the Zay (Laaqii), the meanwhile largely oromized population of the islands of Lake Z^{w}ay.[55] Illuminating linguistic and historical research about these scattered and ethnically heterogeneous groups of more than half a million people has long been lacking and has only recently been provided.[56]

It is to be verified in this study on the one hand that the extraordinary fragmentation of the Hadiyya resulted from a turbulent history over the past four hundred years. On the other hand, however, I would like to proceed from the hypothesis that the Hadiyya, also before the 16th century, neither ethnically nor linguistically composed a homogeneous bloc. The population of the then existing political unit most likely encompassed Cushitic-speaking as well as Semitic-speaking parts. Whereas for the Semitic part arguably only the present-day East-Gurage can be considered, the question regarding the representatives of the Cushitic part of the ancient Hadiyya cannot be answered. We are far from being sufficiently informed about the processes of change which have occurred within the "Highland East Cushitic" cluster. A number of arguments which will be dealt with undoubtedly speak in favour of the idiom of the Hadiyya proper. But historical reconstruction obviously hits a brick wall here, and besides, the answer to this question does not appear to be of primary importance.

1.2 Conditions of the Natural Environment

The area occupied by the Hadiyya proper and groups of Hadiyya descent extends from the upper Gibe in the west to the bend of the Wabi Šäbälle in the east (see map 28). Transferred to the administrative map of Ethiopia of the 1970s, the area comprises southern Šäwa, the entire Governorate General Arsi and the north of Bale. On today's map it covers the Hadiyya *Zone* and parts of the Gurage *Zone* in the north of the *Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State* (SNNPRS) and some central-southern parts of Oromia.[57]

The geography of this region is characterized by a division into an eastern and a western zone by the Ethiopian Rift Valley, which is a part of the great East African Rift System. The main areas inhabited by the Hadiyya, who have preserved their original ethnic identity, are situated on the western edge of the Rift Valley; east of the axis there are only parts assimilated by ethnic groups who are known by other names. The Rift Valley extends in a north-north-easterly direction from approximately 6° north latitude as a rough estimate, and continues through the Awaš depres-

55 This was argued, e. g., by COHEN (1931: 55ff.) and HABERLAND (1965: 13ff.).

56 BUSTORF 2011: 70. To Dirk Bustorf we owe the first comprehensive historical study on the hitherto neglT TV T.

57 Exclaves of peoples of Hadiyya descent in other Regional States of Ethiopia will be referred to only for specific purposes as they could be considered at best peripheral within the framework of this study.

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sion towards the funnel-shaped ᶜAfar lowlands. Within this massive rupture zone, which came into being in the middle tertiary period, there is a difference in altitude of between 1,250m (Lake Abbayya) to sometimes well over 2,000m. Occasional earthquakes indicate that tectonic activity has not stopped up to today. The rock is of volcanic origin (so-called *Aden series* for the most part) and predominantly consists of basaltic layering on top of the channel bottom. Younger terrestrial or marine sediments are solely found in the vicinity of the lakes located on the Rift Valley floor (Zʷay, Langano, Shaala, Ab3ata, Abbayya and Awasa).[58]

West of the Rift Valley, the countryside rises to become relatively ruggedly structured highlands whose peaks reach a height of 3,721m in the Gurage Mountains and 3,200m in the Ambarichcho Massif of Kämbata. The substratum consists of volcanic rock (*tertiary trappean lava*) where valley slopes are markedly dissected through erosion. In the two distinctly shaped fault-lines, the ground to the west dips down towards the valley of the upper Gibe and on the opposite side of the river the ridges of Yäm (5 an3er) and Boša tower as steep precipices. Waterfalls cascade down from the escarpments, as, for example, at Ajjoora on the Saanna River at the border between imbaaro and Wälaytta. As a testimonial to the first phase of the young volcanic series[59] in the period of the Pliocene, some inselbergs like the Duguna range south of the Baadawwaachcho area, have been preserved.

The part of the country known as the Somali Plateau east of the Rift Valley has a geological structure similar to the western highlands, but it is less well-defined. The dip to the Rift Valley floor develops into rifts in many places. Eastwards, in the direction of Ogaadeen, the level of the surface falls gradually. In these areas, according to climatic and botanical conditions as well as criteria of human geography, the contour line of 1,200m ASL is seen as the lower boundary of the "highlands".[60] Great sections of the mountainous region in Arsi, Bale and the Sidaama Highlands rise, mostly in the form of long-range ridges, partly also as gentle elevations, up to well over 3,000m. The volcanic mountains rising from the plateaus like the Bata, Celalo, Kaakkaa (Qaqa), and the Baatu in the Bale Massif actually exceed the 4,000m mark. In between there are elongated and plain areas of an altitude of frequently over 2,000m which rank among the most favourable zones for human settlement and agricultural land use in southern Ethiopia.

The highlands on both sides of the Rift Valley Lake Region with no outlet to the sea belong to one of the most significant water reservoirs in northern Africa, from which a number of well-known rivers have their outlet. On the western border of the Hadiyya region the Omo, after whom the Omotic-speaking peoples are called, receives its headwaters from the northern part of the Käfa Highlands. In its upper part as far as Wälaytta and Dawro this river is mostly referred to as the Gibe by the Oro-

58 Cf. KRENKEL (1926: 213ff.), KULS (1958: 11ff.), MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM (1972: 35f.).

59 Geological and geographical pioneer research in these regions was carried out by BÜDEL (1954: 151f.).

60 SMEDS 1956. According to the calculations of geographers, the Somali Plateau covers a surface area of 185,000 km².

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mo, Gurage and Hadiyya and already got a mention as the Zebee in early 17th century Portuguese written records.[61] On the western escarpment of the Rift Valley the Bilate arises out of the Gurage Mountains and flows into Lake Abbayya. Known as Waaraa by the Hadiyya, it became an important borderline for demarcating ethnic and cultural differences. Northwards, the settlement area of Arsi groups of Hadiyya descent stretch up to the Awaš. This river drains into a dry basin without an outlet into the desert of the ᶜAfar Depression. From both of the currents arising in the Sidaama highlands only the Ganaale, which continues into the Juba, reaches the coast of the Indian Ocean whereas the water of the Wabi Šäbälle trickles away into a marshland south of Mogadishu.

The favourable hydrographical conditions of central-southern Ethiopia are determined by particular climatic conditions. These are mainly characterised by the vertical sequence of different climate zones, the presence of a markedly distinctive north-south contrast, as well as frequent variations in the wind flows of this tropical zone's general wind-driven circulation systems influenced by local wind conditions.[62] During the summer, the area lies within the scope of the south-west monsoon current directed at southern Asia, which provides the main precipitation between June and September. In the winter half-year the north-east equatorial current prevails which causes a dry season in more or less all parts of the country. In the mountains, depending on height and location, the average annual precipitation fluctuates between 800 and 1,600mm and decreases to merely 600mm in the "lowlands" of the Lake Region.

