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COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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**A History of the *Bétä Rist* (Private Domain) Office of Emperor Haile Selassie
I: A Study in Royal Property Management, 1941-1975.**

**By
Wagaw Bogale**

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A History of the *Bétä Rist* (Private Domain) Office of Emperor Haile Selassie I: A Study in Royal Property Management, 1941-1975.

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Wagaw Bogale

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Wagaw Bogale, entitled: “*A History of the Beta Rist (Private Domain) Office of Emperor Haile Selassie I: A Study in Royal Property Management, 1941-1975*” and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor Philosophy (in History) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner: Charles Schaefen Signature [Signature] Date 24/6/2016
Examiner: Tekalign Woldemariam Signature [Signature] Date 24/06/16
Advisor: Shiferaw Bekele Signature [Signature] Date 28/06/16

Samuel Negash
Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator



Table of Contents

Contents	Pages
Glossary of Terms.....	iii
Acronyms	viii
Key to Transliteration System	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Abstract	xiii
Preface	xiv
Chapter One: - Introduction.....	1
1.1. Literature Review	3
1.2. Methodology of the Study	16
Chapter Two: - The Property of Emperor Haile Selassie.....	21
2.1. The Private Property of Haile Selassie.	23
2.2. Mechanisms of Acquiring Property	27
Chapter Three: - Establishment of the <i>Bétä Rist</i>.....	81
3.1. Phases in the Evolution of the <i>Bétä Rist</i>	84
3.2. Structure of the <i>Bétä Rist</i>	88
3.3. Staffing the <i>Bétä Rist</i>	93
3.4. Salary of Employees.....	96
3.5. Motivation.....	97
3.6. Controlling Mechanisms and Corrective Measures.....	99
3.7. Challenges to the <i>Bétä Rist</i> Office.....	101
3.7.1. Problems from the Period of Occupation.....	102
3.7.2. Challenges from the British Decade.....	103

3.7.3. Challenges from Local <i>Balabats</i> and Government Officials.....	109
3.7.4. Challenges From Within	111
Chapter Four: - Economic Investment.....	113
4.1. Investment in Agriculture	115
4.1.1. Production of Cash Crops.....	119
4.1.2. Tifsihitä Gännät Farm	133
4.1.3. Experiments in Cattle Breeding	147
4.2. Development of Real Estate	151
4.3. Investment in the Manufacturing Sector.....	161
Chapter Five: - The Tenants of the King.....	169
Chapter Six: - Land Grant and Land Sale.....	209
6.1. Land Grant	209
6.1.1. Land Grants Made to Members of the Army	212
6.1.2. Land Grants to Tenants and to Destitutes.....	213
6.1.3. Land Grants to <i>Bétä Rist</i> Head Office Employees, Civil-Servants, the Nobility, and Members of the Royal Family.	216
6.2. Land Sale.....	219
6.2.1. Land Sale Related Problems.....	228
Chapter Seven: Philanthropy	237
Chapter Eight: - Conclusion	271
List of Informants	279
Bibliography	280
Annexes	

Glossary of Terms

<i>abba</i>	father, also title given to ordinary priests.
<i>abun</i>	title of a bishop, title of the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.
<i>aläqa</i>	a representative of a group of people who paid taxes on a piece of land together; a person in whose name land tax was paid; technically regarded as owner of the land by the state; also head of a church, a learned priest.
<i>aqñ</i>	first occupant, (of land or a place); land occupied under <i>baqiñ`nät</i> (by first occupation).
<i>araš</i>	cultivator, as in <i>irbo araš</i> to mean a sharecropper who pays a fourth of his produce to the owner of the land.
<i>alägenät</i>	the condition of being <i>aläqa</i> .
<i>alga wäraš</i>	heir apparent; Crown Prince.
<i>asrat</i>	one-tenth of a produce paid to the state in the form of produce; latter replaced by agricultural income tax.
<i>ato</i>	Mr.
<i>awraja</i>	district
<i>bäjrond:</i>	treasurer.
<i>balä wuläta</i>	people who served the state and Crown loyally in different capacities.
<i>balabat</i>	hereditary owner of <i>rist</i> land in the Amhara Provinces; the hereditary chief in central and southern Ethiopia.
<i>balambaras</i>	a low-level title in the hierarchy of offices.

<i>bilatténgéta</i>	honorific title usually given for achievement in learning.
<i>çiqaşum</i>	grassroots official often elected from among the local community of the area he administered.
<i>däjjazmač</i>	a politico-military title below <i>ras</i> .
<i>darägot</i>	occasional and circumstantial gifts such as food or money from the monarch to <i>Bétä Rist</i> workers and to other people.
<i>daula</i>	a traditional unit of measurement of grains; one <i>daula</i> amounting on average to 100 kilograms.
<i>fitawrari</i>	commander of the vanguard force, a title below <i>däjjazmač</i> .
<i>fil wuha</i>	a hot spring which is believed to have curative power of certain diseases.
<i>gäbbar</i>	a generic name given to taxpayers who cultivated or owned land. This includes peasants, tenants, nobles and even the monarch.
<i>gaša</i>	literally “shield”, unit for the measurement of land amounting to about 40 hectares (approximately 100 acres).
<i>gibrä täł:</i>	the practice of reverting land to the state from people who failed to pay land tax.
<i>girmawi janhoy:</i>	his imperial majesty.
<i>içagé:</i>	abbot of the monastery of Däbrä Libanos in northern Šäwa who was also the highest ranking Ethiopian ecclesiastic until the appointment of bishops (<i>abun</i>) in 1959.
<i>ijä mänañña:</i>	the practice of taking and using the property or money of other people

without having ownership right but in a hidden way.

immät: mrs; name given to common women.

indärasé: title for provincial governors under Haile Selassie (lit. transl.: deputy or substitute) or viceroy, or local representative of a higher authority.

injära: leavened thin pancake-like bread, the staple diet in much of highland Ethiopia.

Irbo araš sharecropper who delivered one quarter of his produce to the landlord.

kuli: daily wage workers who are often engaged in loading and unloading of merchandise.

lej: literally “child”, honorific title generally reserved for the sons of the royal family and the nobility.

madärya: literally “a place where one would spend the night”, land temporarily held in return for service to the state.

mägazo: land use practice in which the landholder exchanged the seasonal use of a plot of land for a percentage of the crop, labour, or use of oxen.

mälkäñña: official appointed by the state as governor (administrator) with varying degrees and types of rights over lands and incomes from his/her governorships. But in the workings of the Imperial *Bétä Rist* the *mälkäñña* referred to the Emperor.

mañña: high quality *teff*, often associated with the white colour of the grain.

<i>minzir:</i>	<i>rist</i> holders or tenants under one <i>aläqa</i> who paid tax to the government.
<i>misläné:</i>	deputy, substitute of a magistrate; royal official in charge of royal farms and tax collection; also district governor.
<i>nägadras:</i>	head of merchants; originally leader of a merchant caravan, later chief customs officer.
<i>näqas̄:</i>	a witness.
<i>nigus:</i>	king.
<i>näç läbas̄:</i>	militia; civil defense force, commanded by local nobles.
<i>Pagumé:</i>	the 13 th month of the Ethiopian calendar which has 5 days (6 days every 4 th year).
<i>qälläb:</i>	food supplies, rations, stipend; or Salary, payment, up-keep given to those who gave service but also to the aged (or needy) people in the form of pension. This could be done either in kind or in cash.
<i>qälad:</i>	a rope or leather thong used for land measurement; also a term used for imperial land measurement schemes.
<i>qalliča:</i>	sorcerer or witch-doctor.
<i>qäññazmač:</i>	commander of the right wing, a politico-military title below <i>fitawrari</i> .
<i>quintar:</i>	a unit of weight measurement which was in use in the 1940s and 1950s in Anfilo and Baro areas of the province of Wälläga that roughly weights half a kilogram of coffee.
<i>ras:</i>	literally “head”, the highest traditional title next to <i>negus</i> (king).

<i>rist:</i>	permanently held land; heritable property.
<i>ristä-gult:</i>	estate over which a servant of the state would exercise full use rights and administrative authority; a fief.
<i>Şäbäl</i>	Holy water.
<i>şāhafē ti`izaz:</i>	head of the royal scribes, keeper of the royal seal, title of the Minister of the Pen after 1907.
<i>särgäñña:</i>	member of a group which accompanies the bride-groom to the bride's house, but when it comes as a prefix to a noun as in the case of <i>särgäñña teff</i> , it means white and red colour of grain.
<i>siso:</i>	literally, "one-third", land left to the <i>balabat</i> by the state upon land measurement also called " <i>ya-balabat siso</i> "; a sharecropping arrangement in which the land owner obtains a third of the harvests.
<i>šum</i>	an appointee, overseer.
<i>täwolaj</i>	member of a family, children or grandchildren.
<i>wäizäro</i>	traditional honorific title given to an Ethiopian lady.
<i>wäräda</i>	an administrative unit equivalent to a district.
<i>wof aras/zäras</i>	a plant, for example coffee, grown wild.
<i>yätut lij</i>	adoptive son, protégé (formal relationship).

Acronyms

F.A.O., Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

I.E.S., Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

W.T.M.R.C., Wäldä Misqäl Tariku Memorial Research Centre.

ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት (The *Bétä Rist* of Haile Selassie I).

Key to Transliteration System

I. The seven sounds of the Ethiopic alphabet are represented as follows:

1 st order	ሰ = Ba
2 nd order	ሱ = Bu
3 rd order	ሲ = Bi
4 th order	ሳ = Ba
5 th order	ሴ = Be
6 th order	ሶ = Bi
7 th order	ሰ = Bo

II. Regarding the sixth form in the above list, it must be noted that “i” will be suffixed to the letter if the letter is vocalized or stressed. Otherwise it will not be required at all. As a general rule also the “i” is not required when the sixth form is the last letter of the word.

Example: ሙግህር = Mamhir

ብድር = Biddir

III. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ = Š	ሻ = Š̃	ሻፕ = Ž
ሻፕ = Č	ጃ = J	

IV. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ = Q	ቀ። = Ç	አ = P
ጠ = Ṭ	ፀ/ጸ = Ş	

V. Gemination should always be indicated by doubling.

Example: Kābbādä Tässäma

VI. General Examples

ሹምሽር = Šumšir

ቃልቻ = Qaliča

ማኛ = Mañña

ገሻ = Gäž

ቀለብ = Qäläb

ጤፍ = Teff

ጫርጫር = Čärčär

ሐሐይ = Šähay

ጳጳሜ = Pagumé

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Abstract

This thesis is an institutional history of the Bétä Rist Office established in 1941 by Haile Selassie for the management of his property. This dissertation is, therefore, a study of the history of royal property administration and spans the years from 1941 to 1974/'75. With the help mainly of archival materials I have tried to examine the following major themes of historical significance within the context of the Bétä Rist Office: a) establishment and structure of the Office; b) the property of the monarch and the several mechanisms of acquiring them; c) the kind of economic investment that the Office made; d) land grants and land sales together with the concomitant income that the Office generated out of it; e) the nature of royal tenancy and the ways in which the Office handled the cases of tenants as compared, and in contrast, to previous assumptions on landlord-tenant relationships; f) the kind of social investment that the monarch made especially on the care for and rehabilitation of the aged, the blind, the orphaned, the outcasts as well as destitute people in general. An attempt is also made to examine the extent to which the Emperor was ready to use some of his wealth for the promotion of public health and higher educational institutions. The Bétä Rist had its Head Office in Addis Ababa and branch offices in the provinces. It represented a highly organized and centrally directed property management institution that exhibited a strict financial control system. This was particularly true to the period from 1949 to 1972 during which it registered much success. The major economic sectors in which the Office expended substantial amount of money are partially mechanized farming; development of real estate; and the manufacturing sector. In the social sphere, the Emperor demonstrated great concern for the rehabilitation of the aged, disabled, orphaned, and other people who suffered from health disorders. The role that the Emperor played in rehabilitation and in the promotion of public health and higher educational institutions is best revealed in connection with the history of the management system. Around 1961/ '62, however, the Emperor decided to close it for he gave out huge amount of land which was under the administration of the Bétä Rist to his children. But the fact that he still possessed property both in urban and rural areas ensured the continuation of the office until the collapse of the regime in 1974. The nationalization of the property in 1975 by the military regime formally marked the end of the institution.

Preface

When I first thought of a title for my dissertation I was inclined to work on a History of Däbrä Tabor *awraja* because my M.A. thesis was on a history of Fogärä *wäräda*, one of the districts of the *awraja*. A change of mind came after I started my PhD studies while the first advanced seminar course was underway. I was asked to write a paper and to this end I went to the Wäldä Misqäl Research Centre in search of material for a topic, where I saw that there are many files on the *Bétä Rist* Office. In the course of the research for the seminar paper, I was able to see that there were a big proportion of the archives of the Office. At the end of the semester course, I imparted the idea of changing my topic with this one to my advisor, Professor Shiferaw, and to Professor Tesema Ta'a, the instructor who taught us the first seminar course. The two professors liked my decision and gave me useful advice on how to handle the corpus. Then, when the Department required us to supply topics for our dissertation, I submitted this one. The Graduate Committee of the department endorsed it on the ground that it is more original and doable than the topic which I first submitted. At this point I would like to thank the two Professors as well as the Department of History for their consent in this regard.

The post-Italian period witnessed the establishment, by members of the royal family including the Emperor and the ruling aristocracy, of offices for the management of their property. One of the offices that this dissertation focuses on was the *Bétä Rist* Office of Emperor Haile Sealssie I. As subsequent details in the chapters ahead would reveal, the Office represented one of the most well organized and centrally directed institutions of private property management that we see in the country before his regime was overthrown by the 1974 popular revolution. It had its Head Office in Addis Ababa and others in almost all provincial towns that served as administrative centres; and even at *awraja* and *wäräda* level administrative units. Its main purpose being to

manage the property of the monarch located in the different parts of the country, the establishment and inner workings of the *Bétä Rist* Office were intended to draw a clear line between the Emperor's private property and the property of the state. This matter is made clear, among others, in the fact that the Office used to pay taxes of all kinds in the name of Emperor Haile Selassie to the state.

Chapter One: - Introduction

A considerable amount of research has been done on the life and career of Emperor Haile Selassie I (r.1930 to 1974.) Nevertheless, almost all authors, indigenous and foreign, including the sovereign himself in his autobiography, focused on his political career to such an extent that they left out other aspects of his life, above all his property. The monarch was, however, active socially and economically. His political grip and success was intertwined with deep economic and social concerns. He was an accomplished businessman and a socially benevolent person. Thus, a comprehensive study of his time and of his career would be incomplete without having an idea of his property and wealth. How much property did Ethiopia's longest ruling monarch own is the question which this thesis addresses. He was accused by his enemies, particularly by the Derg and leftist groups, of amassing massive fortune. But so far no investigation of how much wealth he owned has been undertaken. My thesis endeavours to shed some light on the extent of his wealth and on how he utilized it. The most obscure feature of royal property and royal wealth is the way monarchs managed them. Haile Selassie was no exception in this regard. And so I have taken up the issue of the management of property in my dissertation as one of the central themes of my dissertation.

By looking at such crucial areas of inquiry, it is hoped that a better picture of the life and times of the sovereign could be formed. This would also provide insight to understand how power, property, and philanthropy were happily blended and were like two sides of the same coin, inseparable, in the life and career of the Emperor. Thus, his keen interest to engage in business and to promote the wellbeing of Ethiopian society in general and to contribute to the care and rehabilitation of the aged, the orphaned, the destitute and

people with different health disorders deserves serious attention if we are to provide a more nuanced and balanced treatment of his career. This major lacuna in the scholarly literature has to be filled by conducting an independent study. This dissertation is, therefore, intended to fill some of these gaps by examining the issues stated above in the context of the history of the the *Bétä Rist* (Private Domain) Office, (here after *Bétä Rist*), which the Emperor established for the management of his property.

The study of the *Bétä Rist* is very important because it sheds new light on the life and career of the Emperor. Therefore, this study proposes to look at the history of this institution from 1941 to 1975, the major themes being a) the property of the sovereign, b) the genesis of the *Bétä Rist* and the concomitant continuities and changes seen in its evolution as well as the factors that necessitated its reorganization in the post-Italian period, c) confusions in the different categories of lands and landed properties between the property of the state and the private property of the king of kings d) the different ways of acquiring property, e) tenants of the king, f) economic undertakings, g) philanthropy, h) land grants and commodification of land, and i) the challenges that the *Bétä Rist* faced and the response of the Office to those challenges. A considerable amount of effort is also made to examine the interwoven nature of power and property in the activities of the *Bétä Rist*. Last but not least, the researcher has grappled with the difficult question of how much income the Emperor drew from all his lands and from his tributary privileges.

