

The 1943 Wejjerat Incident in Tigray, Ethiopia

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1. Introduction

The largest peasant revolt against the Ethiopian Empire, the *Weyyane* revolt, arose in August 1943, in southern Tigray. The nearly 20,000 participants, most of whom were peasants¹, attacked and conquered a military camp at Kwiḥa using guns left by Italian forces. After the conquest of the military camp in Indaysus, the rebels swept into occupy Meqele, the capital of Tigray province. Officers and soldiers of the Ethiopian Empire military escaped to northern Tigray. The *Weyyane* rebels came mainly from southern Tigray-towns such as Inderta, Wuqro, Samre, Hiṅṅalo, Alaje, and Meqele. Soon after the *Weyyane* occupied Meqele, the central government ordered *ras* Abebe Aregay to attack the *Weyyane* and bring southern Tigray under the empire's control. Emperor Haile Sillase also asked the British military, stationed in Ethiopia, to help suppress this major revolt against the Ethiopian government. At Alaje, the *Weyyane* suffered heavy losses in the face of modern weapons and organized attacks by British and Ethiopian military forces. The weakened *Weyyane* forces retreated to Meqele. However, the British then bombed Meqele by airplane, scattering the rebels and bringing an end to the *Weyyane* revolt.

A few studies have examined the *Weyyane* revolt, with the most comprehensive research having been undertaken by Gebru Tareke². In studies on the Ethiopian empire and its polity, *Weyyane* is usually mentioned as a major revolt against the empire³. However, interpretations of the *Weyyane* uprising have varied, and have even disagreed on which areas of Tigray participated in the action. Political confusion gripped Tigray after the Italian withdrawal and the re-establishment of the Ethiopian empire, with British assistance. In addition to the *Weyyane* uprising, bandit activity also increased in the area during this time.

1 WO32/1082 Tigre Operation

2 Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest-Peasant revolts in the twentieth century*, Red Sea Press, 1996.

3 Gilkes, Perham, Zewde

Gebru⁴ based his research, primarily, on historical materials from the Ministry of the Interior of the Ethiopian Empire, British Foreign Office, and the War Office. However, many of the historical materials of the Ministry of Interior—have not been accessible, especially to foreigners. In general, historical records for Ethiopia are lacking. Researchers of the *Weyyane* period can use official documents from other countries, primarily Britain, Italy, and France. However, a large volume of Ministry of Interior documents from the period of empire remain unexamined. Although some Ethiopian scholars have been allowed to study these works, foreign researchers have been denied access. Thus, for the modern history of Ethiopia, oral history is also a valuable resource for understanding social and political events⁵.

There is little information about the social situation that led to the *Weyyane* revolt. Although Gebru interviewed *Weyyane* participants and some administrators, the analysis of the background and social situations was limited. Participant accounts are the last and largest resource for clarifying the conditions that gave rise to this revolt. Thus, for two years, I interviewed more than 100 informants. Most of these informants were over 75 years old and provided indispensable testimonies for understanding *Weyyane*. Unfortunately, some key informants had already passed away. Given the age of the participants, this was one of the last opportunities for such a large project on the *Weyyane* revolt. The informants, from many parts of Tigray as well as Addis Ababa, included *Weyyane* participants, administrators, and military officers.

Today, Wejjerat is considered one of the *Weyyane* participant areas. British records document a movement in Wejjerat in May 1943 prior to the *Weyyane* revolt. However, reflecting the political and social anarchy following the Italian withdrawal, that documentation fails to clearly separate the Wejjerat and *Weyyane* events. These events may have had some relationship, or may even have been part of the same movement. The Wejjerat incident must thus be clarified in order to understand what went on, its relationship to the *Weyyane* revolt, and the social and political situations in Tigray at that time.

This paper has three purposes: to outline the Wejjerat incident, to describe the social and political situations in Tigray, and to determine the relationship between the Wejjerat incident and *Weyyane* revolt.