In general, the highlands within north-eastern Africa stand out as a relatively humid area where, in accordance with the latitude, the seasons are determined much more by the shift from the rainy to the dry periods than by the differences in the monthly average temperatures. Amplitudes between the coolest and warmest month of the year remain for the most part within a limit of under 5°C, whereas daily temperature fluctuations of 15° to 20°C are definitely not uncommon. The lowest annual average temperature is 14°C in the Bale Highlands rising up to 18°C in the Lake Region of the Rift Valley.[63] However, because of local weather peculiarities, no regularity can be determined by the interrelation between sea level and temperature. For instance, in 1970 in an area with an altitude of 2,300m near Hossäyna (Hossaᶜ na), the capital of the Hadiyya *Zone*, we experienced sleet showers several times which normally occur in regions of higher altitude. During the rainy season the summits of the Arsi and Bale Massifs are draped in thick fog which sometimes does not clear for days.

61 In the Zebee version it was already mentioned in the written records of the Portuguese traveller Manoel DE ALMEIDA in the early 17th century (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: 157, 162). Cf. BECCARI 1905, II: 273.

62 For more detailed information concerning these climatic conditions cf. KULS (1958: 18ff.).

63 MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM (1970: 21). I did not consult more recent literature, because obviously no far-reaching changes of these data of physical geography have occurred.

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The climate together with the varying in-situ rock and soil conditions show that the natural vegetation of the Hadiyya areas feature a variety of developments which have been profoundly transformed almost everywhere through anthropogenic interventions. Within the Rift Valley the upper border of the dry savannah is situated at a level of 1500m. It is rising in the northern section between Lake Z^{w}ay and the Awaš River up to almost 1,800m and dropping in the southern part around Lake Abbayya to between 1,300-1400m.[64] In the savannahs of the Lake Region and the escarpments of the southern highlands a specific ecological pattern exists which is characterized by 6 to 8m high widely-spreading, shady acacias carrying a loosely or closely packed canopy of leaves. Where uniform tree populations of the *Mimosaceae* species are found, this selection can most probably be attributed to permanent grazing. On rocky soil species of euphorbias, which are also frequent in zones of higher altitude, dominate the vegetation. Common trees and shrubs include *Entada abyssinica*, *Balanites, Dichrostachys*, *Grewia* and *Gardenia lutea*.

Vegetation belts consisting of *Combretacaea*, *Terminalia*, *Dodonaea viscose* and a type of *Sycygium* formed dense brushwood on the edges of the Rift Valley, whereas hillsides with stony ground as a rule feature dense grass covering. The border of transition to partly deciduous tropical mountain forest varies according to the local conditions from an altitude of 1,600 to 2,000m. Its lower level consists mostly of *Podocarpus* trees and shrubs mixed with *Juniperus procera*, *Pygeum africanum*, *Olea hochstetteri*, *Croton machrostachys*, *Syzygium guineense*, and a type of *Erythrina* and *Ekebergia*. Above 2,500m the biodiversity of the mountainous forest decreases markedly. One of the dominating species of trees is *Hagenia abyssinica*, whose flowers provide a highly important medicinal remedy against tapeworms, followed by *Hypericum*, *Erica arborea* and *Schefflera abyssinica*. The extensive *Juniperus* forests on the west side of the Urgooma Massif in Bale, extending up to an altitude of almost 3,000m, can be mentioned for their particular natural beauty. In general, the area at an altitude of between 1,800m and 2,800m is comparatively sparsely wooded and appears on the vegetation map as a zone of mountainous savannah, which is primarily identical with the zone of intensive land cultivation. The upper edge of the mountainous forest coincides with the altitudinal limit of the bamboo which is valued as a building material. Therefore, in as much as it adapts to changing environmental conditions, it is also planted increasingly in lower altitudes. In cultic-religious life the sycamore (*Ficus gnaphalocarpa*) – in Hadiyyisa called *oda'a* and in Oromiffaa *odaa* – had a special significance. Council meetings were held in the shade of big trees of this species, prayers and sacrifices were performed there.[65]

64 KULS (1958: 25) as a member of the second expedition of the Frobenius Institute at Frankfurt-on-the-Main to Ethiopia (1954-56) provided an excellent account of the vegetation which proved to be very useful for cultural anthropologists and historians. The botanical yields of the expeditions were systematically worked on by CUFODONTIS (1958: 62).

65 These cultural phenomena will be elaborated in the projected monograph on the traditional culture of the Hadiyya. Further actions among the Kambaata cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 254.

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Central-southern Ethiopia was an area comparatively rich in wild game up to the beginning of the 20th century. However, the existence of numerous larger species like elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, buffalos, antelopes and big cat predators was mainly confined to the bush areas of the Rift Valley lowlands whose ecotype resembles certain savannah regions of Kenya and Tanzania. Therefore, although the highlands were climatically regarded as much more favourable, their inhabitants regularly took refuge in the Lake Region in times of crop failure because it was particularly rich in animals for hunting and edible wild plants (see chap. 3.6.3). In general, however, hunting was relatively unimportant for food supply due to numerous nutritional prohibitions and taboos.[66] Because of similar cultural patterns of avoidance, fishing and hunting of hippopotami in the lakes were only practiced by the small island populations. Since the middle of the 20th century, as a result of increasing human settlement, the natural fauna has been pushed back to a few refuges and game parks. That is why only the older informants experienced the large species of African fauna and were able to report on the customs and value concepts associated with them.

For the utilization of natural resources by men, not only the geographical position and climatic conditions of the respective settlement areas are important, but also the quality and type of soil is of fundamental interest. On both sides of the Rift Valley, the mountains are composed of volcanic substance with predominantly laterite soil in a bright russet hue, whereas in the lowland regions types of so-called "black cotton soil" with anthracitic shades of colour prevail which are relatively impervious to water.[67] Both types of soil are comparatively fertile when suitably cultivated. However, the materials of volcanic provenance are particularly vulnerable to erosion, a fact that has often been promoted by anthropogenous encroachment (cf. also chap. 3.9).[68] Measures against soil erosion have traditionally been implemented by certain measures of tillage-farming, like the building of turf walls carried out by the highland populations since time immemorial. The dramatic increase of the population in many areas, overuse of the land resources, and deforestation have continuously aggravated the damage.

Differences in the conditions of the natural environment are intrinsic, and thus its inhabitants have transformed their living-areas into cultural landscapes according to their characteristic ways respectively. In most parts of Ethiopia, three altitudinal belts are differentiated, commonly known by the Amharic terms Q^{w}*älla*, W*äyna däga* and *Däga*. The name Q^{w}*älla* is understood to denote the areas below an altitude of 1,800-2,000m, usually relatively dry and malaria-ridden locations. *Wäyna däga* meant the comparatively warm and consistently wet altitudinal zone up to

66 I have dealt with this problem at some length in an article (BRAUKÄMPER 1984: 429-45).

67 A detailed treatise on the distribution and ecology of the soil types can be found in DONAHUE (1972: 24f.).

68 Extraordinary damage through erosion could be observed, for example, in the regions of Gurage, Hadiyya and Kambaata. With regard to the overall situation in Ethiopie see also MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM (1970:16).

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2,500m, which has always been conceived as the favourite zone for human settlement. *Däga* finally corresponds to the cool highland areas, where the upper settlement boundary – for example in the high mountains of Gurage, Kämbata, Arsi and Bale – reaches over 3,000m ASL.