1.1. Literature Review

Ethiopia's historic land tenure system has attracted the attention of several indigenous and foreign scholars. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, there has not been any study on the management of *rist*, *gult*, and strictly speaking, private land as well as urban land and real estate. For the sake of this work, the researcher will survey the literature on land tenure because land formed one of the major properties of the Emperor administered under the *Bétä Rist*. Firstly, we will look into the literature on property administration. Then, an attempt will be made to look at how the different scholars treated *rist*, *gult*, *mälkäññänät*, urban lands, and modern farms. Thirdly, we will examine the literature on the question of how much scholars have addressed the transition from the historic tenurial system to the modern capitalist oriented system.

When we turn to the study of land, the literature is fairly large. Scholars like Donald Crummey, Allan Hoben, Joanna Mantel-Niecko, Richard Pankhrust, Birhanou Abebe, Wolfgang Weissleder, Shiferaw Bekele, and Habtamu Mengiste have studied the land tenure system. But, a more pertinent study to property administration was carried out by Mislu Gugsa. Mislu studied the administration and the system of land holding and taxation in *Fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis's (1896-1926) estate in the former Jibat and Méça *Awraja* (currently Western Šäwa Zone). His description of the hierarchy of administrators and their duties, the ways in which taxes were collected and the forms of tenure that were prevalent in Habtä Giyorgis's estate gives insight into the old system of property management.¹ Nevertheless, as compared with the *Bétä Rist*, the management system of

¹Mislu Gugsa, "Estate Administration in part of Present Day Jibat and Mecha under *Fitawrari* Habte Giyorgis", Senior Essay for a Bachelor Degree in History (Haile Sellassie I University, 1974), pp. 21, 40-53.

Fétawrari Habtä Giyorgis was much like the traditional form of estate administration prevalent in the country in the early decades of the 20th century in which we do not find the more sophisticated and modern form of property management system that was evident in the *Bétä Rist* Office. Therefore, by studying the *Bétä Rist* Office of the monarch, the researcher came up with new findings in the history of property management in the country. A very interesting, albeit brief, treatment of the *Bétä Rist* as an institution of land and property administration was done in the Ph.D. dissertation of Tekalign Wolde Mariam. He defines it as estates administration established by the ruling aristocracy for the management of their lands.² Besides, brief information regarding *Bétä Rist* administration, he refers to the thousands of *gaša* of lands owned by Haile Sellassie; and he also refers to the duties of administrators which is relevant to my study.³ In this study, the researcher will provide ample information on the institution to widen the horizon of our understanding in this direction.

A study of the career of *Le'ul Ras* Imru Haile Sellassie sheds some light on his private property which has some similarities with the way the property of the monarch was administered. For example, both Haile Selassie and Imru owned lands and big villas in Addis Ababa, the income from which mostly went to welfare institutions. Besides, it was a common practice that the ruling aristocracy granted land from their holdings for the

²Tekalegn Wolde Mariam, "A City and its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture, and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1887-1974)", PhD Dissertation (Boston University, 1995), pp. 324, 347-349. Ketebo mistakenly referred *Bétä Rist* as a land holding system, Ketebo Abdiyo, "The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Development in Arssi, 1941-1991), PhD Dissertation (Addis Ababa University, 2010), p. 122.

³*Ibid.*

establishment of different welfare institutions and for community centers.⁴ In this study great effort will be made to examine how much concern the Emperor showed for welfare institutions.

The article entitled “Family and Property Amongst the Amhara Nobility” by Donald Crummey deserves special mention here because he is the first scholar to carry out a study on how ruling families established an office- that of *aläqenät*- for the management of their holdings.⁵ The office of the *aläqa* through which Gondärine ruling families of the 18th century used to transfer their holdings to their offspring over several generations seems to be a very enduring institution coming all the way to the Ethiopian revolution of 1974. *Aläqenät* was used as a tool for land accumulation for a long time in Ethiopia’s history. The document of marriage dowery of an 18th century aristocratic family that R. Pankhurst published shows how *aläqenät* was passed from one generation of owners to the next.⁶ This manner of transfer of property also came down right through to 1974- a

⁴Ababa Kiflayasus’ “The Career of Liul Ras Imru Haila Silasse”, Senior Essay for a Bachelor Degree in History (Haile Sellassie I University, 1973), p. 83. For specific information on the upper strata of society including the Emperor and other members of the royal family who actively took part in the development of real estate, see Shiferaw Bekele, “The Evolution of Land Tenure in the Imperial Era” in Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), *An Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974* (CODESRIA Book Series: 1995), pp. 120, 129, 132, and 133.

⁵Donald Crummey, “Family and Property among the Amhara Nobility,” *Journal of African History* Vol., 24, No. 2 (1983), pp. 207-220.

⁶Richard Pankhurst, “An 18th Century Dynastic Marriage Contract Between Empress Mentewab and Ras Mika’el Sehul of Tigray” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol., XLII, Part 3, (1979), pp. 48-53.

remarkable resilient mode of transfer of property and privileges. But this is not the only age-old institution, as we shall see, that Haile Selassie exploited to build up his wealth.

Mälkäññenät was, as is well-known, a variant of the *gult*. The contributions of Gäbrä Wäld Engdawärq, Wolfgang Weissleder, Joana Mantel-Niecko, and Tekalign Wolde Mariam help us to understand *mälkäññenät*. Its complexity starts with the different names given to it in the different areas of the country. Gäbrä Wäld, for example, tells us of a *mälkäññenät* called *Wälasma* which was equal in rights and duties with the ones found in other areas existing in the districts from Ankobär to Minjar in north Šäwa.⁷ Similarly, Wolfgang Weissleder, an anthropologist who did his doctoral research in Ankobär *wäräda* (district) of Tägulät and Bulga *awraja* (province), introduces us to a different *mälkäññenät* found in the Adal lowlands designated rather oddly as *Girmawi Jan Hoy* (His Imperial Majesty).⁸

Another scholar who sheds some light on the complexity of the office of the *mälkäññä* is Joana Mantel-Niecko. She writes: “The term *mälkäññä* appears all over Ethiopia, but while it variously describes a function, the duties attached to the function vary from place to place.”⁹ Tekalign Wode Mariam strengthened the above statement by reflecting on three different categories of *mälkäññenät* in the province of Šäwa: *ristä-gult*, which

⁷Gäbrä Wäld Engda Wärq, *Yä Ityopiya Märet ena Giber Sim*, (Addis Ababa: Tinsa’e Zä Guba’e Printers, 1948 E.C), p. 37.

⁸Wolfgang Weisseleder, “The Political Ecology of Amhara Domination”, PhD Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1965), pp. 107-108.

⁹Joana Mantel-Niecko, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of the Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times* (Warsaw: Wydawnictaw Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1975), pp. 102, 120.

allows the grantee to exercise full administrative and judicial authority and the concomitant benefits obtained thereon, *yä gätär*, which allows the grantee to share some powers with the grantor, and the *madärya* arrangement.¹⁰ The three scholars give us insight into the different forms of *mälkäññenät* that existed in the country and that Haile Sellassie drew upon in his different holdings run by the *Bétä Rist* Office.

To understand the various meanings of *rist*, *madärya*, and other terms in the lexicon of land tenure, the works of Gäbrä Wäld Engda Wärq and Mahtämä Sellassie Woldä Mäsqäl are almost indispensable research tools to the historian. This research is no exception. The definition of terms and concepts that they provide for the different categories of lands is invaluable.¹¹ This is particularly useful to remove the confusion between state domain and the private domain of the monarch. A particularly difficult problematic in the study of land tenure is the nature of the transition from the traditional land tenure system to the modern private ownership system. The work that serves as an excellent “baseline survey” of the *gult* system, just before it disappeared, was done by the American social anthropologist, Allan Hoben, in his seminal book, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*. Hoben examined the relations between social groups, the traditional land tenure system, peasant attitudes towards land reforms, the various ways of land acquisition, principles of *gult* and *rist* tenure, and relations between land and power, and *rist* rights.¹²

¹⁰ Tekalegn, 50-51. Svein Ege defines *mälkäññä* as a local lord, Svein Ege, *Class, State and Power in Africa: A Case Study of the Kingdom of Shäwa (Ethiopia) about 1840*, (Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 61-63, 154, 162, and 227. The *mälkäññä* for Klausberger was a special control officer of the Imperial Government, Klausberger, “Production Relations in Feudal Ethiopia,” “Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism” (Addis Ababa University: March 1976), p. 4.

¹¹ Mahtämä Selassie Woldä Misqäl, *Zikrä Nägär* [Rememberance of Things], (Addis Ababa: 1942 E.C.). See also Gäbrä Wäld Engda Wärq, *Yä Ityopia Märet ena Giber Sem* (Addis Ababa: 1948 E.C.).

¹² Allan Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: the Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, (Chicago: 1973), pp. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 15, and 25.

On the limitations of Hoben, Donald Crummey writes: “Hoben simply sweeps aside a number of forms of land tenure not readily assimilated to his *rist-gult* dichotomy, not the least of which is the category of *rim*, the land which was available for sale.”¹³ In addition to the limitation that Crummey points out, Hoben’s work also suffers from the perspective that it had adopted, which can be called a look from the ground up, because it does not address the question of how holders of large numbers of *gults* and *rist* administered them. Nevertheless, *Land Tenure among the Amhara* has been useful to this research for its description of the inner workings of *gult* and *rist*.

A category of land that we find in the literature called crown lands is central to my research. The lands that traditionally belonged to the Crown called *mad bét*, *gannä gäb*, *wärrä gännu*, and *baldäras*, were defined and redefined by scholars.¹⁴ But the research that I have carried out so far demonstrates that these lands were used for the up-keep of the palace and that they should not be considered as the private property of the king.

Basing himself mainly on the works of Gäbrä Wäld Engda Wärq and Mahtämä Sellassie Woldä Mäsqäl, Shiferaw Bekele challenges previous assumptions on the understanding of the land tenure system of Ethiopia. This he did by raising basic questions and by meticulously analyzing major trends that unfolded in the post 1941 period, but, when

¹³Donald Crummey, “Gondarine Rim Land Sales: An Introductory Description and Analysis,” *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, (Chicago: 1978), Session B, April 13-16, p. 80.

¹⁴Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935* (Ethiopia: Addis Ababa: 1968), pp. 147-149. See also Joana Mantel Niecko, p. 174. See also the notes 9, 10, 11.

necessary, he traces the courses of events by going as far back as the 18th century. His essay is useful for researchers for it deeply examines a whole range of major issues of historical significance from different angles. For example, the continuities and changes exhibited in the process of privatization (*restization* as he prefers to call it) of land are painstakingly examined by drawing heavily on the works of scholars who studied the land of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. For Shiferaw, the several initiatives made by the Ethiopian monarchs to privatize land in the 18th and 19th centuries, a process that was taken up in earnest under the Haile Selassie regime were important steps towards absolute ownership of land and property. His use of the traditional concept of *serit* helps us to understand the kind of tenure that existed in the country and helps us to decipher better the lexicon found in the works of the above two important traditional scholars. His challenges on previously held assumptions with respect to landlord-tenant relationships, information on mechanized and partially mechanized farming activities, land grants, land sales, and the increased use of money in the workings of the state structure, development of real estates, expansion of small scale industrial plants, and the concomitant involvements of the big lords, members of the royal family and above all the Emperor turned out to be useful to my study.¹⁵

There are some scholarly works that have reconstructed the history of the newly introduced mechanized farming in the country. The publication of Patrick Gilkes, John Markakis, Nega Ayele, J.M. Cohen and Habtamu Mengistie shed light on the process of the introduction and growth of mechanized farming in Ethiopia.

¹⁵Shiferaw, pp. 72-142.

Patrick Gilkes in his *The Dying Lion* comments on the spread of mechanized farming in the country in years after 1941. Writing on the forms of tenure, he comments: “The forms of tenure that are to be found are not entirely traditional or feudal in their operation. Mechanized farming has been spreading, especially in the last few years and with it the concomitant forms of capitalism.”¹⁶ But, the analyses on the idea of diversifying the economy and transforming the traditional farming methods of the country along modern lines, which the Ethiopian state initiated during the post-liberation period is not complete for the simple reason that he does not take the lands of the Emperor into account.

Some scholars maintain that Ethiopia’s traditional landholding and property system was a major stumbling block to the country’s development in general and to undertake mechanized farming in particular. They argue that the land holding system of the country led to fragmentation which in turn became a bottleneck for mechanized farming.¹⁷ This is, of course, true in what was generally labeled as *rist* areas where we find dominantly free smallholding peasant farmers. But following the increased privatization and commercialization of land which were the hallmarks of the post-Italian period, vast tracts of land became the private property of a few people in the south where land was measured. The Emperor, among others, owned vast lands amounting to thousands of *gaša*, a circumstance that made mechanized farming more conducive as opposed to what

¹⁶Patrick Gilkes, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*, (Friedman Publishers L.t.d., 1975), p. 101.

¹⁷John Markakis, and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Nottingham: the Russell Press, 1978), pp. 59-68. See also John M. Cohen, *Integrated Rural development: The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987), p. 46. Also in Habtamu Mengistie, *Lord, Zega, and Peasants: A Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Gojjam* (Addis Ababa: FSS, 2004), pp. 180-181.

scholars have argued. My research actually shows that Haile Selassie converted some of his lands into areas where partially mechanized farming activities were undertaken.

The argument regarding the absence of a well-developed land and labour market, which was perceived as a major problem for capitalist production relations to blossom, is also not convincing. The most intensified cases of land sales made by the *Bétä Rist* Office in Addis Ababa and in some provinces alone prove the opposite. In this regard, Habtamu Mengistie has a very independent observation when he writes: “The historical record shows that if the opportunity arises, the big nobility were keenly interested in agro-mechanized farming....”¹⁸ The experiences that were evident in some lands of Haile Sellassie have shown that the old agrarian order underwent some visible steps towards capitalist production relations.

Margery Perham and Allan Hoben provide invaluable information on the mechanisms that helped the Emperor and other men to acquire and enlarge their property. According to Perham, the Emperor was asked by individuals or groups of people to inherit their lands and properties in return for protection from some rapacious local lords or from the claims of other groups, mostly close relatives. Secondly, the Emperor confiscated the land and property of rebellious provincial governors.¹⁹ For Hoben the most important ways of acquiring *rist* land are inheritance, gift, presenting claims, clearing forest land, and taking lands that were abandoned by someone who had left the area. On the factors that influence an individual to acquire land, Hoben said; “The relative importance to an individual of these various ways of acquiring land depends on his position in the

¹⁸Habtamu, p. 187.

¹⁹Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1969), p. 281.

domestic cycle, his standing in his local community, and his status in the wider sphere of regional politics.²⁰ H.S. Mann, Rural Institution Officer in Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.) and an authority on the agriculture of the imperial era, gives different ways of acquiring property. In his pilot study in Çoré, Šäwa, he identifies two forms of property acquisition – one through purchase and the second through land grant by the government.²¹ Of particular importance to my study are the special land grants that Emperor Haile Selassie I made through the Ministry of the Pen.²² I will further elaborate and enrich the picture by providing new examples from different areas and from different peoples. My research also reveal that there were other mechanisms of acquiring land and property in addition to the two mentioned above.

Another crucial theme that this study will consider is tenancy. The general nature of Ethiopian tenancy has been studied in a number of published works. J.S.D. Lawrence and H.S. Mann, Cohen, Desalegn Rahmato, and Bizuwork studied tenancy. It is an established fact that tenancy was more common and onerous in the south than in the north; and it was after the late 19th century expansion of the Ethiopian Empire that the bulk of the southern peasant farmer was reduced to the level of tenancy as their land was confiscated and given to the servants of the Crown.

²⁰ Hoben, pp. 144-145.

²¹ H.S. Mann, *Land Tenure in Chore (Shoa): A Pilot Study* (I.E.S. in Association with Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 17.

²² John H. Cohen, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution* (the Netherlands, Van Gorcum and Comp., B. V. –Assen, 1975), p. 61.