2. Political and Social Conditions before the *Weyyane* Revolt

From 1930–1943, Tigray experienced rapid and dramatic political changes, with internal rivalries among the nobility, the Italian invasion and occupation, and the

4 Tareke, *ibid.*

5 Recently, researchers have begun to use oral histories, as well as written historical materials such as those of the British Foreign Office (FO) and Archivio Storico del Ministero Africa Italiana (ASMAI).

subsequent reestablishment of the Ethiopian Empire. First, the power balance between two influential nobles of Tigray, *ras* Siyyum Mengesha and *ras* Gugsu Ar'aya, collapsed prior to the Italian invasion. With the sudden death of *ras* Gugsu in 1934, the Emperor awarded *ras* Siyyum a position higher than that of *ras* Gugsu's son.

Next, the violent Italian invasion disrupted politics, culture, and society in Tigray. Tigray bordered the Italian colony of Eritrea and was the site of brutal battles between Italy and Ethiopia. Among the Ethiopian provinces, Tigray was in the unusual situation of being directly and entirely governed by Italy. After the Italians withdrew, political confusion also arose over how to deal with *dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu, the son of *ras* Gugsu, who had collaborated with the Italians from the beginning of the invasion. *Dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu escaped to Eritrea after the Italian government fell and asked the British to help him escape from Ethiopia as a refugee. However, Emperor Haile Sellassie insisted on the handover of *dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu⁶, whose betrayal had caused the central government to become suspicious of Tigray and had created political chaos in southern Tigray.

Southern Tigray had previously been governed by *ras* Gugsu, who appointed a local administrator with the approval of the provincial and central governments. After *ras* Gugsu's death, *dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu took over his father's administrative areas, although the central government had decreased the size of these areas. However, when *dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu aligned himself with Italy, southern Tigray lost political guidance and support from the central government. During the Italian invasion, some in the region fought against the Italians with the armies of *ras* Siyyum and the Ethiopian Empire government; others, however, defected to the Italian side. During the Italian occupation, except for Ethiopian patriots, the Tigray people did not rise against the Italian administration. The confusion in southern Tigray caused by *dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu's defection continued even after the Italian withdrawal.

After the battles against Italy had led to defeat, the Italians used *ras* Siyyum as a symbol of integration in Ethiopia and in propaganda against patriots fighting against Italian occupation. In 1941 when the British military entered Ethiopia, *ras* Siyyum collaborated with the British and helped them fight against Italy. After the Italian withdrawal, *ras* Siyyum resumed administration of Tigray with the help of the British. Emperor Haile Sellasé claimed on *ras* Siyyum's status as a provincial governor and ordered him to come to Addis Abeba in 1942.

Political confusion ensued in Tigray after *ras* Siyyum left for Addis Adaba. Emperor Haile Sellassie appointed a number of administrators in Tigray, but without the provincial governor's presence, it was difficult for the central government to influence local administration in Tigray. Thus, no political supervisory body existed apart from the central government. The son of *ras* Siyyum, *dejjazmach* Mengesha Siyyum, was in Meqele with his father's followers, but he was only 15 years old and had no political power.

6 FO371/27520.

3. The Social Background to Wejjerat

Wejjerat is located approximately 80 km southeast of Meqele. Twenty villages; make up Wejjerat: Dubub (the Center of Wejjerat), Medat-Genti, Haadale, Senale, Gonka, Sebebera, Hale, 'Addi Arb'ate, Daereita, Geriegam, Kiene Gulmen, Tseḥafti, Aego, Wanin, Aeleliua, 'Addi Ajero, Seik Abeda, 'Addi Mesno, Gult, and 'Addi Qolqwal. Almost all the people of Wejjerat are Christian and depend on agriculture and nomadic herding.

Relatively little research has focused on Wejjerat. Further historical and anthropological research should examine this distinct area, which historically differed from other Tigray communities in its administration system and in its communal raids (*Gaz*) against the 'Afar. The Wejjerat had a traditional administrative system called the *Demeru-gura-garubo*. The *Demeru-gura-garubo* was a consultation system among the 20 Wejjerat villages. Each village selected one representative for the Demeru-gura-garubo each year. Those representatives would gather at the riverside near 'Addi Qeyḥ to discuss problems raised in the villages. The *Demeru-gura-garubo* was the highest level political system in Wejjerat and functioned as the administration, court, police, and tax collection agency. There was no chief or administrator appointed by the government in Wejjerat. The representatives of each village were appointed every year and were limited to one-year terms. Only adult males could qualify as *Demeru-gura-garubo* representatives.