Correspondingly, in Hadiyyisa a differentiation exists between *Qaala'a* (lowland), *Qal qaala'a* (medium altitudinal belt) and *Hansawwa* (highland).

The ecological system of the highlands of southern Ethiopia belongs to one of the most stable of north-eastern Africa and therefore provides comparatively favourable conditions for human settlement. The Hadiyya areas lie exclusively within the 450mm isohyet, which demarcates the borderline between pastoral nomadism and permanent cultivation[69] running roughly along the escarpment defining the boundaries of the highlands and the semi-deserts in [c]Afarland and Ogaadeen. Because almost the entire area is situated above an altitude of 2,000m, where the annual rainfall is likely to exceed the 800mm mark, cultivation is possible everywhere. Therefore, the ecological balance is hardly exposed to those serious hazards prevalent in the lower-lying zones of rain-fed cultivation.

The geo-medicinal conditions are also favourable: malaria is only an endogenous threat in the lowlands of the Rift Valley and in the gorge of the Omo River[70], and the region as a whole is largely spared from other tropical diseases. Epidemics and natural disasters do however occasionally occur in the climatically favourable highlands (cf. chap. 3.6.3)

The great Muslim wars of conquest under A mad b. Ibrdhim, which were waged against the Christian highlands, and the expansion of the Oromo, which immediately followed in the course of the 16th century, raise the question as to how far ecological changes and population pressure triggered off these events. The Ethiopian historian MERID WOLDE AREGAY (1974: 266ff.; 1971) inclines towards assessing these factors positively.

When comparing the highland areas west and east of the Lake Region, which display markedly similar natural conditions, it becomes obvious that population density depends less on external ecological factors than on cultural relations. In the 1970s in the *Awra as* Cäbo-Gurage and Kämbata-Hadiya an average of 100-200 people lived on a square kilometre. The density dropped to approximately 20-60 in the Lake Region and down to 13-14 in northern Bale.[71] The reasons for this discrepancy are to be found in the highly diverse socio-economic conditions and strategies.

69 Cf. O'CONNOR 1966: 225; BRAUKÄMPER 1975a: 69. This region mostly experienced on average of more than 700mm rainfall annually. MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM 1970: 26.

70 For a comprehensive analysis of the geo-medical conditions see SCHALLER/KULS 1972, map 4.

71 MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM 1970: 49. Cf. also ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, map sheet 7. According to data presented by the administration at Hossäyna in 1970, the total population of the whole *Awra a* of Kämbata-Hadiya amounted to 705,000 corresponding to a density of c. 150 inhabitants per km^2. The present numbers documented by the *Census* of 2008 prove an enormous increase to 350 persons per km^2.

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1.3 Patterns of Traditional Culture

Questions relating to factors of historical causality lead us to an analysis of the patterns of traditional culture which, however, will not be aimed at in detail here. Essentially, there are two socio-economic systems which have shaped the Hadiyya areas: hoe-farming, particularly of nsät (*Ensete ventricosum),* and livestock-breeding. Plough cultivation, as it is commonly practiced today in most parts of southern Ethiopia, was introduced there by the abäša conquerors from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. (There are vague indications that it might have been known of before in some limited areas of Shirka, Robee and Gooroo in Arsiland.)[72]

The Gurage and the Kambaata have evidently been sedentary peasants for many generations cultivating nsät as their staple crop and supplementing their diet with barley, cabbage and pulses. They also usually possessed a certain quantity of livestock. With regard to animal products they were, however, not self-sustaining, but obtained meat, butter, leather etc. in exchange for their surplus vegetable food from neighbouring semi-nomadic livestock-breeders. Their working tools were in the first place digging-sticks which in Kämbata consisted only of a sharpened stick made of hardwood, whereas in Gurage they were reinforced with a two-pronged iron-pointed tip, and in the second place different types of hoes which are still widely employed alongside the plough. West of the Bilate, the Hadiyya, who originally practiced agropastoralism, i. e. animal husbandry combined with grain cultivation, gradually adopted the economic system of the highland peasants. Meanwhile, their cultural patterns and ways of life hardly differ any more. In contrast to cultivators of grain, like for example in Konso, where compact and partly fortified villages were common, the type of settlement in the areas of nsät cultivation was exclusively made up of hamlets consisting of scattered compounds which occupied an area of sometimes several square kilometres. Interpretations attempting to explain this particular strategy may be plausible[73], but they must ultimately remain hypothetical.

Because the nsät proved to be an exceptionally high-yielding plant[74], the area of its cultivation (cf. map 2) is distinguished by its enormous population density. A sample survey carried out by Siegfried Seyfarth at the beginning of 1973 in hamlets of the Leemo-Hadiyya near Hossäyna resulted in a population density of over 300 people per km^2. Detlev KARSTEN (1968: 62) even ascertained cases of up to 500 inhabitants per km^2 with nsät farmers in Sidaamaland. As already indicated, the population in these areas has dramatically increased, and it has to be stated that the limits of agrarian carrying capacity have definitely been exceeded. East of the Rift

72 Oral infomation which I recorded from elders in these places in 1973 were contradictory and are not confirmed by written materials.

73 Researchers in human geography, such as STIEHLER (1948: 258ff.) and KULS (1958: 118ff.) presented interesting ideas regarding this pattern of settlement. The details are outside consideration here, but they are of relevance with regard to the ongoing discussion on the program of "villagization" carried out in Ethiopia during the 1980s with partly disastrous consequences.

74 Recent investigations, for example by Alke DOHRMANN (2004: 238ff.) among the Leemo-Hadiyya, have shown that 300 to 500 decitons per hectare can be produced.

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Valley the cultivation of nsät has spread only haltingly, because the Arsi (like most of the Oromo) and the Amhara[75] were highly contemptuous of nsät consumption. They often believed that nsät was an inferior type of food which caused weakness. Because of this handed-down prejudice – and presumably also because of the complicated know-how of its cultivation – they have hitherto been reluctant to adopt it, even though they do realise that the high-yielding plant would stabilize their sometimes precarious food supply. For this reason the Arsi in the early 1970s had only planted nsät in less than a 20 kilometre-wide strip along the northern and north-eastern borders of Sidaamaland, where intermarriage with Sidaama women provided the knowledge of its cultivation.[76]

Presumably after the 14th century peas (*Pisum sativum*), horse-beans (*Vicia faba*), chickpeas (*Cicer arietinum*), onions (*Allium cepa*) and garlic (*Allium sativa*) spread from the Ethiopian highlands southwards. At a later stage lentils (*Lens culinaris*), sesame seed (*Sensamum indicum*) and nug (*Guizotia abyssinica*) sporadically gained a foothold. Fruits introduced from Arabia via Harär such as lemon (*Citrus limonium*), banana (*Musa paradisiaca*) and peach (*Persica vulgaris*) have long been confined to the Islamic centres of eastern Ethiopia.[77] Apparently in the post-Columbian period, crop plants from the New World were introduced to north-eastern Africa via the Portuguese. Particularly red pepper (*Capsicum conicum*), maize (*Zea mays*), tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*), sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*), potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) and tomatoes (*Solanum lycopersicum*) gained considerable importance.