The major organizing concepts around which the general character of Ethiopian tenancy as well as the conditions under which the tenants toiled, and the different initiatives that the Imperial Government took that are analyzed are landlord-tenant relationships, types of tenants, forms of rentals, security of tenure, tenancy agreements, and government initiatives made to improve landlord-tenant relationships.

To begin with, almost all the scholars, mentioned above, agree on the utter exploitative nature of landlord-tenant relationships. But this researcher has come to the conclusion that these views need to be nuanced when it comes to the management of tenants who were living on the lands of the Emperor. When we come to the forms of rentals, things are somehow debatable. Most writers argue that the Ethiopian tenant was either *siso* (he gives to the landlord one third of the produce of the land) or *ekul (50/50) aras̥* (cultivator). Tenants who were *irbo aras̥* were referred to rarely.²³ When it comes to the *Bétä Rist*, as subsequent details in this study would reveal, the tenants were, in the most part, *irbo aras̥*.

Over the issue of security of tenure, most contend that the tenants were victims of sudden eviction as they were living at the mercy of their masters. An exception in this regard is Dessalegn who, with a fair degree of confidence, wrote that there were no indiscriminate and recurrent evictions: “The threat of eviction, rather than the act itself, was the potent

²³On the percentage of the tenants’ produce that was transferred as rent to the landlord, Dessalegn writes: “In general rent was between one third to one half of the harvest”, Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (Uppsala, 1984), p. 25. Cohen does not conceal the presence of *irbo* but makes one third the principal rent arrangement, John H. Cohen, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution* (the Netherlands, Van Gorcum and Comp., B. V. –Assen, 1975), p. 53. See also H.S. Mann, *Land Tenure in Chore (Shewa); A Pilot Study* (Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie I University in Association with Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 31.

weapon in the hands of the landlords.”²⁴ To what extent did eviction take place on the imperial estates? The question was one of the problems that this research addresses. Again, the general notion that most writers have held with regard to tenancy agreements in most cases as being verbal needs to be supported by empirical investigation.

Researchers generally agree that tenants experienced grievances to which their landlords and the government gave a deaf ear.²⁵ With regard to imperial tenants, this thesis will show how much Haile Selassie tried to address the grievances of his tenants.

The life and times of Emperor Haile Selassie were closely associated with philanthropic activities. The Emperor’s concern for the rehabilitation of the helpless, hopeless, and desperate sections of the Ethiopian society was started while he was heir to the throne, an initiative to which he gave greater attention after he became Emperor. In connection with the establishment of the Haile Selassie I Foundation, Abära Jämbrié, the onetime Vice Director of the Foundation, gives us a very interesting piece of information regarding the genesis of the Emperor’s rehabilitation activities and the various welfare institutions established by him as well as the objectives of these institutions. He also specified kinds of donations that the Emperor made in perpetuity to the Foundation.²⁶ Similarly, Wondimteka Shiferaw and Sisay Birhane conducted independent studies on the history of rehabilitation of the blind. These two researchers have brought to light the amount of

²⁴Dessalegn, p. 25.

²⁵J.S.D. Lawrence, *Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia* (F. A. O., Addis Ababa, 29th August, 1963), p. 1. See also Bizuwork Zewdie, “The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills with Particular Reference to Arssi” (Addis Ababa University, June 1992), M.A. thesis in History, pp. 76-120. Regarding tenants of the *Bétä Rist* in general Ketebo writes: “Their condition was as hard as those under other landlords and even worse in some circumstances”, Ketebo, p. 162.

²⁶Abära Jämbrié, *Yä Qädamawé Hailä Selassie Bägo Adragot Dirijit Mämäsirät (The Establishment of Haile Selassie I Foundation)* (Addis Ababa, Birhan Ena Sälam Qädamawé Haile Selassie Printers, 1952 E.C.), pp. 30-31, 63, 80, 86, 100-’09.

money that the Emperor gave for the establishment of the school for the blind.²⁷ Information on the Emperor's sincere interest for, and amount of property invested in, rehabilitation is very useful to my research, an issue that I will try to develop further by providing a more meaningful and balanced assessment of the role that the Emperor played so as to improve the conditions of the aged, orphaned, disabled, poor, and outcastes.

²⁷Wondimteka Shiferaw, "Sabata Merha Ewuran School for the Blind", B.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, May 1983), p. 20. See also Sisay Birhane, "A History of Rehabilitation for the Blind in Ethiopia Since 1941", M.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, December, 2006), pp. 56-58.

1.2. Methodology of the Study

This research applies the analytical and narrative approaches. The typical form of analysis employed in this research is critical analysis. Source materials are, therefore, criticized both externally and internally during and at the end of the data collection, namely before interpretation of data commenced. The thesis is organized chronologically while the different chapters take up different sub-themes.

The methodology that is deployed in this research is a combination of archival research and collection of oral testimonies with the emphasis on written sources. In this respect, much effort was made to consult different kinds of documentary materials such as official letters, wills, receipts, court records, official minutes, different kinds of agreements, contracts, revenue-expenditure summary, proclamations, regulations, tax lists, budgets, and reports. Attempt is also made to interrogate the documents in light of information obtained from oral informants. I selected the method of individual interviews as the best way of extracting information from informants because it is flexible and adaptable, which often results in a much higher response rate than a questionnaire. From the very beginning, I decided against the use of questionnaires because my informants are elderly people who do not find it easy to respond to a long series of questions in writing. They would rather feel at ease to reminisce about their experiences and observations during interviews. This method also enables the researcher to bring out the perspectives of his interviewees. To this effect, the researcher asked them leading questions to support their opinions, views, and perceptions.

Probing questions of the unstructured type were prepared so as to avoid the problem of limited response questions which is often evident in structured questions. The questions were open-ended which allowed me great latitude to raise broad issues in whatever order seemed appropriate. By the same token, informants were allowed to raise questions or any other concerns at any interval during the conduct of the interview. To avoid possible bias and to make them reflect upon their true experiences, the researcher presented himself neutral and explained his purpose as purely academic. During the progress of interviews, the researcher probed, followed up, clarified, and elaborated responses to attain accurate responses. In the meantime, the narrative of the interviewees is recorded by means of written notes. This recourse is taken because, as previous experiences have shown, elderly people are scared of recording instruments. But one major challenge that needs to be noted here is that many of them died and the few surviving ones were not easy nuts to crack. With all the necessary methodological skills used to obtain relevant information, key informants were found to be highly skeptical and were not willing to give genuine information for they preferred to kill time talking only on the pulpy part. Any attempt to press into the hard core would sever friendliness for such attempts led to interchange of ideas to sudden rupture. On the whole, as if something bad would befall them, they were not willing to stay tuned. Rather, they pretended to be forgetful of events, which they knew, due to old age. Moreover, against what archival information confirmed, they were biased.

The researcher's effort to procure information from secondary literature was not as such rewarding. However, my efforts were not totally fruitless. When this study was started, one problem that was pressing upon my heart was the definition of the term *Bétã Rist*.

The pursuit for its meaning took the researcher several days of reading secondary literature including dictionaries written in various languages until it was obtained in the Ph.D. dissertation of Tekalegn Wolde Mariam. As subsequent search for information from B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. theses revealed, during the post-liberation period, there were many property management institutions established by members of the ruling aristocracy and other members of the royal family. Therefore, the secondary literature was useful to identify the state domain and the private domain of the Emperor, privatization and commercialization of land, mechanized and partially mechanized farming activities, tenancy and philanthropy.

Next to the secondary literature, the researcher made great attempt to cull information from newspapers. *Birhan Ina Sälam*, the weekly Amharic Newspaper, which started publication as of January 1, 1925, and *Addis Zämän*, the daily Amharic Newspaper which started publication after the restoration of the monarchy in 1941, provided relevant information on the roots of welfare institutions in Ethiopia, the various donations that the Emperor made to these institutions, the property of the Emperor, mechanized and partially mechanized farming activities undertaken on some of the monarch's estates, lands sold by the *Bētä Rist* Office and the amount of income that the Emperor collected from house rent, and the amount of tax arrears that the military government needed from the royal family and from other members of the ruling aristocracy. The other newspaper consulted is *Yä Ityopiya Dimş* (The Voice of Ethiopia) which provides information on the kind and amount of property that the Emperor donated to welfare institutions.

Then the search for data demanded the researcher to visit different archival centers in Addis Ababa. One thing that I would like to make clear in this connection is that this

thesis draws heavily on archival materials. Above 90% of the information that was used to write this dissertation was collected from the Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Research Centre of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. Thus, the researcher devoted ample time to collect data in the Wäldä Mäsqäl archives, National Archives and Libraries of Ethiopia and archives of the Ministry of Finance and Agriculture. In almost all these archival centers, the researcher got information of varied degrees of relevance except in the archives of the Ministry of Agriculture for the office was transferred from Casa Inches to Gurd Šola; I could not get access because it had to be reorganized. In the archives of the Ministry of Finance, the researcher obtained information on the careers of one of the General Administrators of the *Bétä Rist* during whose time the Office registered much success. Again, in the National Archives and Libraries of Ethiopia, the researcher culled useful information regarding property management institutions of other members of the royal family and the nationalization by the military government of the property of the royal family.

Yet, the full archives of the *Bétä Rist* are deposited in the Wäldä Misqäl Research Center of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. Considerable amount of time was invested to gather data sufficient enough to write this thesis. The documents are deposited in a separate room, and are in good keeping relatively. As a result, the researcher faced no serious problem in accessing them. However, my stay in the Wäldä Misqäl archives was not without problem. In addition to the dirt, from July 2012 to July 2014, the research centre was almost closed. During my stay in the archival centre only one man was assigned whose duty was limited to airing the archives once in a while.

Attempts were also made to gather data from some institutions that had, in one way or another, relationships with the *Bétä Rist*. One of these was the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands from which the Office used to collect rentals. However, in spite of all the necessary documents in hand, the Embassy proved to be tough territory to cross. I tried several times but they prevented me to enter and gather data. This gap is, however, successfully filled by the Wäldä Misqäl archives.

In the course of the writing, I prefer to give quotations first in Amharic and then their translations in English. This is done because an accurate translation is not always possible particularly regarding idiomatic and nuanced of expressions. I have, therefore, tried sometimes free, at other times literal translations. The reader will, however, be able to check the English against the Amharic. I have, at times, given rather long quotations to do justice to the source.

Chapter Two: - The Property of Emperor Haile Selassie

Before we directly dive into the discussion of the movable and immovable property of the Emperor that was located in the different parts of the country, I found it appropriate to discuss the difference between a king's personal property and the property of the state. Was there a distinction in Ethiopian law between the two? If the answer is yes, when did the tradition of separating private and state property start? This is very important because there has not been a clear line of distinction between state domain and the private domain of Ethiopian sovereigns.

Any attempt to analyze the above issue impels one to ask this question: What is the evidence in historic Ethiopia for a certain property, for example land, to be the property of the state or of the Emperor? If we go back in time and see the claims of the Ethiopian medieval kings, the issue becomes complicated. Historical works invariably recount the theory that all land in the kingdom belonged to the king. But what did this mean in practice is a moot question that has not been addressed by scholars due to the absence of sources that shed light on the issue. The theory that gave the king the right to take land without purchase from anybody is also asked.²⁸ However, the office of the *aläqinät* through which Gondärine ruling families of the 18th century used to preserve and transfer their holdings over several generations indicates the presence of private property within members of the royal family.²⁹ The above point, however, refers only to the presence of private property and does not refer as to whether there was an evidence to show

²⁸Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 98.

²⁹Donald Crummey, "Family and Property among the Amhara Nobility" *Journal of African History* (1983), Vol., 24, No. 2, pp. 207-220. See also Richard Pankhurst, "An 18th Century Dynastic Marriage Contract Between Empress Mentewab and Ras Mikael Sehul of Tigray" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol., XLII, Part 3, (1979), pp. 48-53.

distinction between the private property of the royal family and that of the state. Besides, we have been frequently informed by the literature about the king's reversionary right in both *rist* and *gult* land tenure systems, which indicates, in the true sense of the term, the absence of private property of individuals and of the state. The king was rather the sole owner of the land, a circumstance that bolstered the claims of the medieval kings.

How long did this medieval situation continue? It is not easy to answer this question right up to the time of Menilek II. In the era of Haile Selassie, however, there was a move to separate the two types of property. For example, the right of a person to own private property is legalized both in the Civil Code of the Imperial Ethiopian Government and in the 1955 revised constitution of Ethiopia.³⁰ In addition to this, Haile Selassie made it clear on several occasions that there was a distinction between his own property and that of the state.³¹

The main confusion centers on lands that belong to the Crown and those that belong to the sovereign personally. While these lands were different in terms of their use, some scholars have argued that the income from Crown lands went to Haile Selassie personally for his own use.³² This must, however, be corrected. The income from Crown lands was rather used for the up-keep of the palace or used for sustaining government activities. Therefore, the assumption that an income that went personally to the Emperor and that same income used to meet the needs of the court is rather erroneous. It is clear that the

³⁰*Yä Itiyopia Nigusä Nägäst Mängist Yä Fitiha Bihér Hig (Civil Code of the Imperial Ethiopian Government)* (Addis Ababa: 1952), pp. 243-318. See also *The Revised Constitution of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: 4th November, 1955), p. 4.

³¹*Addis Zämän*, Tahisas (December) 7, 1954 E.C., *Firé Känäfir Zä Qädamawi Haile Selassie Nigusä Nägäst Zä Ityopiya* (Speeches of Haile Selassie I, King of Kings of Ethiopia) Vol. 6, (Addis Ababa: 1963 E.C.), p. 3160. See also *The Haile Selassie I Prize Trust Revised CHARTER* (Addis Ababa: 1969), p. 28.

³²Aleme Eshete, "General Examination on Ethiopian Feudalism" an unpublished paper presented on the *Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism* (A.A.U., Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 1976), p. 11.

Emperor owned extensive *rist* and *rist gult* lands located in the provinces. But Crown lands such as *Gannä Gäb* or *Mad Bét*, and *Wärrä Gänu* lands were not the private lands of the Emperor.³³ Be that as it may, one can argue, with a fair degree of confidence, that it was Emperor Haile Selassie who made the first practical and legal attempt to clearly distinguish between the two - state and private domain. The several tax receipts prepared by the Ministry of Finance of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia in the name of Emperor Haile Selassie meant that there was distinction between the two, too.³⁴ This clearly indicates that the Emperor used to pay tax for the government and this can be regarded as hard evidence for the king's private property.

2.1. The Private Property of Haile Selassie.

One thing that needs to be made clear is that our purpose here is not to make an exact account of the private property of the Emperor. This is very difficult mainly because sources do not provide us with the exact amount of the monarch's net worth. But, it is revealed that, the movable and immovable property of the Emperor that was managed by the *Bétä Rist* Office was of different kinds and was located from Eritrea in the north to Balé in the south; and from Illubabor in the west to Harärgé and even to Djibouti in the east. The kind and amount also varied from province to province. For example, except in Eritrea and Gojjam, the Emperor owned vast tracts of lands as *rist* and *rist gult* in the other provinces. According to the findings of this study, the Emperor owned only one

³³Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935* (Ethiopia: Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie I University Press, 1968), p. 148. The most fertile tracts were reserved for the palace, Ege, p. 138.

³⁴The Wäldä Misqäl Archives is replete with tax receipts prepared in the name of the monarch. In 1962, for example, the *Bétä Rist* Office paid Eth. 54 birr and fifty cents of land, education, and health tax and tithe to the government for one *gaša* of land located at Gäbawä in Käffa, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ፩. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 31. See also Folder No., 315, File No., 18.

house in the port town of *Mişiwa* (Massawa). In a confirmation letter written on April 16, 1953 by *Nägadras* Birhanä Silassé Abayäre, this house was the property of Salém Abéd Bāhabāš and was located along *Aşé* Yohannis Avenue in the port town. The house was ground plus one. According to this document, on behalf of the Emperor, it was *Bitwädäd* Andargačäw Mäsäy who bought it from the person who represented Salem, Gusseppi Aviasano, against a payment of Eth. 20, 000 birr in 1953.³⁵

In spite of the fact that the province of Gojjam was believed to be the granary of the state, and despite its relative proximity to the center, as this study confirmed, the monarch owned little or no *rist* or *rist gult* lands in Gojjam. His property in the Province of Gojjam was limited to a land located on the banks of the Lake Ṭana in the town of Bahir Dar. In 1960, it was *Fitawrari* Gila Giyorgis, the onetime mayor of the town of Bahir Dar, who gave the Emperor urban land called Šum Abo that measured 8, 750 square meters.³⁶ In the remaining provinces, excluding his lands in urban areas, the Emperor held more than fifteen thousand *gaša* of lands, the bulk of which was located in the provinces of Šäwa, Harärgé, and Arsi.³⁷ Hundreds of *gašas* of lands were located in the province of Tigray and about a hundred *gašas* in the provinces of Käffa, Wälläga, and Illubabor. His land in the provinces of Simén and Bägémdir, Gämu Gofa, Balé, and Wällo amounted to a

³⁵The cadastral number of the house was 52 and was located at a place called Aezola Taweld, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 31.