The provincial government had tried to govern Wejjerat directly because of its rich agricultural harvests, and also to punish the Wejjerat people for their *Gaz* attacks against the 'Afar. *Ras* Gugsa, who had governed southern Tigray before the Italian invasion, also tried to govern Wejjerat, and appointed his follower as administrator. This administrator tried to end *Demeru-gura-garubo* rule and imposed heavy taxes. However, the Wejjerat people detested the outside administrator and attacked his residence, forcing him out of Wejjerat.

The Wejjerat people were skilled in attack operations from their many raids on the 'Afar. They were also skilled in negotiations. After expelling the outside administrator, the Wejjerat sent a message to *ras* Gugsa requesting negotiations. They wanted self administration, i.e., preservation of the *Demeru-gura-garubo*, and no outside administrator appointed by the government. The Wejjerat negotiators promised *ras* Gugsa that they would pay taxes to the provincial government and would not attack the Afar. Thus, the Wejjerat made concessions in order to keep their administration system. Despite these concessions, the *Gaz* raids against the Afar continued. The *Gaz* had a 100-year history in this regard, and the practice had social significance; therefore, it was an activity that could not be easily dismantled. However, the *Demeru-gura-garubo* punished some people who had attacked the 'Afar without permission of the *Demeru-gura-garubo*.

Furthermore, despite a promise to the Wejjerat and *ras* Gugsa not to intervene, the government also sought ways to govern Wejjerat directly, as it had done in other areas of the country. Some informants mentioned that *ras* Gugsa had appointed *qeñazmach* Kebede as administrator of Wejjerat in the 1920s. Italian documents

also showed *qeñazmach* Kebede as the administrator of Wejjerat during this time. However, Wejjerat informants also recalled that the *qeñazmach* Kebede administration was bad, and that Wejjerat's people fought against and eventually expelled *qeñazmach* Kebede⁷. They also described another administrator, who also tried to govern Wejjerat by force⁸. He was allowed to stay in office but asked Wejjerat community members to govern themselves and to collect taxes. However, his presence worked against the *Gaz* attacks.

Ras Gugsu and other administrators tried to recruit community allies to serve as local administrators and follow the governor. Some people received the title of *qeñazmach* from the governor. Usually, those who were given this title were rich peasants and influential with the community. They served as community administrators and had close relationships with the upper-governor as provincial or area governors. In Wejjerat, some received this title for other areas, but never for Wejjerat, where the *Demeru-gura-garubo* remained the dominant administrative system. Prior to the Italian invasion, no single person had served as representative for Wejjerat.

The Italian invasion brought massive changes to Wejjerat. The people of Wajiat fought the Italians but could not compete with Italy's modern weapons. The Italians began direct administration in Wejjerat as part of its Eritrean "*Banda*" (or "native troops") policy. The Italian government also prohibited the *Gaz*, in an effort to maintain peace between Italy's occupied territories. Some people continued to fight against the Italian occupation, either in the field or in daily life. The Italian occupation and administration was the first experience the Wejjerat people had had of administration by an outsider.

4. Wejjerat after 1941

After the withdrawal of the Italian troops and Eritrean *Banda*, political chaos ensued in Wejjerat and Tigray as a whole. The British military did not appoint a local administrator to succeed the Italian administrator. No available government records describe the local Tigray administration at this time. Although some analyses have examined the social conditions in Wejjerat, records on these conditions are also lacking. However, oral history accounts by local people can be compared with the limited written historical record.

Three questions should be examined for the period following the Italian occupation. First, did political and social conditions lead to a restoration of the *Demeru-gura-garubo*? Second, did the *Gaz* attacks resume in 'Afar? Third, what was the political relationship between Wejjerat and the government? There are no

7 On the ASMAI records, *qeñazmach* Kebede was recorded as administrator of Wejjerat in 1920's. ASMAI54/38.

8 Informant.

exact testimonies on whether the *Demeru-gura-garubo* was held again after the Italian withdrawal from Wejjerat. Some informants said that the *Demeru-gura-garubo* was not restored, while others mentioned that there was some kind of local political system, and that this was the original Wejjerat *Demeru-gura-garubo*. Because Wejjerat had its own political system before the Italian invasion, residents tried to re-establish that system after the Italians were expelled.