Due to particular ecological prerequisites the stockbreeders led a more or less nomadic life and did not establish compact settlements. In the Lake Region and in the Arsi and Bale highlands east of the Rift Valley livestock keeping remained the dominant economic pillar until the second third of the 20th century. Because of the increasing density of population in those areas mobile stockbreeding was then gradually abandoned in favour of sedentary faming. Pure nomadism has certainly been rare among the Arsi. Eike HABERLAND convincingly concluded from facts of culture history and from oral traditions that they had practiced a mixed agricultural system of cattle-breeding and the cultivation of barley since ancient times.[78] The barley yield remained however modest into the 20th century causing the Arsi to swap with

75 At the end of the 18th century, nsät was presumably cultivated in the area of Lake ana by Cushitic-speaking Agäw groups (see LUDOLF [LUDOLPH] 1682: 51) and in the 19th century also in the S men Mountains (SIMOONS 1960: 92), which however, were then abandoned for reasons unknown. When I travelled through Wälläga in 2001, I observed that nsät cultivation is expanding in areas where it has not been practiced before.

76 This state of information is outdated now. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to observe the present situation in that area.

77 Other types of fruits such as mangoes, papayas and avocados were almost unknown in most parts of central-southern Ethiopia in the 1970s, but according to my own observations they became commonly available in the late 1990s.

78 The materials of HABERLAND (1963a: 5ff., 363ff.) were clearly confirmed by the results of my own research.

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highland farmers to gain a sufficient supply of vegetable food. As this economic symbiosis was essential for both partners, their mutual relationship was shaped according to certain habitual rules which were never seriously compromised. When the Arsi increasingly converted their mixed system of stockbreeding and farming into a type of intensified land cultivation, they simultaneously adopted new agricultural methods, particularly the use of the plough, and left behind the techniques of hoe-farming (cf. also chap. 3.7.2). It can thus be stated that in this geographical area a "linear" model of cultural evolution cannot be proved, but fluent transitions and mixed forms between the basic socio-economic types have occurred.

This finding applied equally to the social system. Formerly, analyses of culture historians referring to southern Ethiopia have often assumed that virtually a basic pattern of affiliation existed between the socio-political system and that of belonging to a language group: the speakers of East Cushitic languages had basically democratic organizations with age-grade systems of the *gadaa* type, whereas the members of Omotic-speaking (formerly also labelled West Cushitic) ethnic groups preferentially developed monarchical systems, "kingdoms".[79] The *gadaa* system ensured more or less egalitarian norms and acted as a sum of rules regulating life, whereas the kingships were hierarchically structured and distinguished by a sophisticated network of top-down relations. However, from our research it became apparent that the Hadiyya proper could not be ascribed to either one or the other of these "ideal" categories, but they represented a socio-political type of their own. The Arsi clans of Hadiyya descent were integrated into the Oromo *gadaa* system – though not completely, because their members were usually not permitted to become incumbents. Information provided from oral tradition frequently indicated the respective position in the genealogy when the incorporation took place by a ceremonial act of subjugation (*lallaba*) under the guidance of a *gadaa* chief of the Oromo.[80] A kingship comparable to that of the Omotic-speaking peoples, e. g., the Wälaytta, Yäm, Käfa, evidently never existed among the Hadiyya. However, the neighbouring Kambaata, who belong to the East Cushitic language group, had developed (verifiably since the 16th century) a type of monarchy according to the Omotic pattern.[81]

The fact that a mighty Hadiyya state comprising a large territory existed, as far as can be reconstructed from the historical information sources, between the 13th and 16th centuries, suggests that more or less firmly established central authorities were

79 This coincidence, particularly pointed out by Adolf E. JENSEN, Eike HABERLAND and Helmut STRAUBE in verbal discussions, lectures and publications, is in fact obvious for the historical conditions until the middle of the 20th century, but can of course by no means claim to be a standardized rule.

80 Since the *gadaa* system of the Arsi has already in extenso been dealt with and described by HABERLAND (1963a: 444, *passim*), it was outside of my own observations. For a modern instructive overview cf. BAXTER 2005: 633-38.

81 In a study about the history and socio-political organization of the Kambaata, I have extensively dealt with the evolution of monarchical institutions within this group (BRAUKÄMPER 1983, chap. 3.2-3.3).

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present, which were able to provide the means for long-distance trade between the coast and the interior of north-eastern Africa. How the authority and the rule of the political leaders, the *gärad (garaad)*, were constituted, is not possible to be reconstructed in detail. The states of south-eastern Ethiopia during that period were most certainly not compatible with kingdoms in Western Europe, although they were consistently labelled "reynos" or "royaumes" by occidental travellers. It can be assumed that due to the Muslim-Christian wars and the Oromo expansion of the 16th century a decline of centralized authorities and of centrifugal cultural forces occurred. As a result, the political leadership, which has presumably never been elaborated in a very centralized form, gave way to an enhancement of egalitarian patterns. A rigid dichotomy preserved (or developed) between commoners, i. e. ordinary peasants, on the one hand, and marginalized minorities of craftworkers such as potters, tanners, blacksmiths and additionally hunters on the other hand. It manifested an antagonism, widespread in human history, between *ergon*, respected and honoured types of work (such as farming and herding) and *douleia*, work understood to be dishonest and disgraceful.[82]

Certainly, in the modern society of most Hadiyya groups there were hereditary dignitaries, but the position of the individual was basically dependent on the "achieved status" rather than on the "ascribed status". Intelligence, strength, courage, warlike capability and "feasts of merit" performed by the owners of 100 or 1000 head of cattle[83] were the basic attributes for realizing vertical mobility according to the then prevailing expectations and norms of the society. That men could achieve social promotion through bravery and success in battle and also the notion that the act of killing was in itself to a certain extent indispensable for the existence of one's group are phenomena, which can be regarded as "Pan-Ethiopian traits". This concept lastly implies a correlation between the ability of a man to destroy the lives of male adversaries and his ability to produce offspring. In practice, it was not a prerequisite for a male individual to have killed a human foe or a dangerous wild animal before he was permitted to marry. Nevertheless, herein lay a standard expectation which every man strived to fulfil. The sexual organs taken from the slain adversary as a trophy is a visible expression of the relationship between killing and procreation as conceived in the "killer system" (or "killing cult") of southern Ethiopia. In addition to an elevated social status the "hero" of this type received conspicuous funeral rites and grave monuments after death.

This syndrome of value concepts necessarily induced a bellicose aggressiveness, but it did not demand a chivalrous fighting code. What counted was not the heroic achievement, but the act of killing as such. Whether the genital trophy was gained in open combat or in an insidious ambush was not a paramount criterion for the evalu-

82 These ancient Greek terms seem to be particularly appropriate to label this phenomenon which is wide-spread and long-lasting. Stimulating theoretical considerations regarding southern Ethiopia in this field were provided by AMBORN (1990) and FREEMAN/PANKHURST (2001).

83 For further details on the "meritorious complex" in southern Ethiopia see BRAUKÄMPER (2002). Cf. also the comparative study of POISSONNIER 2009.