³⁶*Fitawari* Gila Giyorgis bought this land from the children of a certain Afrinj and was his private property, and its cadastral No. is 177. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 6. See also annexes 15 and 16.

³⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2088, *Bägo Adragot* (Welfare Trust) and the *Bétä Rist* of Emperor Haile Selassie I.

significant figure. According to a 1954 report, for example, the Emperor owned 500 *gašas* of land in the province of Kǎffa.³⁸

The lands of the Emperor were located in all altitudinal zones (*Qola*, *Woina Dāga*, and *Dāga*) of the country. Thus, they were suitable for the cultivation of varieties of grains and cash crops (such as coffee), and for different kinds of fruits and vegetables. The fertility of the land was highly rated. Interestingly, some of his lands were located within the drainage basins of two or more perennial rivers and streams making irrigation agriculture possible.³⁹ In addition to the cultivable lands, the Emperor held lands covered with trees.⁴⁰ The trees were of indigenous and exotic types. Some of these lands were forests that were used for the production of timber and charcoal. In some selected provinces, the Emperor owned also cattle breeding Farms.⁴¹

Haile Selassie was arguably one of the pioneers in the development of real estate in the country. In almost all the major towns of the country, he owned houses of different types. But, most of the houses were located in the city of Addis Ababa. For the sake of administrative convenience, the houses were given specific names. In Addis Ababa, the Emperor held twenty four plots of lands.⁴² Most of the houses were made of wood,

³⁸According to a notice written, on May 13, 1954, by *Dājzmač* Mäsfīn Silāš to the Emperor, the latter owned 500 *gaša* of coffee land in Kǎffa *awraja* alone. The king's lands were selected by *Dājzmač* Mäsfīn, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, *ፋ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 4.

³⁹Mälka Säde for example was drained by the Rivers Kässām, a tributary of Awaš, Awaš and Qābāna. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, *ፋ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 28.

⁴⁰In Wonj for example the Emperor held 5 *gaša* of forest land. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, *ፋ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 36. For the forest of Anfilo in the province of Wällāga see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, File No., 28.

⁴¹In the province of Simén and Bägémdir, for example, the Emperor established a cattle breeding Farm at a place called *Abba Samuél* in Azāzo *qābälé*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, *ፋ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 3.

⁴²The lands (and the properties therein) were given specific numbers from 1 to 24 and were known as 1st, 2nd, 3rd... 24th *Bétā Rist*. For example his lands and properties in the vicinity of Sidest Kilo were those from 1st to 7th *Bétā Rist*. The 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th *Bétā Rists* were located in the vicinity of *Arada* Giyorgis; 12th *Bétā Rist* in Qāčané; 13th, and 14th *Bétā Rist* in Gulällé Gāfārsa; the 15th around Tāklāhaymanot; 16th *Bétā*

covered with grass, and were plastered with mud. Some others were houses covered with metal sheets, palaces, and villas. Rarely, we find houses in the category of ፎቅ ና ምድር ቤት (ground plus). These houses were major sources of revenue for the Emperor. The monarch used to collect substantial amount of money from these houses in the form of rentals. They were leased out for individual Ethiopian and foreign nationals, for government offices such as the State Bank of Ethiopia, for private associations and companies, and even for an embassy.⁴³

The Emperor was a major share holder in several small scale industrial plants that were established before and after the period of Italian occupation. He invested a huge amount of money in textile, food processing, brewery, transport, and insurance companies.⁴⁴

One major facet of modernity that we see in the management system was that vehicles were used to maintain efficiency. Some of these were given for office use and others were used for transporting agricultural products such as grains of different types, fruits, and vegetables from the provinces to Addis Ababa before they were sold out to the residents of the city. Last but not least, the Emperor owned some tractors that were

*Rist in Arada, Särätäñña Säfar; 17th Bétä Rist was Palazzo Raiteri in Adwa Square adjacent to Ethiopia Hotel; 18th, 19th, and 20th Bétä Rists in the vicinity of Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital which is now the Army's Hospital; 21st and the 24th in the vicinity of Qäranéyo Mädahnéläm. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 19, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2. In his book which he did not totally examine it Kapuscinski tells us that the Emperor owned 27 automobiles that made up his private fleet, Ryszard Kapuscinski, *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat* (London: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 12.*

⁴³The Embassy of the kingdom of the Netherlands used to pay Eth. 1, 400 birr to the *Bétä Rist* Office from June 21, 1952 to 1975, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 267, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 9. On Mäskäräm (September) 15, 1949 E. C., the Ethiopian Air Lines entered into house rent contract with the *Bétä Rist* Office, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 267, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 33. See also annexe 28.

⁴⁴The *Bétä Rist* Office for example owned shares in Sabean Utility Corporation, Insurance Company of Ethiopia, Coca Cola Company, Indo-Ethiopian Textiles, and Ceralia Foods. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 1, 2, 3, and 5.

deployed in mechanized and partially mechanized farming activities.⁴⁵ Interestingly enough, the first road that linked the towns of Harär and Diré Dawa was the property of the monarch.⁴⁶

Outside Ethiopia, Haile Selassie owned houses and villas in neighboring Djibouti and in England. His land in Djibouti measured 15, 888 square metres.⁴⁷ In the town of Bath in England the Emperor owned a villa named Fairfield. Until 1967, the budget for Fairfield was allocated from the *Bétä Rist* treasury. For example, the treasury office allocated £ 646 and 74 pound sterlings for the year 1957 for the up-keep of Fairfield.⁴⁸

Regarding the amount, types, and uses of the property of the Emperor, the chapters below shall provide more detail.

2.2. Mechanisms of Acquiring Property

The importance of looking at the different ways of acquiring property seems irrelevant if our purpose is to make mere listing of the already known mechanisms which have been repeatedly stated in the existing literature. It is, however, important to analyze them in light of certain historical developments that unfolded in the country in the period under study. Thus, far beyond mere enumeration, the mechanisms will be analyzed in such a way that they give us information that would help us to understand the period from different angles. Above all, it gives us opportunity to look into how power and property

⁴⁵Food, and other crops, fruits and vegetables for example were transported from Tifsihitä Gännät, Arsi, to Addis Ababa by vehicles and the land was cultivated by tractors. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 1, 2.

⁴⁶Regarding the Diré Dawa-Harär highway construction contract given, on November 26, 1926, from Empress Zäwditu to Ras Täfäri see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

⁴⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11 ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 35.

⁴⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

are woven together in the history of the country's political economy. Though Haile Selassie followed, in the majority of instances, legal procedures, and never claimed a piece of land or property arbitrarily simply because he was the most powerful man of the time, the impact of power was strongly felt in the various ways of acquiring property. For instance, if we ask the question why people asked the Emperor to inherit their property, the obvious and main reason was protection. When a widow or barren couples, at the time of old age, asked the Emperor to inherit their property, they sought at the same time security of livelihood that would be given in the form of pension as long as they lived in this world and they would not be vulnerable to threats of plunders by some powerful people, or by their close relatives. Again, if *balabats* (local gentry) and other influential men asked the Emperor to inherit their property, the motives behind were clear. They sought to curry favor from the MAN, both as *Ras Täfäri* and Emperor Haile Selassie I.

The archives at the *Bétä Rist* section of the Wäldä Mäsqäl Memorial Research Centre are replete with inheritance and bequest stories. An informant also told me that *balabats* “bequeathed” their land when they failed to pay government tax.⁴⁹ Reverting land to the state in the above mechanism was known as *Gibrä Ṭäl*. Basically, if an individual failed to pay tax to the government for a given land which he/she held use right, the land should be reverted to the state. If we ask the question why people (excluding his father) bequeathed their property to the Emperor, the answer is clear. Many people bequeathed property in return either for protection, pension, or to maintain power and privilege. So, it

⁴⁹Informant: *Ato Zägäyā Säifu*. In a letter written on April 3, 1969, from the Ministry of Finance to the *Bétä Rist* Office we learn that the *Bétä Rist* owed the government from Eth. 800, 000 birr as tax arrears (1948 to 1964) its 417 *gašas* of land located in Adal and Issa Gara Gurača *awraja* of the province of Harärgé, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 10. In a rather confusing document of land consignment, written on December 25, 1963, we are informed that the *Bétä Rist* consigned 317 *gašas* to state domains in *Gibrä Ṭäl* retaining 100 *gašas*, Archives of the Ministry of Finance, *Yä Girmawinätačäw Bétä-Rist*, Harär, File No. 45.

was not automatic. On the part of the Emperor, he never inherited property unless the property to be inherited fulfilled two things. One is that the land or the property must be usable which means that the land must be vast and fertile and very alluring in terms of its economic potential. Secondly, it should cover at least the payment that was to be given to the givers in the form of pension per month. That was why the Emperor assigned people to assess the amount and kind of property to be inherited before their application got acceptance.⁵⁰

Allan Hoben fittingly showed the link between power and property when he wrote: "The relative importance to an individual of these various ways of acquiring land depends on his position in the domestic cycle, his standing in his local community, and his status in the wider spheres of regional politics."⁵¹ For an Emperor who dominated the life of a country for a little over half a century, Hoben's statement is of paramount importance to understand the full meaning of the link between power and property. This was reflected, as we shall see one by one, in the reasons that impel people to bequeath property to the Emperor; price of land or other property that the Emperor bought; in the various imperial land grants made to him; and in the relationship between the Emperor and some influential provincial governors and local *balabats* (gentry).

When we examine the documents, we discover at least six major avenues of acquiring property. The first is what the Emperor inherited from his father and from other members of the royal family, and from other individuals. Secondly, property was acquired through confiscation. Unsuccessful rebellions and attempts on the life of the heir apparent were

⁵⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 18, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 33.

⁵¹Allan Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: the Dynamics of Cognatic Descent* (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 144.

excellent opportunities to confiscate their property. Thirdly, the Emperor purchased property from individuals and from government. He also acquired property through various unjust mechanisms and under several pretexts. Finally, imperial land grant also constituted another crucial way of acquiring property.

The practice of bequeathing land to monarchs was not started during the reign of Haile Selassie. Sources reveal that local *balabats* and governors bequeathed land to Menilek II. For example, a certain *balabat* named Butajira in Silulta *wäräda* bequeathed fifteen *gašas* (a *gaša* measuring on average forty hectares) of land to Emperor Menilek II. The giver was in return allowed to own one *gaša* of land in the form of pension.⁵² Similarly, *Fitawraré Zämänfäs*, a eunuch, bequeathed ten *gašas* of land to Menilek in *Sälallé awraja* of the province of Šäwa. These lands were later given to *Ras Mäkonnän*, and from *Ras Mäkonnen* they passed to Haile Selassie.⁵³ However, the practice seems to have reached its climax during the reign of Haile Sellassie.

Now, let us look at each of the above ways of acquiring property by providing pertinent examples. We will discuss this under three distinct periods of the Emperor's career—before 1916, after he became heir (1916-1930), and after he became Emperor (1930 to 1975). First, let us consider properties that he inherited from his father.

Däjazmač Täfäri (Haile Selassie after 1930) inherited property from his father, *Ras Mäkonnen*, and from other members of the royal family. The properties were located both in urban and rural areas. For example, when on December 18, 1961, the Haile

⁵² I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 88, ቀ. ጅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 6.

⁵³ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, ቀ. ጅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 21.

Selassie I University (now Addis Ababa University) was officially inaugurated, Haile Selassie made an eleven-page inaugural address. From this we read the following:

እኛም በበኩላችን ይኸ ዛሬ የምንመርቀው ዩኒቨርሲቲ እንዲመሰረትበትና የኛና የሕዝባችን ሐውልት ሆኖ እንዲኖር ከአባታችን ከልዑል ራስ መኮንን የወረሰነውን የግል ርስታችንን ይኸን ቤተ መንግስት ከቦታው ጋራ ለኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ አበርክተናል።⁵⁴

On our part we have given this palace together with the land, our private rist that we inherited from our father, Ras Mäkonnen, to the Ethiopian people, for the establishment of the university that we are inaugurating today, to be ours and our peoples monument for perpetuity.

This is the Gännätä Le'ul (Paradise of the Prince) palace at Sidest Kilo campus that spread over 276,150 square metres.

In Çärçär *awraja* of the province of Harärgé, at a place called Wula Quné, the Emperor inherited 26 *gašas* of land from his father. Ras Mäkonnen bought the lands around 1893. In this same *awraja* at a place called Bäka, he also inherited land the amount of which is not clearly specified from his father. According to one archival document, Ras Mäkonnen bought these lands from Emperor Menilek II for 100 *sänadir* (snider rifles).⁵⁵ Besides, the Emperor inherited 100 *gašas* of land in the different parts of the province of Šäwa from his father.⁵⁶

In addition to what he acquired from his father, Täfäri inherited property from the members of the Šäwan nobility. For example, in Addis Ababa he inherited a total of 203,

⁵⁴ *Firé Känäfir Zä Qädamawé Haile Selassie Nigusä Nägäst Zä Ityopiya* (Speeches of Haile Selassie I, King of Kings of Ethiopia) (Addis Ababa: 1963 E.C.), Vol. 6, p. 3160.

⁵⁵ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 10.

⁵⁶ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 48.

260 square metres of land from *Ras* (*Nigus* after 1917) Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyä, grandson of *Nigus* Sahlä Selassé of Šäwa; from *Wäizäro* Tisämé Abayirga and from *Wäizäro* Wälättä Yohannis. The land which measured 143, 403 square metres that the Emperor inherited from *Nigus* Wäldä Giyorgis, was located in Little Aqaqi which is now in the vicinity of the Netherlands Embassy and its compound. The remaining land was located in Afinço Bär.⁵⁷

Täfäri also inherited lands close to a thousand *gašas* from Emperor Menilek II, Empress Zäwditu and from *Lij* Iyasu in the provinces of Šäwa, Arsi and Wälläga from which the Emperor used to earn Eth. 17, 268 birr and 40 cents per year. But, it is clear that *Lij* Iyyasu might not in any way give property to Täfäri, his arch enemy. But, as we shall see below, the several aborted plots and rebellions made on the life, and against the growing influence, of Täfäri in the times of Empress Zäwditu were excellent opportunities to appropriate the property of the plotters and the conspirators.⁵⁸

In Raya and Azäbo *awraja* of the Governorate General of Tigray, the Emperor inherited lands which were the *rista-gults* of Emperor Menelik II and Empress Zäwditu. From Menilek he inherited lands located in Gatura and Çärçär, and from Zäwditu he inherited lands located in Çäläma Dur, Alamaña, Jihan, Gimälo, Mä'ara, and Šäbta. On November 26, 1946, a Committee made up of three people was formed to investigate the *rista-gults* of the Emperor which he inherited from Menelik and Zäwditu in the *awraja* mentioned above. Accordingly, the Committee listened to the words of five witnesses who unanimously confirmed the above information as genuine. Gatura and Çärçär became

⁵⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, *ፊ. ሂ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 35.

⁵⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No., 1.

rista-gults of Emperor Menilek II immediately after the Battle of Adwa. The man who was assigned to develop these areas (Menelik gave all the necessary inputs such as oxen, ploughs and sickle) was *Däjazmač Tädla* who was at the same time appointed *Çiqa*. Originally, the *rista-gults* of Zäwditu were given to her from Emperor Yohannis IV as dowry at the time she was given in marriage to Ar'aya Silassé:

ግርማዊት ዘውዲቱ ራስ አርዓያን አግብተው ሲሄዱ ቀን ያረፉበት ርስት፤ ያደሩበት ርስት ጉልት እንዲሆናቸው አፄ ዮሐንስ ፈቅደው ከወረደሉ ጀምረው እስከ ትግሬ ድረስ... ስለ ጨርጨር ግን አፄ ምኒልክ ከዓድዋ ዘመቻ ሲመለሱ ደጃዝማች ተድላን አቅና ብለው በሬውን ገበሬውን ማጭዳን ማረሻውን ሰጥተው... ለንግስት ደግሞ ጸሃፌ ትዕዛዝ ገብረ ሥላሴ ሰጥተዋቸው...⁵⁹

When Empress Zäwditu travelled [to Tigray] after the wedding with Ras Ar'aya Silassé, Aṣé Yohannis willed that the land from Wärra Illu to Tigray, where she took rest in daytime and where she slept at night to be given to her as rist gult ...but as regards Çärçär, on the way back from Adwa Aṣé Menelik gave the oxen, the farmer, the sickle and the plough to Däjazmač Tädla so that he would develop the area... and Şähafé Ti'izaz Gäbrä Selassie gave to the Empress....