However, problems between Wejjerat and the central government arose three times between 1941 and 1943. The first problem concerned a *Gaz* attack in 'Afar. The second involved an encounter with the local governor, referred to as the Wejjerat incident here. The third was the *Weyyane* revolt. Analyses of the *Weyyane* revolt often confuse and mix the *Weyyane*, Wejjerat- 'Azebo incidents. Analysis of these events starting with the Wejjerat incident should clarify interpretation of the larger *Weyyane* revolt.

4.1 *The Gaz attack of May 1942*

Although no *Gaz* attacks against 'Afar occurred during the five-year Italian occupation, a *Gaz* took place after the Italians withdrew. Wejjerat informants recalled little of the scale of the *Gaz*, the date of its start, or of its leader (*Abbo Gaz*). Government records confirm that the *Gaz* resumed. For the central government, the *Gaz* was disruptive to public order. Attacks against the 'Afar were also a political problem. The most important task of the central and regional governments was to keep public order, but numerous uprisings and pillaging were taking place throughout Ethiopia. The government focused, in particular, on the *Gaz* attacks because they were connected to a territorial issue. The Ethiopian government was supported by the British, who were concerned with resolving territorial issues in Eritrea, Kenya, and French Somaliland. The *Gaz* sometimes extended toward coastal areas and to the south. As one of the informants explained, a *Gaz* could last more than a month and involve over 1500 participants⁹.

The large *Gaz* may have followed the five-year hiatus. Sandford¹⁰ provides details of this *Gaz*. The areas of Wejjerat, Rayya, and 'Azebo organized a large *Gaz* that reached into French Somaliland. The sultan of 'Afar, near Awsa, complained about the *Gaz* to the Ethiopian government. The government, despite being engaged in establishing its new regime, responded out of fear and anger with the Rayya and 'Azebo. The Rayya and 'Azebo people were Oromo living near the Wejjerat. The Rayya and 'Azebo had collaborated with the Italians and had even fought against the Ethiopian Empire military in 1935. When the Italians evacuated Rayya and 'Azebo in 1941, they left a large number of rifles with the people and ordered them to fight against the British. Thus, the new central government cautiously monitored events in Rayya and 'Azebo.

After receiving a report from the Desé office in March 1942 regarding instability in Rayya and 'Azebo, officials from the central government met with *ras* Siyyum

9 Informant: Gebru Mengesha, Debub, 2004.

10 Sandford Collection, Wollo file, IES, AAU.

and the administrator of Rayya and ‘Azebo and decided to quell the *Gaz* attack¹¹. There is little information about when the *Gaz* started, but this meeting was held on March 1942 and action was taken soon after. The government sent Prince/Colonel Asfaw and 40,000 soldiers to Desé to disarm the Wejjerat, Rayya, and ‘Azebo, stop the *Gaz*, and force the raiders to return livestock taken from Afar. Actual fighting never took place between the *Gaz* forces and the government military. The *Gaz* participants returned the livestock and gave up their weapons as ordered. There was no mention of any additional punishment of the *Gaz* participants. Because the central government continued to strengthen after the *Weyyane* incident, the *Gaz* tradition came to an end.

4.2 *The Wejjerat Incident June 1943*

The Wejjerat people had political freedom without outside intervention even after the quelled *Gaz*. However, that freedom lasted only a short time. In June 1943, a Tigrayan administrator- came to Hiwane to serve as administrator of Wejjerat. There are no local Tigrayan records of this event, and thus no way to verify the testimonies of the Wejjerat people. However, to understand the *Weyyane* revolt, it is necessary to better understand the situation in Wejjerat leading up to *Weyyane*.

Briefly, the Wejjerat incident evolved as follows. An administrator, *dejjazmach* Abbay, was sent in 1943 to directly govern Wejjerat. However, the people of Wejjerat fought against his administration and captured him. If such an incident had happened before the Italian occupation, influential nobility such as *ras* Gugsu would have served as a political balance. However, Wejjerat had no such political moderator at the time. *Ras* Siyyum was in Addis Ababa, and *dejjazmach* Hayle Sillasé Gugsu had escaped from Ethiopia. *Dejjazmach* Mengeshe Siyyum, the son of *ras* Siyyum, came to Wejjerat for negotiations, which finally resulted in the release of *dejjazmach* Abbay and other prisoners.