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ation of honour and "merit". In principle, the trophy could be taken from a young boy, a baby and even from a male foetus, although this was considered disgusting. Male children and pregnant women were thus potentially exposed to being slain.[84] Usually, women were sacrosanct and could move freely between the territories of hostile groups even in times of acute warfare. At the end of every eight year *gadaa* period the warlike activities were more or less institutionalized and ambushing enemies, raiding livestock and killing men for honour's sake reached a climax. These actions, however, commonly did not aim at threatening the territorial integrity or the very existence of other groups. Their possible impact on processes of fusion and fission will be considered later (cf. chap. 3.4.3; 3.5.9).

The battle over land among the semi-nomadic agropastoralists gained force only after their more intensive transition to sedentary life alongside steadily increasing population pressure. From the very beginning of their existence the favourite strategy of peasant societies with centralized monarchic authorities was by way of contrast, an extension of their territories and a systematic colonization of the conquered land. In order to demonstrate clearly their titles of ownership, the kings of Wälaytta and to a lesser extent also those of Kambaata consistently set up new ramparts as lines of demarcation and fortification (at least symbolic) along the borders of newly-acquired areas. This strategy proved the superiority of the monarchical system with its expansionist state ideology in comparison with egalitarian societies. This fact most evidently referred to the Christian Ethiopian Empire.

The *gadaa* system meant for the Arsi that there was an inseparable connection between social life and traditional religion.[85] The Hadiyya proper, the Libidoo, Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho were followers of a religion whose eschatology and religious practices were characterized by Islamic relics. Its adherents, the *Fandaanano*, practiced, for example, a fasting period which corresponded with *Rama n. Waa'a*, the Supreme Being, was believed to be enthroned in a seven-layered heaven. As a type of *Deus otiosus* he hardly exerted any direct influence on the fate of people on earth. Worship and sacrifice were directed less at him but mainly involved numerous demons whose actions were believed to be inherent in all spheres of life. Similar to other parts of north-eastern Africa, so-called possession-cults gained central importance. They were basically characterized by the belief that a spirit entered a person as its medium and empowered him or her, for example, to heal sick people and to carry out magical practices to provide fertility or rain.[86] These cults were to a considerable extent stimulated and spread through

84 Cases of this type were recorded, e. g., by BRUCE (1790/91, II: 216), PAULITSCHKE (1888b: 30), PAULITSCHKE (1896: 6), HOYOS (1895: 89), THESIGER (1935: 5).

85 The hitherto most comprehensive analysis to prove this connection was provided by HABERLAND (1963a: 457ff., 561ff.).

86 For a preliminary state of information regarding *Fandaanano* cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1997, PETER 1999: 104ff., *passim.* Detailed materials on the religion of the Hadiyya proper will be composed in another monograph.

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world religions, Orthodox Christianity and Islam, which most of the Hadiyya belonged to from the second half of the 20th century onwards.

An ideal-typical abstraction of the traditional patterns of culture of the Hadiyya proper could be summarized with the following key words: cattle-breeding with supplementary barley cultivation, relatively egalitarian social organization with extensive conditions of vertical mobility, ethical value concepts determined by "cattle complex" and "killing cult", survivals and relics of Islam in the folk religion. Attempts by anthropologists and historians at defining the cultural model of the Hadiyya and related groups within the areal context of north-eastern Africa have remained unsatisfying and contradictory.[87] MURDOCK's (1959: 196ff., 323ff.) classification grouping the Hadiyya proper together with the Kambaata, Sidaama, Gide'o, Konso and other ethnic groups in a complex of "megalithic Cushites", while the Galla (Oromo) constituted a cultural cluster of their own, is questionable in many ethnographic details. Furthermore, it conveys through its predominantly linguistic base of criteria a constricted and partly misleading representation of the highly complex overall framework of culture history in the area of concern.

The ecological and cultural conditions which have been sketchily propounded here cannot be understood as a synchronic analysis of a precise accurately-defined point of time. They essentially refer to the "patterns" which existed around 1880 before the conquest of the Hadiyya areas by the Christian Empire.

87 This refers, for example, to the approach of BAUMANN (1940; 1975; 1979). It is outside the scope of this study, however, to follow up the state of research on culture areas.

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2. Research Situation and Body of Source Material

In illiterate cultures on the one hand and cultures possessing written records on the other hand, the categories of historical materials, i. e., texts, facts or material objects from which insights into the past can be derived, differ significantly in their relevance. This is evident in the case of our study on the Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia. Next to the limited number of written references set down by foreigners about them, it is the cultural phenomena, materials, institutions, linguistic findings etc., which are of comparatively great importance. Above all, however, it is the oral traditions attained through field studies that make a monograph about the history of such a people possible in the first place. In view of the requirements concerning the analysis of source material, it seems necessary to first state the special situation of field research and the underlying work concept. This is all the more indispensable, because particular methodological problems are inherent in this type of study in which historians working with written sources are mostly inexperienced.[1]

2.1 The Field Study as a Basis for Compiling New Source Material

As already pointed out, the source material on the Hadiyya, and on most ethnic units of southern Ethiopia as well, is scanty. An attempt to write a history of this group can therefore only be ventured if the historical materials can be augmented to an extent that finally a kind of overall picture can be approached. The field study was carried out with this objective in mind. But it goes without saying that because of the limited capacity of the researcher only a part of the actual existing source material can more or less be selectively documented. The field study methods and techniques have in the main been developed for socio-scientific present-day analyses in Western societies, about which the researcher usually possesses a considerable state of knowledge which enables him or her to start from the base of clearly defined hypotheses. Such a fund of previous knowledge is commonly lacking when a researcher starts a field study in an area which can be classified as an undocumented "*terra incognita*", as, for example, Hadiyyaland in 1970. Particular difficulties arise, because hypotheses tend to be vague and research methods have to be adapted to the particular research conditions. More than with a synchronic perspective, there is the necessity to continuously reflect on the coordination of methodological procedures

1 It is interesting to observe that the practice of "oral history" in European countries received important stimuli from historians who worked on illiterate societies of Africa. The literature which has been produced in this field of studies since the 1980s is too voluminous to be dealt with in detail here. The outstanding contribution of Jan VANSINA (e. g. 1985) may be accentuated.

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and their results so as not to remain in a pre-scientific framework where a random and intuitive form of data gathering prevails.

A particular problem arises through culture-specific projections and stereo-types which the foreign researcher attributes in a more or less non-reflective way to the "otherness" or "altérité" of foreign cultures and which influences his interpretation not insignificantly. In a study on the Nilotic Didinga and Longarim in southern Sudan Andreas KRONENBERG (1972: 22) subsumed this problem in the question "How can the mode of presentation of a foreign phenomenon be analysed with meanings relevant for them without projecting on the ethnologists' culture matrix?" It will be no more than a *bone fide* endeavour to realise this objective.[2]

When my field study began, I assumed the hypothesis that the present-day Hadiyya in the area of the upper Gibe, particularly those groups known as Gudeella, exemplified a historical continuity with the medieval bearers of this name.[3] The first research campaign from March 1970 to February 1971 was exclusively reserved for the Hadiyya proper in the sub-province named Kämbata by that time. In the beginning, no predominantly historical study was aimed at, but rather a documentation of the traditional cultural patterns in the broadest sense. It was clear right after ending the first period of research that the objectives had not been satisfyingly reached and a continuation was absolutely essential.