On the motives of keeping these lands, the *Bétä Rist* Office wrote the following:

የቤተ ርስት ጽሕፈት ቤት በትግሬ አገር የሚገኘውን ርስትና ጉልት በደምብ ለመረከብ የሚደክመው በመሬቱ ላይ ለሚገኘው ሐብት ጉጉት ሳይሆን ዋናው ኃሳቡ በየጊዜው ብዙ

⁵⁹E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 560.

የገንዘብ ወጭ እዩተደረገ በዘመን ብዛት የለማውን የነገሰታቱን መታሰቢያ ተወላጅ ያልሆነ ማንም ባዕድ ባለቤት ሆኖበት አንዳይቀር ከቤተ መንግሥት ዘር አንዳይወጣ ብቻ ነው።⁶⁰

The main reason that the Bétä Rist Office labored to formally receive the rist and gult found in Tigray is not due to eagerness for the wealth obtained from the land. But the main idea is to keep it within the royal family rather than to be owned by someone having no blood relation with the royal family, for much money has been expended on the land at different times.

When this document refers to the monarchs (ነገሰታቱ) it has obviously referring to Menelik and Zäwditu. Besides, the *Bétä Rist*, as subsequent developments revealed, needed these lands not merely for the memory of the monarchs but also because they saw in the lands some sort of economic advantage. In general, the lands that the Emperor inherited from *Ras Mäkönnän* and Empress Zäwditu measured 42 *gašas* and were located in Qala Harär, Qoṣqoṭé, and Ad'arbaté. Ad'arbatie was first the land of *Içagé* Gäbrä Selassé which he gave to *Ras Mäkönnän* and latter transferred in gift to Täfäri.⁶¹

The last story of bequest during the first phase of his career was the one that he acquired from the pastoralists of Giré, Babillé, and Worä Humé in Eastern Harärgé in 1914. We have no information about the amount of land that the pastoralists bequeathed to *Däjazmač* Täfäri. The most interesting aspect of this account is, however, that they bequeathed the land to Täfäri provided that the latter would not evict them, “...ላይነቅሉን

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹The lands that the Emperor inherited from Empress Zäwditu were also registered in the Ministry of Finance, title deeds of *ristä-gult* and *Siso* land. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 2, 7 and 19.

ከብቶቻችንን ሳር ልናበላ ውሐ ልናጠጣ...”⁶² The text, literally translated, could read: “Not to be evicted and not to be prevented from water and pasture for our cattle.”

Following the deposition of *Lij* Iyyasu in 1916, *Dājzmač* Täfäri was made *Ras* and became heir to the throne. From 1916 to 1930, the heir also acquired significant amount of property from different people through different mechanisms.

One of these peoples who gave seizable amount of land to *Ras* Täfäri was Empress Zäwditu. In 1916, the Empress gave lands that measured 127 *gašas* to the heir located in Ambo at a place called Tibé Šäboka.⁶³ Täfäri also inherited 103 *gašas* of land transferred in gift from Emperor Menilek II and Empress Zäwditu located in Nono, Çoraqlé and Tänäbo *qäbälés* of Limu *wäräda* of the province of Käffa.⁶⁴ The land that Haile Selassie owned in these areas has a very interesting history that went back to 1889. At this time the *balabat* of Limu was *Abba* Bagibo. When *Nigus* Wäldä Giyorgis was appointed as the Governor of Käffa, disagreement arose between *Abba* Bagibo and *Nigus* Wäldä Giyorgis. In an appeal letter written to Emperor Menilek II, *Abba* Bagibo is said to have complained in the following way: “እኔ ላማራ ጧትና ማታ አልታሰርምና ዳኛ ሰጥተውኝ ከርስቱ ላካፍል ብለው ለእኔ ምኒልክ አመልክተው...”⁶⁵ The text, literally translated, could read: “He applied to *Ašé* Menilek by saying I do not want to be imprisoned by the Amharas every morning and evening rather give me a judge and let me share the *rist*...” Following Wäldä Giyorgis’s appointment to the province of Simén and Bägémdir in April 1917, he divorced *Wäizäro* Wossän Yäläš, and this land and property became her share. Latter

⁶²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 10.

⁶³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 12, 17, 18, and 21.

⁶⁴According to information obtained from *Yä Mängist Bahir Mäzgäb* (The Main Government Records), *Lij* Iyyasu inherited the lands from the local *balabats*. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 25.

⁶⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 29.

Wossän Yäläš bequeathed it to *Däjazmač* Habtä Mikael. On November 9, 1924, Täfäri inherited the land, coffee and the cattle from *Däjazmač* Habtä Mikael.

Other people who bequeathed lands and other property to Täfäri were local *balabats*. In Nazrét *awraja* for example, the local *balabats* bequeathed around 302 *gašas* of land to the heir on May 19, 1925. The lands were located in Čäka, Siré, Minjar and Šänkora, and in Ziquala. In giving the lands to Täfäri, the local *balabats* are said to have confirmed the bequeathal in the following way: “እነ ልጅ ኃይለማርያምን ማ ይሙት በዚህ በወረቀቱ ቃል አወረሳችሁ ቢሏቸው ምንይልክ ይሙት በዚህ በተጻፈው ቃል አውርሰናል ብለው ተፈጥመው አወረሱ።”⁶⁶

When Lej Hailä Mariam and others were asked on whose name they would swear when they gave according to the words of this document, they said let Menilek die we bequeathed exactly according to the written words.

The Emperor also owned vast tracts of land in Arba Gugu and Jäju *awrajas* of the province of Arsi that came from Emperor Menilek II in gift. The local *balabat* that bequeathed 1, 523 *gašas* of land to Menilek was named Jilo Gutu.⁶⁷

The members of the aristocracy also gave out seizable amount of land to Täfäri. One of these was *Ras* Gétačäw Abatä who gave 695 *gašas* of land located in Qošamé, Kalmané, Adinäba Tibämé, Arçuma, Wonté, Girinzila, Midäja, Wogär, Säki, and Bodäté *qäbälés* in Maräqo, Silté, Mito, Daloča, *wärädas* of Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa. The history of these lands mentioned above goes back to the late 1920s. The original *balabat* of this area was *Qäññazmač* Tuké Mamma. Before 1929, *Qäññazmač*

⁶⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 315, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 35.

⁶⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 207, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 3.

Tuké gave the land, which was estimated to measure 725 *gašas*, to *Ras* Abatä Buayaläw retaining for himself the 15 *gašas* where his father was buried. Again he gave 1, 600 *gašas* to his children: Qabäto Tuké, Sirbämo Tuké, and Dubétu Tuké. *Ras* Gétačäw inherited the land from his father and latter gave it to Täfäri. The tragic death of *Agafari* Säifu Bänäbäru, the counsel of the *Bétä Rist* Office, was associated with this land. A very interesting letter that gives us hints about this matter is that written on January 28, 1966 by *Ato* Kibrät Mängäša, the counsel of the *Bétä Rist* Office, to the Ministry of Justice. According to this letter, *Ato* Gälätu Sirbämo, the grandson of *Qäññazmač* Tuké Mamma fomented rebellion while the Office was preparing to measure the land of his father. But, before the *Bétä Rist* officials started measuring the area, there was a civil case between Gälätu and the *Bétä Rist* Office in which Gälätu was defeated.⁶⁸ In order to have the title deed, the *Bétä Rist* Office tried to measure the land. The man who was in charge of this task was *Agafaré* Säifu Bänäbäru. *Agafaré* Säifu was killed sometime between January 29, 1948 and April 3, 1948 in Maräqo.⁶⁹

We have a similar but different story of the above kind from an informant. As we have said above, *Ras* Gétačäw bequeathed the land to the heir before the period of the occupation. During the period of occupation, the local *balabats* confiscated the lands of the Emperor as *Ijä Mänañña*.⁷⁰ After the restoration of the monarchy, *Agafari* Säifu took the case to court by alleging that the local *balabats* used illegally the lands of the Emperor for themselves. In the process, the counsel won the case. The amount of land restored to the Emperor through litigation measured above 300 *gašas* and was located in

⁶⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ታ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 24.

⁶⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 208, ቀ. ታ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 22.

⁷⁰Dästa Täklä Wäld defines *Ijä Mänañña* as people who took the property or money of other people without having ownership right (ባለቤትነት ሳይኖረው የሰው ገንዘብ የወሰደ ሰው እጅ መኖሩ ይባላል እጅ መጥፎ ማለት ነው።)

Maräqo and Mito, and supported around 500 tenants. The land that became the cause of *Agafari Säifu*'s death was located in Mito and the local *balabat* was Alijad Alénžo who at this time was very old. After he won the case, *Agafari Säifu* went to Mito to measure the land and to have it registered after the name of the Emperor. At this time, Gona, the son of Alijad Alénžo, fomented rebellion under the pretext of eviction. Escorted by 500 tenants, Gona approached *Agafari Säifu* and had him shot and killed.⁷¹

The above two accounts are supported in a title deed of *rist-gult* and *siso* land document prepared by the Ministry of Finance of the Imperial Ethiopian Government which was given to the Emperor on April 29, 1951 as a confirmation of his ownership right. According to this document, the *Mälkäñña* and owner of the land is his Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I. The lands were located in the *wärädas* and *qäbälés* mentioned above, and measured 695^{1/4} *gašas*. The type of the land is *rist-gult* and was cultivated by tenants in *mägazo*. Formerly, the Emperor paid a *sänga* (fattened bull) to the government per year as tribute. The 9th article in this title deed is important for it clearly spells out the person from whom the Emperor inherited, viz., *Ras Gétačäw Abatä*. The Ministry gave the title deed after it confirmed the ownership right of the Emperor from documents preserved in the Ministry of Finance and from the words of five witnesses which the *Bétä Rist* Office provided from that very area. However, in the special notice given in the lower register of this document, the amount of land that the Emperor got from *Ras Gétačäw*, as confirmed by the five witnesses is only 66 *gašas*. In article 4 of this

⁷¹Informant: *Ato Zägäyä Säifu*, son of the deceased *Agafari Säifu Bänäbäru*. See also annexes 40 and 48.

document we have 695^{1/4} *gašas* that *Ras Gétačäw* gave to the heir. Out of this, the five witnesses confirmed only 66 *gašas*. Besides, the *Bétä Rist* Office favoured the five witnesses by making them its *minzir*.⁷² This places the validity of the document under a big question mark unless the heir got lands from other *balabats* in gift.

From the information we have given above, we can conclude that *Agafari Säifu* charged the local *balabats* on the basis of tangible reasons, and not on the basis of a fake pretext. Thus, the position, on the part of the *Bétä Rist*, that local *balabats* held the land of the Emperor in *Ijä Mänañña* is genuine. But, the title deed prepared by the Ministry of Finance in the name of the Emperor conveys confusing and contradictory meanings as regards the amount of land that the Heir got from *Ras Gétačäw*, which considerably diminishes the validity of the document.

Similarly, in this same *wäräda* at a place called *Aqnata qäbälé*, the Emperor inherited 20 *gašas* from *Wäizäro Wälätäyäs*; 2^{1/2} *gašas* in *Qumṭané Toš qäbälé* from *Däjazmač Habtä Mikael*, 75 *gašas* in *Tulu Bido*, *Woliso wäräda* from *Wäizäro Šäwa Šähay Iyyasu*, and Empress *Zäwditu* freely gave him 73 *gašas* in *Sälalé*. In *Bati qäbälé* of *Maräqo wäräda*, the heir inherited 3^{1/2} *gašas* of land from his father which he owned *baqiñnat* (as first occupant).⁷³

Ras Täfäri also inherited land and other property from ordinary peoples of both sex. In *Yärär* and *Käräyu awraja*, *Kombolča wärädä*, at a place called *Arärti Maryam*, he inherited one fourth of a *gaša* land from the *Gäbäz* (administrator) of the church. The

⁷²The names of the five witnesses who are decided to be *minzir* are *Qäñazmač Tuji Anjälö*, *Abägaz Féni*, *Wussén Mosro*, *Ato Kiflé Tägäñi*, and *Ato Adinäw Zäräfu*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, *ፋ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 12. See also annexe 12.

⁷³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, *ፋ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File Nos., 12, 17, and 21. See also annexes 12, 13 and 14.

motive behind this gift is clearly protection. An important couplet that tells us the time indirectly and the reason for giving the land runs:

ተፈሪ ባልነበር ፤ ባሕር ውጦኝ ነበር፤

ተፈሪ አለ ድረስ ፤ ገበታዬ አትፍረስ።⁷⁴

The text, literally translated, could read; “Had there never been Täfäri, I would have been devoured by the sea; as long as there is Täfäri, let my table never be demolished.”

From what we have discussed so far, we are safe to state that power played a crucial role in the acquisition of property. Power forms the main magnetic pull that impels people, be it in the cases of the ruling aristocrats, or the local *balabats*, or ordinary people, to give their land and property to the Emperor.

The period of power struggle during the first three decades of the twentieth century between the forces of tradition and “progress” provided an excellent avenue for *Ras* Täfäri to appropriate significant amounts of property. Following the deposition of *Lij* Iyasu, Princess Zäwditu Menilek became Empress and Täfäri heir to the throne. Step by step, the influence of the heir increased in the activities of the government which for some was a bitter pill to swallow. In the ensuing power struggle between the “Progressives” led by Täfäri and the “Conservative” circles mostly made up of the old palace guards of Emperor Menelik II who formed the entourage of Empress Zäwditu (as an expression of rock solid fidelity to their deceased Menelik), the heir systematically removed the roadblocks one after the other. Some of these lords whose property was

⁷⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 9.

destined to be confiscated were *Lij Iyyasu*, *Däjazmač* Balča Safo, and *Ras* Gugsä Wolé. The property that Täfäri acquired from these people has to be examined within the framework of the three rounds of power struggles made following the illness of Menelik II. In the first round, the Šäwans removed Taitu. During the second phase *Lij Iyyasu* was deposed. The third gave *Ras* Täfäri the green card to assume power.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, what happened during this time was not entirely a political matter. It was rather an excellent opportunity for the heir to build up his economic might through confiscation. Therefore, the benefit was two fold- political and economic.

It is obvious that relations between the old palace officials of Menelik II and *Lij Iyyasu* in general, and the latter's relation with Täfäri in particular, were not amicable. One of the lands of *Lij Iyyasu* that Täfäri confiscated was located in Qälläm *awraja* of the Governorate General of Wälläga. The history of this land is very interesting. In 1913, *Lij Iyyasu* visited Qälläm and Gidamé. The land beyond Komé was the private fief of *Däjazmač* Joté Tulu and was highly protected from the reach of other people. Back from his favourite game, hunting of buffalo in the forest located there, *Lij Iyyasu* is said to have asked *Däjazmač* Joté for the forest on the ground that he would settle the "Šanqillas" of Gimira there. Based on his request, *Däjazmač* Joté automatically allowed him to take it for free. But *Lij Iyyasu* is said to have refused taking the forest freely and bought it for Eth. 5, 000 birr, one *Minišer*, and two *Mäuser* rifles. This land which *Lij Iyyasu* bought from *Däjazmač* Joté spread over from Komé to Lafto Kurtu. A document, written latter, captures some of the conversation that clinched the deal:

⁷⁵The power struggles were made between 1908 and 1930. Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University press, 2002), pp. 114-128.