Gebru mentioned this incident in his book,¹² describing the situation: *Dejjazmach* Abbay Kaḥsay “came to punish the Wejjerat who had allegedly taken cattle and other booty from the ‘Afar, refused to accept a governmental appointee, continually harassed travelers and attacked convoys using the main road, and killed one and wounded two British officers.” Gebru also defines the Wejjerat incident as the first stage of *Weyyane*. From the perspective of the central government, the Tigray rebellion, the Wejjerat incident and also the *Weyyane* attack against the military camps may have appeared to have been part of the same anti-governmental movement. However, an investigation of the details of each movement reveals that the situations and motivations behind the incidents differed. Informant accounts of the Wejjerat incident will be compared to Gebru’s interpretation below.

Such encounters between an administrator and the Wejjerat people had happened even before the Italian invasion. However, the lack of a powerful governor to deal

11 Sir Sandford Collection, Wollo file IES, AAU

12 Gebru, p. 106-107.

with the situation made it worse. The conflict over the administrator also happened during a time of great political instability in Tigray, as well as in Ethiopia as a whole. In this section, the Wejjerat incident is first described based on informant accounts.

Sometime around May 1943, *dejjazmach* Abbay Kaḥsay, said to have been born in ‘Addigrat, appeared in Ḥiwane. He ordered some administrators in southern Tigray to collaborate with him. No known records reveal details about *dejjazmach* Abbay and thus his exact administrative title is unknown. However, the informant testimonies below describe the Wejjerat incident.

Informant: Gebru Mengesha (interviewed Aug 2004)

Dejjazmach Abbay never came to Debub. He tried to invade Wejjerat. When he tried to invade us he came with almost the entire Tigray people; he came after we came back from the *Gaz*. We asked *dejjazmach* Abbay not to invade us, and we sent 20 priests from each of the villages of Wejjerat, but he did not accept them. Ten of the villages were in ‘Addi Qeyih and the other ten were in Debub, and we declared that we would fight against *dejjazmach* Abbay. The followers of *dejjazmach* Abbay were *dejjazmach* Atsbha, *dejjazmach* Alemayoh, Shum Tembén, Ḥadgu, and others. *dejjazmach* Atsbha and *dejjazmach* Alemayo were killed in the battle; we captured the rest of those on the *dejjazmach* Abbay side and brought them to Debub.

Informant: Haftu Berhe Sanaale (interviewed Aug. 2004)

Dejjazmach Abbay came with almost all the Tigray people, such as those from Ger‘alta; and Temebén. *Šum Tembén* Ḥadgu led 500 people from Tembén. *Fitawrari* Abesha led 600 people from Tsigéreda, *fitawrari* Atsbha led 400 from Samre, and *fitawrari* Godifey led 300 from Bora. Among these leaders, *šum* (governor) Tembén Ḥadgu, *fitawrari* Abesha, and *dejjazmach* Abbay were captured by Weld Musier, *šum Tembén* Ḥadgu was captured by Ḥagos Era, and *fitawrari* Abesha was captured by Ḥagos *qenaw*. Approximately 300 people died and 35 were captured from the *dejjazmach* Abbay side during that battle.

The above accounts recall the Wejjerat side of events. Some informants also provided information about *dejjazmach* Abbay’s side.

Informant: *fitawrari* Iyasu

Fitawrari Iyasu fought against the Wejjerat on the side of *dejjazmach* Abbay with his father, *fitawrari* Atsbiha. His father was a governor of Samre to the southwest of Meqele.

Dejjazmach Abbay Kaḥsay ordered all *wereda* leaders, including my father, to join the campaign to Wejjerat, initially for the purpose of possible negotiation because the Wejjerat had refused to pay taxes and they had also developed a culture of invading Afar. Suddenly, the Wejjerat attacked us, and my father died during the fighting with the Wejjerat on *Ginbot* 14, 1935. E.C. *Dejjazmach* Abbay and others were captured. I was also captured by the Wejjerat. My father was buried at Ḥiwane, but later I took his bones to the Samre St. Mary church.

My father took 100 militants to Hiwane because he believed they were going for negotiations. Thus, there was no preparation for fighting. In the fighting against the Wejjerat, *fitawrari* Hadgu from Derga 'Aḡen and *dejjazmach* Alemayehu from Selawa also died. After the Wejjerat captured me, they accompanied me to Hiwane, the place of my father's death, and released me there. I came back to Samre after that.