Under the impressions of a strong anti-position which had evolved in Germany against the diffusionist schools due to their questionable and speculative reconstructions, I was extremely sceptical of all traditions which refer to wide-ranging expansionist migrations.[4] Therefore, I could decide only hesitatingly to comprehend the given stages of the migration routes reported in the oral traditions and to check the details on clan relationships, place names and other facts. The second campaign from September 1972 to March 1974 was largely devoted to this task.[5] In order to investigate the interethnic relationship, I spent some time among the Hadiyya proper, as well as with groups of Hadiyya descent, particularly the Allaaba, Qabeena, East-Gurage, Sidaama, Arsi and Oromo groups in the Cärcär region. A large-scale and multi-sited study embedded in the wider context of the history and culture of southern Ethiopia was thus given priority over a territorially limited "case-study".

2 I am fully aware of the fact that the postmodern and postcolonial approaches in cultural anthropology have considerably changed the state of theoretical and methodological debates in this field. However, comprehensive references are outside consideration here.

3 Cf. Preface, fn. 7. I myself still favoured this view after my first research trip (BRAUKÄMPER 1973: 47).

4 The collapse of diffusionist theories, which had dominated ethnology in the German-speaking countries until the 1950s, had provoked a deep-rooted frustration with regard to this academic tradition. The scholars specialized in Ethiopian studies at the Frobenius Institute, Adolf Jensen, Eike Haberland and Helmut Straube, were still deeply influenced by diffusionist ideas, but they were anxiously dedicated to distancing themselves from them.

5 In another study in Darfur (Sudan) during the 1980s a critical analysis of place names and stages of migration became a focal point of my interest and my analysis from the very beginning (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1992, chap. 2.1).

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Unquestionably, such an approach undoubtedly required a greater effort time-wise and organisationally in regard to specific questions.

In 1970 the road to Hossäyna (Waachchamo), the capital of the then Kämbata *Awra a*, had not been finished. One could reach it by car in the dry season, however journeys within the area had to be undertaken by means of horses and mules. For the large-scale investigations of 1973/4 in the Arsi, Sidamo, Bale and Hararge provinces an off-road vehicle was the most important means of transport. We mostly stayed close to the navigable dirt road from which the informants could be reached on foot within a certain radius.

The preparations for the second field study campaign consisted of compiling a list of place, ethnic and proper names from chronicles and other recorded literature that potentially pointed to the respective areas in southern Ethiopia. The place and clan names existing today, identical to those in the ancient written documents, should at first glance be assessed as an evident indication for historical continuity. Whether and how far such continuity actually existed, had to be checked in detail for validity. This approach aimed therefore at verification or falsification of concretely formulated hypotheses.

As with every ethnological field study, systematically directed and controlled observation was one of the foundations for the gathering of data. Because an individual scholar can only know and collect a limited amount of data, any researcher stays dependent on the experience of other scholars for the rest of the information. In other words, he (or she) has to employ "indirect observation".[6]

Within the methods of direct observation, which the social sciences differentiate, participant observation and observation by means of standardised experimental and test situations, the first had precedence in our study. As I mostly lived with the indigenous people in their houses and participated in many of their activities, a certain amount of integration was ensured in the group being researched. Due to the fact that the research took place primarily in a scarcely documented terrain and thus hardly any concrete hypotheses and descriptive criteria had been defined before the collection of the material, the type of systematic observation was largely ruled out. Occasionally, no longer existing but still known procedures and cultural traditions, for example in the field of certain ceremonial acts, could to some extent be reproduced and documented. Also important for the overall historical picture was the visual inspection of archaeological sites which will not be gone into in detail here.[7]

6 When carrying out the field studies of the 1970s, I particularly relied on the methodological textbooks of KÖNIG (1965: 32, *passim*). A lot of new analyses have meanwhile been published on this topic. The first attempt in ethnology to analyse observance as a research technique is by NEUMAYER (1875). Essentially he limited it to enumeration in which in an "exotic culture" it seemed relevant to undertake observation and thus only posed the question of the target of observation and not the "how" of the observation process. It goes without saying that I have meanwhile consulted modern handbooks of qualitative research.

7 For example, grave sites, grottos, boundary walls and petroglyph sites were investigated. More information in this field will be given in the projected monograph on the culture of the Hadiyya.

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After the observation process, notes were recorded in chronological order and the material was in most cases then transferred according to content into a systematic structure.

As data obtained through observance mostly relate to the present situation, they are of less importance to the historian than to the anthropologist. The reconstruction of the past must first and foremost be accomplished through questioning. The techniques of interviewing had to suit the particular requirements of a study in a "*terra incognita*". Questioning was therefore to the greatest possible extent conducted in the form of open-ended ethnographic (in-depth) interviews, a freely-held and basically unstructured conversation, where the interviewer's guideline and objective was the gaining of unpredictable information. A type of contract was mostly entered into with the key informants who were remunerated for the hours of their daily work. I also conducted semi-standardised interviews in focus group discussions, particularly during the later stage of the research, which were organised in a relatively mobile fashion especially when it came to asking precise questions about the historical ties of the ethnic groups and their relationship to the ancient territorial cluster of the Hadiyya. Questionnaires were drawn up in a few cases in order to aid the indigenous research assistants in gathering additional information in certain sub-areas. The transcription of the stated information ensued during the interviewing; the tape recorder served the purpose of recording only lyrical texts, songs and instrumental music.[8] There was a strong focus on male elders, because they were regarded as the main preservers of the oral traditions and genealogies.[9]

The interviews were conducted by me with the help of interpreters who, apart from English and Amharic, had a good command of the languages spoken by the respective groups where the research took place. One had of course to be aware of the additional problems relating to sources of error in the process of data acquisition – alongside the usual ones [10] – through translation mistakes and the difficulty to reveal the adequate meaning of particular culture-specific terms. There is no patent remedy to eliminate this problem. As the study spanned different linguistic communities, it was impracticable to learn each respective language. It was therefore hardly possible to ensure satisfactory control over the interpreters. A friendly relationship with the research assistants was vital and the more committed they were to the work,

As a by-product of such studies see BRAUKÄMPER/CERVICEK 1975.

8 A 'Work Journal' and a translated and annotated reproduction of the interviews with key informants (e.g. LYDALL/STRECKER 1979 on the Hamär in the South Omo region of Ethiopia) are of considerable value for the disclosure and verification of results. Documentations of this type have explicitly been required by historians from field researchers, social scientists and also representatives of national archives in African countries (see, e.g., HEINTZE 1976: 47ff.), but due to time constraints and financial costs they are often not realised.

9 Female informants played a more important part in questions of social life, religious rituals and material culture, which will be analysed in the study on *Fandaanano*.

10 For methodological problems on the techniques of interviewing cf. MACCOBY/MACCOBY 1965: 72f.

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the greater their effort to acquire accurate data. On the other hand, the researcher had to be conscious of the fact that the interpreters more or less automatically tended to introduce their own interpretations and rationalisations. Because of their familiarity with the respective cultures, many of the questions appeared to be self-evident to them. As a rule, the research assistants were expected to work no more than five hours a day, since their tasks required a high degree of concentration.