... ልጅ እያሱ በዚህ ጫካ ደን ውስጥ አልፏው ጎሽ ለማደን ሄደው ከዚያ ከሄዱበት ተመልሰው ይህን ጫካ ስጠኝ የጊሚራን ሻንቅላ አገባቢታለሁ ብለው ደጃዝማች ጆቴን ቢለምኑ ደጃዝማች ጆቴም ይውሱዱ ብለው ቢሰጡዋቸው እኔ ብላሽ አልወስድም በገንዘብ ካልሆነ በቀር ብለው አምስት ሺህ ብርና አንድ ምንሸር ጠበንጃ ሁለት መውዜር ጠበንጃ ለደጃዝማች ጆቴ ሰጥተው ገዙ።⁷⁶

When Lij Iyyasu, on his return from buffalo hunting, asked Däjazmač Joté for the forest land so that he would settle the Šanqillas of Gimira there, and Däjazmač Joté gave him automatically, Lij Iyyasu is said to have replied "I would never take it for free" and bought it against a payment Eth. 5, 000 birr, one Minišer, and two Mäwzér rifles.

The history of this land from 1924 to 1954 is obscure. After 1954, however, three groups of people came into the picture- *Ato* Yoséf Joté, son of *Däjazmač* Joté Tulu, *Ato* Tärfa Amäya, a member of the family of *Däjazmač* Joté, and other people who used to plant coffee in these lands. This clearly shows that the land was owned as *Ijä Mänañña* by different people. In fact some people also confirmed that the land where they planted coffee was the *rist* of *Lij* Iyyasu. This was revealed by *Ato* Tärfa Amäya when he informed the matter in 1954 to the *Bétä Rist* Office of Qälläm *awraja*. From this account, we can understand that there must have been some kind of misunderstanding between Yoséf and Tärfa. At this time, *Ato* Täsfayä Gäsässä, *Šum* (overseer) of the *Bétä Rist* Office of Qälläm *awraja* reacted very quickly. He appointed, perhaps in accordance with an order given from the Head Office, *Ato* Tärfa as overseer of *Gidamé wäräda*. Three years after his appointment as overseer, conflict arose between the two when Tärfa

⁷⁶ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2.

started receiving rent (*irbo*) from tenants. Yoséf persuaded tenants not to pay rent to the *Bétä Rist*, a circumstance that took the two to the court. The lands were located at Kori, Lafto, and Kortu *qäbälés* and measured 13 *gašas*.

On July 25, 1957, a committee made up of four people was formed to investigate the matter and to give its verdict. It was chaired by Lieutenant Colonel Täšomä Irgätu, governor of Qälläm *awraja*. In the ensuing legal action, the Committee listened to the cases of both the Plaintiff (*Ato Tärfa Amäya*) and the Defendant (*Ato Yoséf Joté*). The Plaintiff claimed the lands on the ground that *Lij Iyyasu* bought them from *Däjazmač Joté*, a matter affirmed in 1954 by the *awraja*. The defendant on his part claimed that since 1952, he cultivated the lands on contractual basis in accordance with an order given from the Treasury Office of the *awraja*. When the Committee asked the treasurer of *Gidamé wäräda* whether he received tax to the government from Yoséf or not, he answered that he received tax from Yoséf as per the order given to him from the treasury office of the *awraja*. When the Committee asked Yoséf to present an official contract document, he answered that he held the lands *bä aqiñnät* (as first occupant). A further investigation over this matter, however, discovered that Yosef held the land not by *aqiñnät* but through *alminät* (on contractual basis). After this, the Committee reached the following conclusion. The appointment of *Ato Tärfa Amäya* as overseer of *Gidamé wäräda Bétä Rist* in 1954 was officially communicated between the province, the *awraja*, and the *warada*. In 1956, *Ato Dargé Gäbräyäs*, the governor of *Gidamé warada* confirmed through *näqas* (witnesses) that the lands were bought by *Lij Iyyasu*. Besides, Yosef confirmed that the lands were not his *rist* before the Committee. Moreover, as for the alleged contract that Yoséf entered with the *wäräda*, evidence was not provided both

from the *wäräda* and from the defendant. Accordingly, the Committee passed verdict in favour of the Emperor.

On June 24, 1966, the Head Office was ordered by the Ministry of the Pen to “restore” the land located in Lafto Kortu to *Wäizäro Askaläč Jote*, daughter of *Däjazmač Jote*, as *rist*. The fact that the land was “restored” and not granted to Askaläč means that the *Bétä Rist* recognized the ownership right of Askaläč. This indirectly tells us that the *Bétä Rist* confiscated the lands illegally. For the letter of order speaks for itself, we provide the pertinent section:

ወይዘሮ አስካላች ጆቴ በወለጋ ቁለም አውራጃ ግዛት ልዩ ስሙ ላፍቶ ኮርቱ የሚባለውን አባቴ ደጃዝማች ጆቴ ከዘር የተላለፈ እርስታቸው የነበረውን አሁን ወደ ቤተ ርስት ሁኖ ስለሚገኝ ለመጠሩ እንዲሆንኝ እንዲለቀቅልኝ ብለው አመልክተው ... ይኸው መሬት ለወይዘሮ አስካላች ጆቴ እንዲለቀቅላቸውና በርስትነት እንዲገብሩበት መታዘዙን በማክበር አስታውቃለሁ።⁷⁷

Wäizäro Askaläč Jote applied for the restoration of land, which formerly was the rist of her father, Däjazmač Jote, located in Lafto Kortu of Qälläm awraja of the [province] of Wälläga, which is now under the Bétä Rist, by saying it would be for my pension, I respectfully notified the order given to the effect that the land be restored to Wäizäro Askaläč Jote as rist and let her pay tax [to the government].

If we ask the question what important historical truth can we glean from the above account? The answer is this one. The most important term in the above wording that helps us to answer the question we have posed here is እንዲለቀቅልኝ which literally means

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

[to be restored] or [vacated] to me. The fact that the Emperor accepted her claim in accordance with her application letter means that the *Bétä Rist* Office appropriated the lands of her ancestral through some sort of unjust mechanisms. That is why, on having realized the truth, the Emperor gave order to the effect that the land should revert to her, its legal inheritor.

In addition to what he acquired from *Däjač* Balča as we shall see after a while, *Ras* Täfäri also appropriated the lands of no less than 15, 000 retainers of *Fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis following the death of their master. Despite the fact that Habtä Giyorgis was a major stumbling block in the way of Täfäri to the throne, there was never an open confrontation between them. In 1927, *Däjač* Balča Safo presented an open challenge to the growing power of Täfäri because he resented the gradual decline and downfall of Empress Zäwditu from the political pavilion. As subsequent developments revealed, Balča was not a false prophet in this. Undeterred by his close relation with *Ras* Mäkonnen as the latter was his godparent,⁷⁸ first he was involved in a plot to assassinate the heir organized and led by *Bäjrond* Wubšät Hailé and *Aqa* Gäbru whose property was automatically confiscated following the failure of the intrigue. At this time, fortunately, Balča's property was not confiscated because his involvement was not discovered. Finally, he openly challenged Täfäri in 1926. Nonetheless, by some calculated political tricks, *Däjač* Balča's resistance was finally broken. For the heir, the defeat and subsequent detention of the hero was beyond a military and political victory. His defeat was crucial economically, too. Reflecting on this Bahru said: "Täfäri, too, must have

⁷⁸ *Addis Zämän*, Vol., 7, No. 21, Mäskäräm (September) 9, 1940 E.C.

coveted the coffee-rich province of Sidamo, which had become Balča's personal fief.”⁷⁹ Täfäri's economic exploits of the situation is also reflected in a conversation made between the two when *Däjač* Balča was detained. Answering to one of Täfäri's questions, Balča is said to have replied the following way: “ምን አደረግኩህ ምን በደልኩህ ያሉኝ ምን ቀርቶታል? ገንዘቤ ነው መሬቱ?”⁸⁰ The text, literally translated, could read: “Why do you say what wrong have I done to you? What part of mine is left for me? Is it my land or my money?” Beyond any shadow of doubt, the reaction of Balča at this point tells us that the heir confiscated the property of the hero. Be that as it may, one archival document tells us that in 1927 Balča bequeathed his *rist* and money to Täfäri. The document was written on November 10, 1942, and has ten articles. It has a very interesting entry which reads:

፲፱፻፳፯ ዓመተ ምህረት ደጃዝማች ባልቻ እርስታቸውንና ገንዘባቸውን ለግርማዊነታቸው ስለወረሱ እርሳራ የተሞላባቸው ግርማዊ ንጉስ ነገሥት ቀድሞ ውርስ ነበረኝ ለሚለው ለፊታውራሪ ይስማና ለደጃዝማች ባልቻ የወንድምና የእህት ልጆች የደጃዝማች ባልቻን ግማሽ ርስታቸውን ስለፈቀዱልን ከርስት ክፍል ሹም ከነጋድራስ ጥዑመ ልሳን ካሳና ከርስት ነገረ ፈጅ ካቶ ሰይፉ በነበሩ የተሰማግነበት ውል ከዚህ ቀጥሎ እንደተመለከተው ነው።⁸¹

Däjač Balča bequeathed his rist and money to His Majesty in 1927/'28., and that his Majesty the king of kings who is filled with kindness allowed us to keep half of Däjač Balča's rist to Fitawrari Yisma, who formerly claimed a will from Däjač Balča, and to Däjač Balča's nephews, the following is the agreement that we have entered into with Nägadras

⁷⁹Bahru, pp. 132-'33
⁸⁰Käbädä Täsäma, *Yä Tarik Mastawäša (Remembrance of History)* (Addis Ababa: 1962 E.C.), p. 74.
⁸¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቁ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 22.

Ti'umä Lisan Kasa, official of the Rist Department, and Ato Säifu Bänäbaru, counsel of the the Bétä Rist Office.

At this point one has to ask the authenticity of the evidence for we have some reasons to pose such a question. Firstly, given the unfriendly nature of their relation, Balča might not have bequeathed his property to Täfäri unless compelled to do so. Again, given Balča's fearless stand and time-tested career as hero of the Battle of Adwa, he might not even bequeath his property by force. Besides, informants strongly maintain that Balča did not bequeath his property to the heir. An informant told me that first his property was equally divided between Täfäri and *Fitawerari* Yisma. Moreover, sources tell us that there were civil cases between Täfäri and Balča's relatives most of whom his nephews. Latter Balča's relatives opened a civil case against *Fitawerari* Yisma which they won. And they took their share from *Fitawerari* Yisma while that of Täfäri's was kept intact.⁸²

In spite of my efforts, I have not discovered the will of Balča. The document about which we were talking about it is not consistent enough to attest that the bequest story as genuine. Because, apart from being told that Balča bequeathed his property to Täfäri, there is neither written nor human evidence to confirm an official will of Balča. Secondly, we are not clear about the author of the document. At the beginning we see that the document was authored by the *Bétä Rist* and after which we are told that it is written by Balča's relatives. Some sources also tell us that given his fame as a hero of the Battle of Adwa, public opinion on the confiscation of Balča's property by Täfäri was unpleasant. Because of this we see the Emperor establishing a hospital after Balča's name to which the money and property that he obtained was allegedly invested, namely Balča

⁸²Informant, *Ato Zägäyä Säifu*. See also *Addis Zämän*, Vol., 7, No. 21, Mäskäräm (September) 9, 1940 E.C.

Memorial Hospital.⁸³ From all this information we may say that the position that Balča bequeathed his property to Täfäri is highly debatable. Thus it would not be possible to accept the claim of bequeathal on the basis of the available documentation. The bare fact is, however, that Täfäri's inclusion in the division of the property of the hero is a clear reflection of abuse of power. Then, brushing fairness aside for a while, the property of Balča was shared between Täfäri and his relatives, included in the list is *Fitawrari* Yisma, about whom we do not have enough information as to whether he was Balča's relative or not. Because in the final article which reads: “ከ “ሀ” እስከ “ተ” የተጻፉትን የውል ቃሎች ወደን መዋዋላችን በፈርማችን እንመሰክራለን። ኃይለ ሥላሴ ይመታ።” The text, literally translated, could read: “We witness in our signatures that we have agreed by our free will the terms of the agreement mentioned from ‘A’ to ‘J.’ Let Haile Selassie die.” This is followed by fourteen signatures, two of these are that of the *Bétä Rist* officials, one that of *Fitawerari* Yisma, and the remaining twelve, Balča's nephews and relatives.

The next important question that needs to be raised is how much property did the Emperor get from the above division. In the document, we have eight articles in which property is stated. Out of these, it is only in four of the articles that the type, amount and location of property is clearly stated. In the remaining four, to which each group the property was given, the amount is not clearly stated. This places the agreement of the division under question mark with respect to fairness. In the clearly stated articles, for example, the Emperor took about 459 *gašas* of land located in Maräqo, Agämja, Sidamo, Woläné, and Sankura. Assuming that Balča's relatives including *Fitawerari* Yisma took equal shares, the divisional share for each would be a little more than 38 *gašas* of land.

⁸³ *Addis Zämän*, Vol., 7, No. 21, Mäskäräm (September) 9, 1940 E.C.

Remarkably, having no blood ties with Balča, the Emperor took the biggest proportion. This situation is, however, more vivid when we turn to the articles that do not spell out the amount of property given to the Emperor. The best example for this is the first article which says in Amharic: “ግብጽ እየሩሳሌምና እንግሊዝ ባንክ ያለውን ገንዘብና ሱቅ የደጃዝማች ባልቻ ቤተ ዘመዶች ላይፈልጉ ወደ ግርማዊነታቸው ሊሆን ነው።”⁸⁴ The text, literally translated, could read: “The relatives of *Däjač* Balča shall not seek the money deposited in the banks of Egypt, Jerusalem, and England, and the shops therein, but to be to his Imperial Majesty.” In this article, Balča’s relatives were spitefully prohibited from asking and from showing any intention of asking the money deposited in the banks the amount of which is (it seems intentionally done) not clearly stated. This is a clear indication that the Emperor used his power to silence information and to prohibit legal inheritors from asking their share. In the final analysis all these things place the plausibility of the document under a big question mark. Put differently, sometimes the *Bétä Rist* showed the tendency to give legal basis by its own right to the property that was taken over through unjust mechanisms.

Once again, on the basis of the above stated agreement, one of the lands given to Balča’s relatives, as indicated in article six, was located in Băčo Abébé;

በቾ አቤቤ የደጃች ባልቻ ርስት ነው ተብሎ በስምምነቱ ወደ ዘመዶቻቸው የሆነውን ጥንት የልዑል ራስ መኮንን ነበር በማለት እንደንፈላለገው ከአፈ ንጉስ ዘውዴ አየለ የመጣ ማስታወቂያ አባ ሐና አስተላልፈውልን ነበር እንዳንከታተለው የስምምነቱን መሰረት የሚነካ ሆነ ብለው ለግርማዊነታቸው ያመለከቱትን በቃል እንደሰሙት ከስምምነቱ ውስጥ ያለ ከሆነ እንደስምምነቱ እንዲረጋ መታዘዝዎን አስታውቃለሁ።”⁸⁵

⁸⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 22.

⁸⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 350, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 46. See also annexe 21.

A notice from Abba Hana was sent to us which he received from Afä Nigus [the Spokesman of the King] Zäwdé Ayälä to the effect that we would reclaim a land in Bäčo Abébé, which according to the agreement was given to the relatives of Balca, by saying the land was formerly that of Ras Mäkönnän. But, Abba Hana informed to his Majesty that it is impossible to reclaim the land because it goes against the basis of the agreement. So, if the land is included in the agreement, as you have heard in words, you are ordered to settle the matter in accordance with the agreement.

This means that the *Bétä Rist* made an attempt to confiscate this land under the pretext that it was formerly *Ras Mäkönnen's* land. However, it was not made effective as the *Bétä Rist* officials realized that it goes against the division agreement made between the Emperor and Balča's relatives. The above statement clearly tells us that had there not been the agreement, they would have opened a civil case so as to win the land.

Ras Gugsä Wolé was the next prey in this respect after whose death at the Battle of Ančim in 1930 Täfäri confiscated his lands that were located in the provinces of Wällo and Simén and Bägémdir. An appeal letter written to the Head Office, dated the 23rd of November, 1958 confirmed this situation as real. The area was in Wärrä Illu Jamma. A certain tenant by the name Ali Muhiyä complained that *Ras Gugsä* had evicted him from his land and made him his tenant. Unable to open a civil case with a powerful man (ባለጊዜ) like *Ras Gugsä*, Ali Muhiyä and others who were living on the land lost their *rist* and were reduced to the status of tenancy paying *irbo* to *Ras Gugsä*. A more pertinent point he stated on the confiscation of *Gugsä's* land by the Emperor reads: “ራስ ጉግሳ ወሌ በጥፋታቸው በተነቀሉ ጊዜ ለግርማዊነታቸው ቤተ ርስት ሆኖ የቤተ ርስት ሹምና ጠባቂ እንዲሆኑ ለቀኛማች ተገኘ

ቡስሪ ተሰጥተው...”⁸⁶ The text, literally translated, could read: “When *Ras* Gugsa Wolé was evicted as a result of his defiance, the land was given to the *Bétä Rist* of his Majesty and was given to *Qäññač* Tägäñ Busäri to be the *Bétä Rist Šum* (overseer).” The fall of *Ras* Gugsa was very tragic for he lost three things at a time- his power, property, and above all his precious life.