There are no known documents on the appointment of the local administrator in Tigray or *dejjazmach* Abbay. Some informants have said that *dejjazmach* Abbay was born near 'Addigrat and that *dejjazmach* Abbay came and ordered the Wejjerat to obey him. He was stationed near Hiwane and called for support to his followers and also to the administrators around Wejjerat. One of these administrators was *dejjazmach* Atsebeha, who also joined *dejjazmach* Abbay's military forces as a supporter. *Dejjazmach* Atsbiha, the administrator of Samre, also came with his 100 followers and with his son. After receiving the message, the Wejjerat discussed amongst themselves the issue of how to deal the problem. The Wejjerat sent 20 Christian priests and 20 women to negotiate with *dejjazmach* Abbay and to request non-intervention from outsiders. *Dejjazmach* Abbay totally refused to negotiate with the Wejjerat and stated his intention to govern the Wejjerat directly.

No historical materials reveal the relationship between *dejjazmach* Abbay's appointment and the *Gaz*. If the central and Tigray provincial governments had had information about the *Gaz*, they would have tried to prevent another *Gaz*, in all likelihood, by appointing a governor to deal with the Wejjerat. Two opposing opinions exist as to who initiated the fighting. The Wejjerat accused *dejjazmach* Abbay of a sudden attack after they had attempted negotiations. In contrast, an informant from *dejjazmach* Abbay's side claimed that the Wejjerat suddenly attacked the camp in Hiwane, in June 1943. Both sides lost many soldiers. During the fighting, *dejjazmach* Atsbiha from Samre, *dejjazmach* Alemayehu (on the *dejjazmach* Abbay side) from Selawa, and *fitawrari* Hadgu from Derga 'Aḡen died. *Dejjazmach* Abbay and other administrators were captured by the Wejjerat, who eventually won. The Wejjerat were used to fighting against the people of 'Afar and also had access to weapons left behind by the Italians.

The reaction of the provincial government to this incident was insufficient. *ras* Siyyum was still in Addis Ababa, so *dejjazmach* Mengesha Siyyum, the son of *ras* Siyyum, came to Wejjerat and ordered the Wejjerat to release *dejjazmach* Abbay. The Wejjerat released *dejjazmach* Abbay as ordered and were not penalized for this incident. It is strange that the government never punished the community members for the attack on the administrator. No available records describe this incident or the provincial and central governments' attitudes towards it. Additionally, no known records document *dejjazmach* Abbay's intentions. However, the central government recognized the power of Wejjerat and may have ordered an attack by *dejjazmach* Abbay. Furthermore, because *ras* Siyyum was not in Tigray, it is unlikely that the provincial government ordered the attack. Gebru also examined government records but did not mention this incident or *dejjazmach* Abbay in detail.

Personal ambition may also have driven *dejjazmach* Abbay to attack Wejjerat and seek collaboration from local leaders. Regardless of the motive, the attack created political chaos in southern Tigray and may be one key to the *Weyyane* rebellion.

5. Conclusion

The Wejjerat incident of May 1943 may have greatly impacted the provincial and central governments. However, available historical documents regarding Wejjerat do not detail the first encounter. Before the Italian invasion, the Wejjerat had occasionally fought against administrators. During the new regime, however, the government response to Wejjerat changed. The central government was afraid for security in Rayya and 'Azebo, which had already turned against the government in 1935. The Wejjerat, Rayya, and 'Azebo commonly collaborated to organize *Gaz* attacks in 'Afar, as they did in 1942. That collaboration led to the central government misconstruing the situation in Wejjerat, and treating Wejjerat like Rayya and 'Azebo. The people of Wejjerat and Rayya sometimes collaborated in the *Gaz*, but the political and social systems of these areas, and their relationship with the government, were quite different.

On the other hand, the Wejjerat incident probably had a big impact on *Weyyane* leaders and may have been a key step leading to the *Weyyane* revolt. The reactions of the central government and the Tigray provincial government to the Wejjerat incident revealed their weakness. Additionally, although there were military camps near Wejjerat, the Wejjerat were never punished for the incident. Local administrators, including *fitawrari* Atsibha, were also killed in the incident. The defeat of local administrators may have brought about political chaos in their administrative areas, allowing *Weyyane* activities to grow.

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Map: Hintalo-Wajirat *Wereda* under the current government.