As time went on, the growing knowledge of the historical and cultural coherences provided the researcher with a more critical view regarding the data reported by the informants via the interpreters. As a result, the interviewing techniques became increasingly efficient and potential mistakes could be observed more critically. For example, a particular connection regarding a detail came to my attention when an informant mentioned the name Dinglis which the interpreter did not think worth noting and left out of the translation. On checking it afterwards, it emerged that it was the local designation of the Ethiopian Emperor L bnä D ng l, a contemporary and adversary of A mad Grañ, the ᶜAdal commander-in-chief, in the 16th century. The most effective instrument of control lay in the quantitative field. For the Hadiyya proper and peoples of Hadiyya descent, more than three hundred genealogies were gathered and recorded and a proportionate number of interviews of differing duration concerning historical questions were conducted. One could then through interpolation of the most frequently occurring information content obtain a statistically relevant fundament and, if necessary, filter out significant deviations or manipulations. In this way, the danger of translation errors could be largely eliminated at the same time. "Panel investigations" served the same objective whereby the same informants were once again presented with the same questions but at different time intervals. Possible discrepancies in the statements could then be established and compared with the base material. A "sample investigation" of the type employed in empirical social research was undertaken only by my colleague Siegfried Seyfarth in Duubaanchcho near Hossäyna in order to obtain a representative cross-section of the socio-economic conditions of the Leemo-Hadiyya.[11]

In some cases, it proved to be advantageous to ask the questions in an indirect way so that the person who was interviewed did not relate it to himself but could rather relate it to a collective context. This technique applied especially to some of the informants who had been Christianised by Protestant missions and had been persuaded to have such a strong contempt for the traditional religion that they were prepared to give information about this subject extremely reluctantly. With groups having heterogeneous origins, like the Arsi, questions indicating specific cultural characteristics, for example food taboos, burial rites and position in the *gadaa* system (cf. chap. 1.3), were important for the identification of clans of Hadiyya descent.

As far as the willingness to give information was concerned, I had a fundamentally different experience with the peoples in southern Ethiopia compared to ethnic

11 The data base provided by Siegfried Seyfarth's unpublished notebooks was used in a new campaign of research by Dirk Bustorf in 1999/2000.

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groups in other parts of Africa. This fact is understandable because of highly different socio-political positions and orientations. For example, the Fulbe in Adamawa (parts of northern Cameroon and northern Nigeria) were, from a historical point of view, a conquering and ruling ethnic unit which dominated both linguistically and culturally and looked back at their past with great pride. As a result, the men who were interviewed reported on their history and political organisation without us having had to first build up a basis of trust over a length of time or to present an official letter of recommendation. On the other hand, however, they hostilely opposed questions concerning private and family matters which they felt were totally improper. This can largely be attributed to a strong acceptance of Muslim value concepts which obviously worked towards a stronger seclusion of the private sphere.[12] In southern Ethiopia, as long as abäša colonists (*näf äñña*)[13] were not employed as informants, the circumstances were the other way around. People who had been conquered and exploited during the past century were basically not willing to give information to foreigners without official authority for fear of sanctions being applied against them. The hierarchy concerning the letters of recommendation extended from the Ministry of the Interior to the Provincial, Deputy-Provincial and District Governor right down to the *balabbat* and local clan chief. (The postcolonial debate which opened up a new view on these issues had not yet started by then.) Decade-long oppression had created such mistrust of all foreigners that everyone, who approached them with questions, was regarded with suspicion and held to be a representative of the ruling system and a potential spy. Since the District Governor tried to supervise the work as much as possible, under these circumstances it was not possible to win over local contact partners on a basis of trust nor do the work satisfactorily because of the informants' inhibitions. Only after one evaded the constant regulatory supervision, found accommodation in the midst of the indigenous people, and got competent informants, was there a basis for constructive research activity. Initially, there was, as a rule, more willingness to talk about cultural phenomena or even intimate matters of everyday life rather than about historical and political facts. Experience showed that the focal issues for the research could only then be approached when a sufficient basis of confidence had been established. Mistrust was frequently stirred, for instance, when questions were asked about the peoples who had inhabited their living areas prior to the present inhabitants or with questions

12 In later campaigns of field research among the Fellata in the Sudanese province of Darfur and among the Shuwa Arabs in the Borno region of north-eastern Nigeria, I was again faced with different types of preparedness of informants to report on certain fields of history, culture or everyday life. A comprehensive comparison is outside the scope of this chapter.

13 *Näftäñña* means "gun bearers" and refers to the military colonists who settled in southern Ethiopia from the late 19th century onwards. They were mostly of Amharic origin and therefore often collectively addressed as "Amhara" by the people in the south. However, some of them were T gray, Tuulama-Oromo and members of other Christian groups. It therefore seems to me more correct to label them ***abäša***, a term collectively and neutrally used for Christian Ethiopians.

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about the migratory stages of their forefathers. Occasionally, in connection with this a suspicion was aroused that the government might pursue resettlement plans due to such research.

After the conquest of the south by Emperor M nil k II, land distribution for autochthonous ethnic groups had indeed occurred at the end of the 19th century on the base of reports on previous historical conditions (cf. chap. 3.7.1). Thus, for these people having a pronounced historical awareness, information about the past was sometimes more of an explosive political issue than dealing with the current situation. This became particularly obvious with Islamic groups when the questions related to the "holy wars" of the 16th century and to A mad Grañ, revered by them as a national hero who had "crushed the Amhara". Oppressed people tended to identify their nativist ambitions with such a person, who was commonly apostrophised by the Christian side as a murderous incendiary and the epitome of evil.

I experienced Arsi informants in northern Bale interrupting an interview about the topography and ethnic situation of their settlements indicating that on one occasion Europeans, meaning the expedition of Amadeo di Savoia-Aosta and Enrico Cerulli in 1928, had asked similar questions and some years later Italian troops invaded the country. There were also instances, where I undertook long marches to informants described as being particularly knowledgeable who turned out to be either completely senile or who refused to be questioned. However, the overall record was satisfying as most of the informants were open-minded and communicative, especially when the researcher himself demonstrated a lively interest in genealogical and cultural facts of their own or neighbouring groups. In the areas of my research, the mistrust of foreign interviewers was obviously not as pronounced as in southwestern Ethiopia where the rule of the Ethiopian Empire had a more brutal impact and the ethnic self-awareness of the autochthonous societies had been more strongly shattered.[14]

It would be unrealistic to assume that anthropological field research combined with a historical study could be compiled in a purely impartial positivistic way. During our second sojourn (1972-74), it became clear that in Ethiopia an increasingly explosive mood targeted at a change of the political circumstances began evolving. It was most evident in the capital Addis Abäba, but also became noticeable in the remotest parts of Hadiyyaland. In particular, the pupils and teachers of the rural schools, representing together only a small percentage of the population, began to call the ruling system into question with strikes and boycott measures against the infringement of rights by the "feudalist exploiters", and also from the peasants an attitude of opposition grew towards the imperial government. Howsoever one conducts oneself as a foreign researcher in such a situation, fieldwork itself proves to be an activating factor since it bolsters the self-esteem of the investigated group. Inevitably, researchers, even though they explicitly aim to keep a neutral position,

14 This emanates from the results of comparative observations by Eike Haberland, Werner Lange and Hermann Amborn (personal communications).