People who made unsuccessful attempt on the life of Täfäri were also victims of confiscation. According to a letter written, on October 4, 1925, to *Qäññač* Bäyänä Habtä Mariam, seven people (one woman and the rest men) who made an aborted attempt on the life of the heir were punished for treason. As a result, Empress Zäwditu gave the *rist*s and money of the plotters to the heir. For a better understanding of the plot and the measures taken against the plotters, I quote the full wording of the letter which reads as follows:

ወይዘሮ ፀሐዬወርቅ ፤ ደጃች ሳህሌ ፤ በጅሮንድ ውብሽት ፤ ኦቶ ደበጭ ፤ መሐመድ አባ ሻንቆ ፤ ለማ ደምስ ፤ ፊታውራሪ በላይ እነዚህ አገራችንን የሚያጠፋ ነገር ስለሰሩ በልዑል አልጋ ወራሽ ራስ ተፈሪም ላይ ክፉ ለመስራት ቆርጠው የመከሩ መሆናቸውን አምነው ስለተፈረደባቸው ለልዑል አልጋ ወራሽ ራስ ተፈሪ ንግስተ ነገስታት ዘውዲቱ ርስታቸውንም ተክየሃለሁ ገንዘባቸውንም ሰጥቻለሁ ብለዋቸዋልና ርስቱ በልዑል አልጋ ወራሽ ራስ ተፈሪ ስም እንዲዘወርላቸው ይሁን ብለዋል ብሎ ጸሐፊ ትዕዛዝ ወልደ መስቀል በማሕተሙ አስታውቆኛልና በንግስት ጉልት ሁሉ ያለውን ርስቱንም ገንዘቡንም ይኸን ማህተም ይዞ ለመጣ ሰው እንድታስረኩብና አዋጁም እንዲዘወርላቸው ይሁን።⁸⁷

⁸⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 22. As for the lands that *Ras* Täfäri confiscated from *Ras* Gugsa Wolé, see Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 4.

⁸⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 322.

For Wäizäro Şähayäwäraq, Däjač Sahlé, Bäjrond Wubšät, Ato Däboç, Mahammäd Abašanqo, Lämna Dämis, and Fitawrari Bälay have done something that would destroy our country and have admitted and judged that they have firmly plotted to do evil against the heir, Ras Täfäri, the Şähafi Ti'ezaz [Minister of the Pen] Wäldä Mäsqäl sent me a sealed letter that Empress Zäwditu gave their rist and money to the heir, Ras Täfäri, and instructed [me] that the rist be transferred after the name of the prince heir Ras Täfäri, instructing [me] surrender the rist and the money found in all the Empress's gult for the person who brings the letter and let ownership be transferred in his name.

Wäizäro Şähayäwäraq was the daughter of *Ras Dargé Sahlä Selassie*. She was rich but wayward, and was a friend of *Lij Iyyasu* and *Täsäma Ešäté*, two arch enemies of *Däjazmač Täfäri*.⁸⁸ According to *Käbädä Täsäma* her lineage is equal both to *Lij Iyyasu*, Empress *Zawditu*, and *Ras Tafari*. But she loved *Lij Iyyasu* more than the other two. *Mahammäd Abašanqo* was *aškär* (attendant) of *Lij iyyasu*. *Bäjrond Wubšät Hailé* on the other hand was a Minister in the Ministry of Public Works who is said to have involved in a similar plot before. Without mentioning the names of the other four people who plotted against the heir, *Käbädä* makes clear that the assassination intrigue was laid open on August 23, 1925. On September 19, 1925 the plotters were captured, brought to court and were sentenced to death. Later, the death sentence was commuted to confiscation and imprisonment.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Täklä Hawariat Täklä Mariam, *Autobiography* (Addis Ababa: 1998 E.C.), pp. 218, 246.

⁸⁹ *Käbädä*, pp. 67- 68.

Now let us consider properties that Täfäri acquired after he became King of Kings of Ethiopia in 1930. As was true of the previous era, the Emperor received sizeable amount of property through bequeathals from different strata of society. Moreover, substantial amounts of money were invested to enlarge his property through purchase.

Some people clearly spell out in detail the motives behind bequeathing property to the Emperor. A certain Abäbä Qiṭissa from Mändära, Limu and Qoté *qäbälés* of Jimma *awraja* gives us a very vivid account of what impelled him to bequeath his property to the Emperor in 1933:

.... እሳቸው [አባቱ] ቢሞቱበኝ ይህንኑ ቦታ አባ ጅፋር ወስዱበኝ ብዬ በ 1925 ዓ.ም ባመለከት ባልደረባ ክቡር ራስ ደስታን ሰጥተውኝ ለመነጋገር አቅም ባጣ ማደሪያ አገኛለሁ በማለት ለግርማዊነትዎ አውርሽ ቦታውም ተከልሎ ሲኖር ጠላት ገባ ። ቀድሞውንም ያወረሰኩት ከችግር ለመዳን ስለነበር...⁹⁰

When my father died, Abba Jiffar confiscated my land. When I appealed in 1925 E.C., [your Majesty] assigned His Excellency Ras Dästa to look into the affair. Having no power to negotiate, however, I bequeathed it to your Majesty in return for Madäria [land given in lieu of salary], and until the enemy [the Italians] entered Ethiopia, it was in good keeping. When I first bequeathed it, my purpose was to escape problems.....

As we can understand from the above quotation, his motive was securing *madäria* land because he could not maintain his *rist* by his own capacity. However, as it is clearly

⁹⁰ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 18, ቁ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7.

mentioned in the appeal letter, had he been able to maintain the land through litigation, he would not have bequeathed it to the Emperor.

Again in 1941, thirteen *balabats* in Jäju *wäräda* bequeathed 6, 407 *gašas* of land to Haile Selassie.⁹¹ Similarly, a *balabat* from Anfilo Dulé, Wälläga, bequeathed 53 *gašas* of land to the Emperor.⁹²

Abba Nämära was a *qalliča* (sorcerer or witch-doctor) from Jäju and Jäldé in Gudru, Wälläga. According to a will written on January 18, 1943, by *Abba Nämära* himself, he bequeathed all his land and property to the monarch. The property that the Emperor inherited from *Abba Nämära* deserves mention here for the following reasons. One is that, as indicated in the will, the Emperor is presented as the son of *Abba Nämära* for *Abba Nämära* said: “ውልድ ነው አንጅ ውርስ አደለም” which literally means the Emperor would inherit as a son, as his right. *Abba Nämära* begot four children. But in the documents we are told that only one of them, Maru, shared equally the property of his father with the Emperor. Again, in this same document, we read that *Abba Nämära*’s property was taken by some people while he begot an Emperor who had the power to protect his property from being plundered by powerful men, a situation that gives hint to the motive for giving away his property. *Abba Nämära* realized that his days were numbered and did not have much confidence in the capacity of his son to retain the property unless he was protected by someone like the Emperor who could render the necessary protection if in case he was threatened by someone else. As subsequent developments revealed, the *qalliča*’s prediction was correct. After his death, the local *balabats* and the judges of the

⁹¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 30.

⁹²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 207, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 3.

area plundered 50 cattle from his son, Maru. Regarding the loot and his frustration for the future, Maru said: “ባላባቱና ያገሩ ዳኛ እያስፈራሩ ኃምሳ የቀንድ ከብት እንደወሰዱት ሳይከፈል የቀሩ አሉ ። ለወደፊቱም ባላባትና ዳኞቹ ያገላሉኛል ጠባቂ ያድርጉልኝ እያልኩ ያለርስዎ ተስፋ የሌለኝ ባሯዎ ከረገጡት መሬት ወድቄ እስማለሁ።”

The local balabats and judges looted fifty cattle through the threat of force. In the future, they will abuse me unless you give me a protector. [I am] your bondservant whose hope is in you, I fall on the ground and kissed the ground on which you tread.

The *Bétā Rist* Office on its part made attempts to render the much sought protection to Maru. A letter written on April 11, 1944, to *Girazmač Seyium Täsäma*, the *Šum*, reflects the situation very clearly: “ያባ ነመራ ልጅ በውስጣችን ተጠብቆ እንዲኖር ወግ እቃ አቅርቦ ለግርማዊ ጃንሆይ ስላስታወቀ እንደጥንቱ ባውራሽነት እንዲኖር ተፈቅዶለታልና በድርሻው እርስት አገረ ገዥ እንዳይነካው በውስጥዎ እንዲጠበቅ ይሁን።”⁹³

For the son of Abba Nämära notified the death of his father by presenting Yä Wog Iqa to His Imperial Majesty so as to be protected and live under us, he is allowed, as is in previous times, to live as a person who bequeathes and make sure his divisional would be protected and instruct local governors not touch him in your administration.

As clearly stated in the will, the property was to be divided equally between the Emperor and Maru. According to the divisional share of the Emperor prepared by Maru and received by *Lij Inqu Selassé Wäldä Yohannis*, properties that came under the

⁹³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 18, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 8. See also Folder No. 0, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No. 2088.

administration of the *Bétä Rist* Office included Eth. 3, 767 birr, 52 Italian Lire, 1, 047 large seized *brillés* (flasks) used for drinking mead, 247 cattle, 4 donkeys, 1 mule and 9 *gašas* of land located in Gudru and Awaḵo. A very interesting point to note in this connection is that we see *Lij Inqu Selassé Wäldä Yohannis* serving the Emperor on behalf of the *Bétä Rist*, an indication of strong attachment of his family to the Emperor, as such things were also continued later with his sons. Equally important, influential men who were loyal servants of the Emperor were *Däjazmaač Gäräsu Duki* and *Däjazmaač* (later *Ras*) *Mäsfin Siläši*. This sudden reference to the three people seems to be out of place in this context. Yet, as we shall see in the chapters to come, these people loyally served the Emperor in many ways.

We have also a similar story of bequest by “birth” in the Governorate General of Käffa. A certain *Wäizäro* by the name of *Géné Bohilu* bequeathed 8 *gašas* of land to the Emperor. In her letter of bequeathment she is said to have explained her motive the following way: “ስምንት ጋሻ መሬት ለግርማዊነትዎ ወልጃለሁ እኔ እስካለሁ ድረስ ይጠሩኝ ብለው ለግርማዊነታቸው ስላመለኩ...” which literally means she applied to his Imperial Majesty that she “gave birth” to eight *gašas* of land for his Imperial Majesty and as long as I live, the Emperor should provide for my pension as children were obliged to do to their parents.⁹⁴ The above bequest is not made freely as she sought to receive pension from the *Bétä Rist*.

From the above story we can understand that people who bequeathed their property to the Emperor use almost the same lexicon as regarding the reason for giving their property-escaping problems and to be taken care of in old age.

⁹⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 90, ቀ. ጌ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 1.

A similar but somehow different account for bequeathing *rist* and other property to the Emperor is found in the bequeathment of *Immät* Bälāynāš Bālihu. In a letter written in 1944, and addressed to *Nägadrās* Ti'umä Lisan Kasa, General Administrator of the Office at the time, the woman gives details on the type and amount of property to be given to the Emperor in return for securing money to be given consistently to her in the form of pension. According to this letter, Bälāynāš and her husband, *Ato* Kibrät Damṭé of *Gidim* and *Wadyat awraja*, lived together for about forty years. They were rich but barren and advanced in years. Writing on the kind of problem that their relatives brought upon them, Bälāynāš goes on to elaborate:

...ነገር ግን ሁለታችንም መኃን ስለሆንንና በርጅናም ምክኒያት ደካማ መሆናችንን የሁለታችንም ወገን ዘመዶች አይተው ኃብታችሁን አውርሱን ብለው ቢይዙን እምቢ ስላልናቸው ገንዘባችንንና ከብቶቻችንን በየምክኒያቱ እያደረጉ ያላግባብ በግድ ወሰዱብን ። በዚህ ላይ እንዳንቆም እንዳንቀመጥ አድርገው አስቸግረው አስጠብበው ከናካቴውም እኔንና የህግ ባሌን በግድ አለያዩን ። እኔም አቡን ይፍቱኝ ብዬ ሰማኒያዬን ሳላስወርድ ተቀምጬለሁ። ... አሁንም እኔና ባሌ ያለንን ሁሉ ለጃንሆይ አውርሳናል ማለታችን እግርማዊነታቸው ጥላ ስር ሆነን የሚነካን ጠላት የለብንም በማለት ተመክተን ነውና ለልብሳችንም ለጉርሳችንም ደግሞም ማንም እንዳያጠቃን ስለግርማዊ የሚጠብቀን ከዚያው አገር ነባር ሹም ይደረግልን ስል በትህትና እለምናለሁ።⁹⁵

Since we are both barren and infirm due to old age, our relatives asked us to bequeath to them our property; but we refused to do so. As a result, they took our money and slaughtered our cattle on all kinds of excuses illegally [and] by force. Besides, they gave us no peace by continuously harassed us and finally they even separated me from my husband. But, I retain my marriage. And now the reason for us to say we have bequeathed

⁹⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 18, ቁ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 33.

all our property to Janhoy [Haile Selassie] is that we are very proud that we are under the umbrella of His Majesty and that no enemy could touch us. Therefore, I beg Your Majesty to assign a Šum from that very area who would protect us and who would provide us the means for our survival.

Hence the reason for giving their property is that they sought protection from the rapacity of powerful men, mostly relatives. Through the process, however, she also sought to restore her marriage.

Haile selassie also inherited land from his wife, Empress Männän. A letter of order written on December 29, 1948 from Manan's *Indärasé* to *Mämré* Yifru Yisma tells us that in Boké, Çärçär *awraja* of the province of Harärgé, land, the extent of which is not clearly stated, was given from the Empress to the Emperor. The Empress inherited the land from *Ras Mäkonnen*. The statement that asserted the above inheritance reads: “በጨርጨር አውራጃ በኪ ቀድሞ ልዑል ራስ መኮንን የወረሱትንና በኋላም በተለይ ግርማዊት እቴጌ የወረሱትን እርሰት ጉልት ለግርማዊ ጃንሆይ ቤተ ርስት እንዲያስረክቡ ግርማዊት እቴጌ ስለአዘዙ እንደትዕዛዙ እንዲፈጽሙ ይሁን።”⁹⁶

Her Imperial Majesty has ordered the rist gult in Boké, Çärçär awraja, which Ras Mäkonnen formerly inherited and latter bequeathed especially to Her Imperial Majesty, to be consigned to the Bétä Rist of His Imperial Majesty, [you are asked] to implement as ordered.

Though information from whom *Ras Mäkonnen* inherited the land is lacking of, and the story of a wife giving land to her husband while both are alive and well seems strange,

⁹⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 10, letter No., 1305/?

the fact remains that the Empress gave land to her husband. But *Ras* Mäkonnen might have inherited the land from local *balabats*. In those days, as I showed above, inheriting lands from local *balabats* was a common practice. The gift is interesting in the discussion of private property in that there was even a clear line drawn between the property of the Emperor and that of his wife, a situation that gives us an opportunity to recall the inner workings of the office of the *aläqenät* among 18th century ruling families of Gondär. It is also an important mark that shows the continuities and the changes which unfolded in the history of royal private property.

The lands and the property that Haile Selassie inherited from women were significant. *Wäizäro* Tisämé Abayirga was a member of an aristocratic family through marriage to *Däjazmač* Biru Hailä Mariam. The inheritance was formal in that the woman gave her property by appearing at the Ministry of Interior, *Rist* and Contract Department, on October 10, 1960. The land and the property were found both in rural and urban areas. Most of the lands were found in the provinces of Käffa and Šäwa and measured 49 *gašas*. In confirmation of her gift to the Emperor, Tisämé said: “በተደላደለ አምሮዬና በፈቃዴ ወድጄ ሰጥቻለሁ”⁹⁷ The text, literally translated, could read: “I gave this land consciously, and with no one forcing me to do so.” In return for this gift, beginning from June 14, 1962, the Emperor allowed her to receive Eth. 300 birr in the form of pension until the end of August 1965, the time when *Wäizäro* Tisämé passed away.⁹⁸

In an application letter addressed to His Imperial Majesty, *Ato* Gurmissa Boru informs us of his career as one who served the government of Haile Selassie I from the period of his

⁹⁷We can get the full account of the contract of the gift in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቁ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 10. See also annexes 10 and 11.