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become involved to a certain extent in latent smouldering conflicts. In our case, it was especially the ethnic controversy between the Hadiyya and the Kambaata over the (re-)naming of the sub-province that was ruled over by the highest court of the state and led to occasional violence.[15] It was a quarrel which had to do equally with taking a stand against social grievances and oppressive measures exercised over the population by the authorities. It appears to be therefore unrealistic, much more than with historical research based only on written sources, to assume an unrestricted objectivity of the study.

> "When it means the historian must be objective, it does not mean he should be inwardly unaffected with regard to the research process [...]. Such a mental detachment is basically impossible and if the historian tries to practice it, then inevitably he gets into a position of an apologist for everything existing".[16]

To withdraw to a position of "scientific distance" and not to take notice of the current problems of the people but be fixated on the research objective would not only be detrimental to the group under study but would also appear morally questionable. A personal commitment would then be essential if – which happened occasionally – intrigues against informants were spun and they were exposed to coercion on the part of the government authorities at different levels. However, the permission to undertake research required restraint in criticising the internal affairs of the host country and to abstain from interfering in internal affairs. Misjudgement and all too zealous activism – borne by whatever basic ideological attitude – have repeatedly burdened research programmes in Ethiopia (and elsewhere) to the extent of their becoming unfeasible.

Ethical implications of field research have been discussed at length since the pioneering study of RYNKIEVICH and SPRADLEY (1976) without a patent remedy for the behaviour of individual researchers being able to be given due to the wide spectrum of diverging circumstances. Every society is, to a different extent of intensity, determined by social conflicts, which inevitably affect the position of the foreign observer. His own role as a factor of change should not be overrated, at least with the populous peasant communities, where the presence of a foreign researcher is usually no reason for deviations from ordinary everyday life.

At the beginning of the stay and always when the research became extended to another area, cooperation with the authorities was vital. Within the administrative staff, recruited from the local population only in exceptional cases, there were always people genuinely interested in the culture of their district. Such persons did not only show understanding of the research intentions, but often offered practical sup-

15 A similar situation arose for Dirk Bustorf (personal communications) when he was investigating interethnic relations between the Leemo-Hadiyya and the ndägañ-Gurage in the borderland of the two groups in 1999/2000.

16 KON 1966: 128f. (our translation from German).

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port. The men who had been suggested by the authorities were mostly designated liaison people between the abäša administration and the taxpayers. They proved to be not the best informants yet gave rise to the possibility, especially in a phase when one was not that familiar with the relationships, of contacting further and more competent informants.

For a holistic cultural analysis in the classical ethnological sense, which I was initially interested in, each person of the research group could basically serve as an informant. After the focus of the study had changed to a historical orientation, the choice of the informants had to be adjusted to meet the particular demands of this approach. From an overview of the literature on north-eastern Africa a pattern could be assumed that the Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples of Ethiopia are distinguished by gerontocratic features. As a rule, the old men were responsible for political decisions, they held key official positions, and were the most competent guardians of tradition. A wide-spread belief was indeed apparent that a high age and wisdom constituted more or less congruent factors. In the process of my research this conviction tended to be refuted frequently in a grotesque way. Among the Hadiyya, the "wise" elders held the honorific title *lommancho* (pl. *lommanna)* which meant as much as "great older man". The Sidaama used the term *ayyaana*.

In contrast to many West African societies, where from time immemorial professional specialists preserved the historical traditions of the ruling families and all state organisations,[17] this task was carried out in Ethiopia mostly by simple peasants who, because of their intelligence and their interest in this matter, possessed an above-average standard of knowledge. To find out about them was difficult because of the ruling authoritative structure. The chieftains appointed by the government and traditional title bearers were often bent on self-praise and confronted such "ordinary" informants with suspicion and envy. Getting in touch with particularly knowledgeable informants thus took place mostly via hints and recommendations from other people. Our accommodation was then mostly relocated near their dwellings. Occasionally, suitable information could also be gathered with group interviews at public meetings of elders. In such a case, the knowledge of genealogies and the connections of clans proved to be the most important selection criteria. The standard of knowledge was naturally not only a question of an old age, and often men between the age of 30 and 40 years proved to be the better informants. However, at public meetings and group discussions they held back in the face of the elders because of the unquestioned gerontocratic conditions. It was only when they were alone that they could impart their knowledge without restraint. Women, who traditionally took hardly any active part in political decision-making, were only used as informants concerning their particular domains of life and those who practiced certain handicraft professions.

17 Cf., e.g. BENZING (1971: 5 ff.) for the Dagomba in northern Ghana. This was later confirmed by my own studies in the Borno region of Nigeria (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 150ff., 154, 161).

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In areas where we spent a longer time, we could develop a bond of mutual trust with the informants and ultimately dealt with sensitive themes such as land rights, political attitudes or collaboration with the Italian occupants. Yet in every new area we had to start from anew, making the informant familiar with the research aims and then overcoming the barrier of mistrust. To shorten this process, it turned out to be advantageous to take along an informant who had friends and relatives in the new area and who assumed the introduction into the new group. Where this was not possible, especially recommended people were visited who were willing to give the names of friends and/or relatives to assist the start. It was principally avoided asking for authoritative pressure in order to interview those people who could not be convinced to cooperate. Such an attitude would not only jeopardise the foundation of trust and the working atmosphere, but also put into question the quality and validity of the information itself.

Showing books and illustrations on other known peoples of southern Ethiopia to informants came in useful as a good starting point and helped in removing distrust. A broadcast on the Ethiopian radio about the folklore and music of the Hadiyya compiled by the journalist Mu ammad Idris with our help in 1971, was enthusiastically welcomed. (The centralist cultural policy of that time was not at all in favour of such an action.)

Whereas the focal interest of social scientists is primarily aimed at portraying the cultural patterns of a given society in a more generalized and ideally typical manner, the study of historians is more oriented towards the analysis of individual processes which can be reconstructed from a selected basis of source materials. Over decades the heftily-led discussion about whether "anthropology" is a social science or a historical discipline appears to me to be pointless, since both spheres are ultimately inseparable.[18] The experiences among the Hadiyya suggest – and this is entirely validated by other studies in southern Ethiopia – that a promising access into the social structure in general, and the identification of the clans and lineages in particular, can only be achieved through a thorough analysis of genealogies out of which processes of segmentation, fusions and fissions, assimilations and adoptions can be derived and interpreted. It is nowhere else so obvious than right here that for the knowledge of synchronic facts a diachronic approach is absolutely essential and neither observations nor investigations of samples and statistical data are able to substitute data of historical dimension. How much an exclusively synchronically applied study can lead to ambiguous interpretations on societal conditions is exemplified by the work of C. R. HALLPIKE (1972: 139-43) on the Konso in southern Ethiopia. After painstaking field work, but largely ignorant of comparative source materials, he argued, for example, that the peasants' contempt for the craftsmen was derived from a peculiar symbolic perception of the Konso, without being aware of

18 This point of view has convincingly been advocated by well-known scholars who explicitly worked in the borderland of both disciplines such as EVANS-PRITCHARD (1961), KROEBER (1963) and VANSINA (1969).

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