⁹⁸The order came through the Ministry of the Pen on July 14, 1961, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቁ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7.

youth to old age as *Sānadir Yaž* (a member of a regiment armed with Snider rifles). And on the reason for bequeathing his land and property located in Munésa *warada* of the province of Arsi, he said: “በሐብቴ የገዛሁትን ኩርማን መሬትና ሃያ አራት የቀንድ ከብት ከነጥጆቻቸው እኔ ጥዋሪ የሌለኝ ስለሆንሁ በከብቴም በመሬቴም ተባይ ስለበዛብኝ ግርማዊነትዎ ወርሰው እንዲጠሩኝ ስል ከወርቃዊ ዙፋንዎ ስር ወድቄ አለምናለሁ።”⁹⁹

Because I have no one to take care of me, and there are many “parasites” on my land and cattle, I beg your Majesty, fallen under your golden throne, to bequeath my land that measures a fourth of a gaša and twenty four cattle together with their calves so that I would receive pension from Your Majesty.

Possibly, the parasites in the above letter refer to rapacious powerful men and thieves.

As noted earlier, the *Bétä Rist* Office significantly acquired property through purchase, among others, from three entities- the Custodian of Enemy Property, State Domain, and from individuals.

Following the withdrawal of the Italians from Ethiopia, an office called the Custodian of Enemy Property of the Ethiopian Imperial Government was established. Its main purpose was to look after properties left behind by the enemy, as the name itself implied, and sell them out to interested individuals. Accordingly, it issued a series of notices published both in the *Nägarét Gazéṭa* and in the newspaper *Addis Zämän*.

The properties announced on the sale were largely houses of different kinds, different companies, stores, grain mills, shops, electric bakery, workshops, health centres,

⁹⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 14.

churches, schools, offices, and bars. Most of the properties were found in the city of Addis Ababa. There were also properties in some provincial towns. In Addis Ababa, the properties were located, among others, in Sänga Tära, Colson Avenue, near Lidäta Maryam Church, Mäsfinä Harär Avenue, Gulällé, Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Mänän Avenue, Field Marshal Smut Avenue, in the Patriots Avenue, *Däjazmač* Balča Säfar, Aqaqi (Géja), Arada, near Maičew Square, Empress Taitu Avenue, near Fil Wuha, *Ras* Täsäma Avenue, Churchill Avenue, and in Ura'el. The properties that were announced to be sold in open tender in the Newspaper *Addis Zämän* in 1946 were estimated at Eth. 7, 766, 511 birr and 62 cents.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, the *Bétä Rist* Office wasted no time to actively competing in the open tender.

One of the main properties that the Emperor bought from the Custodian Office is *Palazzo Reiter*, so named after its Italian owners named Fratelli Reiter (Reiter Brothers). The Custodian Office handed over the building to the *Bétä Rist* Office on October 3, 1952. This modern building which spread over 4, 320 square meters of land and estimated to be Eth. 321, 042 birr, is by far one of the best legacies of the colonial presence in Addis Ababa.¹⁰¹ The building, which still gracefully stands facing the Ethiopian National Theatre (to its west) in Churchill Avenue, then called Adwa Square, adjacent to Ethiopia Hotel, is now one of the major commercial hubs of the city of Addis Ababa. Unfortunately, the current government is going to demolish it soon.

¹⁰⁰*Nägarét Gazéta*, 13th Year, Säné (June) 21, 1936 E.C, *Addis Zämän*, September 13, 1937 E.C. Also in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No. 340, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos. 57 and 58. See also annexe 20.

¹⁰¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 48.



Figure 1: The Still Standing Palazzo Reiter Building (Photograph by the researcher)

Again, *Ato* Hailé Golmamé, General Administrator of the *Bétä Rist* Office from 1946 to 1949 bought, on behalf of the *Bétä Rist*, a vehicle from the Custodian of Enemy Property. This Fiat automobile was bought at Eth. 5, 001birr on August 11, 1948. The vehicle was first the property of an Italian named Rorritti Dominicco.¹⁰²

Cerealia Foods, located in the town of Bäsäqa (currently called Qaliti) was a food processing small scale plant established by an Italian named Colonal Pe. On May 8, 1948 the Custodian of Enemy Property of the Imperial Ethiopian Government sold it for Cerelia Share Company for Eth. 604, 210 birr and fifteen cents. The Emperor and other members of the royal family were the major share holders.¹⁰³

¹⁰²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 358, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2. See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 220, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 2 and 4.

¹⁰³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 5. The *Bétä Rist* Office held 1, 617 shares in Cerealia Foods, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 21.

The Emperor also bought above 1, 846, 008 square metres of land located in Sidest Killo, Cunningham Avenue, Gulällé Rufa'el, Adwa Square near the Ethiopian National Theatre, Little Aqaqi, Lidäta, and Gulällé Gäfärsa in Addis Ababa and also in Djibouti. These lands and houses were bought from individuals, the Municipality of Addis Ababa, Custodian of Enemy Property, aristocrats, and from Armenians who lived in Ethiopia. Out of these, the lands that the *Bétä Rist* bought in Little Aqaqi near Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital, now Tor Hailoç Hospital, and lands located in Gulällé deserve particular mention here for two reasons- roots of the property and its vastness. If we look at the one located near Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital, the land measured 401, 400 square metres and it was bought in 1950 from *Wäizäro* Asägädäč Käbädä which she inherited from her father, *Däjazmač* Käbädä Täsäma, son of *Ras* Täsäma Nadäw, and from the inheritors of *Fitawrari* Burayu. His wife, *Wäizäro* Ayäläč Wäldä Misqäl sold the land before 1947, but *Ayäläč* was not satisfied with the revenue that she got, complaining of the *Bétä Rist* Office and the British soldiers of selling the tree in violation of the agreement.¹⁰⁴ This indicates, to some measure, that there was power abuse on the part of the *Bétä Rist*.

In Gäfärsa *qäbbälé* of Gulällé *wäräda*, the Emperor bought 1, 380, 728 square metres of land from *Ato* Hailu Yaqob. An informant told me that Hagop (Yaqob) Baghdassarian, an Armenian and father of Musé Hailu, came to Ethiopia in the last decade of the 19th century. First he lived in the town of Harär with *Ras* Mäkönnän until he gained favour

¹⁰⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File Nos., 8, and 11. See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, *ፆ. ጌ. ሴ. ቤ.*, File No., 35.

with Emperor Menelik II as one of the best goldsmiths of the imperial palace.¹⁰⁵ For his service, he was given more than two million square meters of land in Gulällé *wäräda* in lieu of salary. In the 1940s, Musé Yaqob gave this land to his two children- Arminak Yaqob and Armazit Yaqob also called Hailu Yaqob. On March 29, 1956, the *Bétä Rist* Office bought the divisional share of Musé Hailu which measured 1, 380, 728 square meters at Eth. 180, 000 birr, an account which the *Bétä Rist* settled between March 29, 1956 and June 15, 1958.¹⁰⁶

The swearing of people after the names of monarchs as a confirmation of sale agreements had a long history in Ethiopia. But, the tradition seems to have reached its climax in the times of Haile Selassie. On January 2, 1946, for example, the *Bétä Rist* Office bought four houses at Eth. 2, 000 birr from three individuals in Addis Ababa. What was reflected in the above sale agreement is a typical portrayal of that attitude which is concluded as in the following: “ፍርሻም የለን ኃይለ ስላሴ ደመታ።”¹⁰⁷ The text, literally translated, could read: “Let Haile Selassie [die]; we will not abrogate our agreement.”

On August 18, 1943, the Emperor also bought land in Addis Ababa that measured 4, 567 square meters located along Weatherall Avenue in Afinčo Bär at Eth. 700 birr. This sale agreement was effected by the Municipal Office of Addis Ababa.¹⁰⁸ Again according to a letter written on the 10th of September, 1961 by *Wäizäro* Laqäč Wäldä Arägay, she sold

¹⁰⁵Nalvandian Vertiks, Chairman of the Armenian Community in Ethiopia. For the full information regarding the land purchase contract, see annexes 17, 18 and and 19.

¹⁰⁶For the full information about the sale contract see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 1 and annexes 17 and 18. See also in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 16.

¹⁰⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 88, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 36.

¹⁰⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 30.

land located in front of the Gännätä Le'ul Palace in Afinčo Bär to *Nägadras* Birhanä Selassé Abayäre, General Administrator of the *Bétä Rist* Office, at Eth. 5, 000 birr.¹⁰⁹

Again, in Goba *qäbälé* of the province of Bale, the *Bétä Rist* bought 200 *gašas* of land from *Fitawraré* Gäbrä Selassé Çaké. But details on the price and date of the sale agreement are not available.¹¹⁰

The other institution from which the Emperor bought land and other property was State Domain. For example, on November 8, 1955, he bought 30 *gašas* of uncultivated land located in Aqnéča *qäbälé* of Çäna *wäräda*, Käffa *awraja* of the Governorate General of Käffa at Eth. 900 birr, each *gaša* at Eth. 30 birr. The selection of the lands is impressive in that it was naturally rich in coffee, cardamom (*Elettaria Cardamomum*), useful trees and was drained and surrounded by a big River called Wäš. According to a report written in 1954, perhaps by the *Šum* (overseer), to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, the benefit obtained from the natural forest was abundant.¹¹¹

A letter written on January 8, 1957 by the Ministry of Finance to the Treasury Office of the province of Harärgé also tells us that the Emperor bought 50 *gašas* of land located in Adal and Issa Gara Gurača *awraja* adjacent to Rogdaya hill down from Bäké Station. Information is lacking on the amount of money fixed by the Ministry of Finance, but the land was consigned to the *Bétä Rist* on December 11, 1956.¹¹² Another letter, written on August 28, 1953, from the *Bétä Rist* Head Office to *Däjazmač* Gäräsu Dukié, the Governor of the province of Illubabur tells us that the Emperor bought 360 *gašas* of good

¹⁰⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, *ፌ. ፊ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 14.

¹¹⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, *ፌ. ፊ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 20.

¹¹¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, *ፌ. ፊ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 11.

¹¹²Archives of the Ministry of Finance; File No., 29. I got this information mixed with the archives of the *Bétä Rist* Office of the Emperor.

coffee land from State Domain. In this letter Gäräsu was “kindly ordered” to spy on, and follow up secretly, the activities of overseers whom the Head Office blamed for having collected very small amount of income from the area entrusted to them.¹¹³

Last but not least the Emperor bought many shares in the several small scale food, beer, softdrinks and implements processing industries that were established in the country before and after the period of occupation. One archival document, for example, tells us that the Emperor was a major share holder in the St. George brewery factory. According to this document, the *Bétä Rist* Office asked dividend for the years before the period of Italian occupation, and claimed priority to buy it from the Custodian of Enemy Property after the period of occupation was over.¹¹⁴

Property was also obtained through unjust mechanisms. In what could be assumed as confiscation, sometimes we see the *Bétä Rist* Office taking land illegally. On March 11, 1961, for example, the Ministry of Interior passed an order to Yärär and Käräyu *awraja* to the effect that land in Wonji that measured 39 *gašas*, which was the land of pastoralists, had to be surrendered to the *Bétä Rist* Office. As a substitute, the pastoralists were given 100 *gašas* of land from the *Bétä Rist* land located in Çäka. The person who was sent to the area for the execution of the order was *Ato* Tadäsä Abitäw, Counsel to the *Bétä Rist*.¹¹⁵ If we simply judge from the amount of land given to the pastoralists as a substitute, we might say that the pastoralists profited for they were given 61 extra *gašas* of land from their original holdings. However, the activity of the *Bétä Rist* Office was unjust at least for the following reasons. One is that the pastoralists were not

¹¹³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 5.

¹¹⁴The *Bétä Rist* Office invested 50, 000 frank in the St. George Brewery. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 350, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 27.

¹¹⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 38.

given room to bargain over the exchange of land. Secondly, we have no information on the potential of the area that was given as a substitute to the pastoralists in terms of the availability of water and enough pasture for their cattle. And thirdly, it is highly debatable that the *Bétä Rist* Office might not have given such inflated amount of extra land to the pastoralists unless the potential of the land must have far exceeded the entire land combined together.

In the province of Tigray at a place called Mähoné Qorbäta, Raya and Azäbo *awraja*, Haile Selassie owned 20 *gašas* of land in thirteen places. But an appeal letter written on October 26, 1951, to the *awraja* indicated that the *Bétä Rist Šum* threatened a *rist* holder of eviction under the pretext that the land was chosen for the *Bétä Rist*. Nevertheless, as a counter attack to the actions of the *Šum*, the *rist* holder reserved himself from blaming the Emperor when he said: “ግርማዊ ንጉሥ ነገሰታችን እንኳንስ ያንድ አገልጋያቸውን ርስት ሊወስዱ ቀርቶ ከቶውንም አክለው ይሰጣሉ”¹¹⁶ The text, literally translated, could read: “Let alone appropriating the *rist* of his bond servant, our Majesty, the king of kings, would generously give extra *rist*.” While the *rist* holder’s comment on the character of the Emperor as generous land grantor is correct in some ways, the Emperor might or might not have given an order of eviction, but the fact remains that the *Šum* threatened the *rist* holder of eviction probably enticed by his superior. In one way or another such a move does not imply a proper and legal way of obtaining property.

In the province of Gämu Gofa the Office bought 20 *gašas* of land from State Domain. The land was received, on behalf of the *Bétä Rist*, by General Asfaw Wäldä Giyorgis. General Asfaw was also given Eth. 10, 000 birr to develop the land. But the tenants of

¹¹⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2088.

Wog Hamär and Mäskéto regarded the actions of the General as eviction because they claimed that the land was their own holding for the last 30 years which they had developed by clearing the forest. *Abunä Sawiros* who met the tenants of the government weeping informed the situation to the Ministry of the Pen on behalf of the tenants as they were unable to go to Addis and appeal by themselves.¹¹⁷ Thanks to the timely intervention of the archbishop, their lands were restored to the tenants. But the activities of General Asfaw could be assumed to be a very detrimental move intended to evict the tenants from their land without the knowledge of the Emperor. In this particular situation blaming the *Bétä Rist* Office or the Emperor is improper. The problem was virtually created by General Asfaw who presumably sought the Emperor's favour. Had it not been for the timely intervention of the archbishop, the tenants would have lost their land through eviction.

Again, in 1959, the Head Office was asked by the Ministry of Mines and State Domains to settle Eth. 21, 723 birr and fifteen cents, an amount that the Ministry fixed for the property it sold to the Emperor in 1948. Out of this, only Eth. 6,000 birr was paid. But after 11 years lapsed since the original purchase was made, the *Bétä Rist* responded that it did not need the property and asked the Ministry to take the property back. But, in the transfer document, the Ministry discovered that some important items were missing from the original list. Besides, the *Bétä Rist* Office took the land where the property was kept. As these were not enough, in 1962, the Emperor gave the land to a certain Näsib Mahammad.¹¹⁸ In this case it would not be improper to level the *Bétä Rist* as an Office that took property illegally. We have at least three reasons to contend this way. One is

¹¹⁷ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 1.

¹¹⁸ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 5, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 1.

that it withheld government property for eleven years without settling the full payment. Secondly, important items were missing from the original document. And thirdly, for unknown reasons, the Emperor gave the land, not the property found thereon indeed, to the hajji without the consent of the Ministry of Mines and State Domains.

Another interesting portrayal of the *Bétä Rist* Office as an institution that took, if not loot, property illegally is reflected in a letter written from the Ministry of Finance to the Head Office on March 12, 1952. The properties that the Emperor took from the Custodian of Enemy Property without paying the amount fixed were tractors. This is a rather very complicated matter because the Custodian of Enemy Property, as noted earlier, made it clear in the several notices issued in *Addis Zāmān* that property would be transferred from the office to buyers after fulfilling the stipulated agreements and above all after individuals who took part in the open tender dully paid the price fixed for the property. How and why the *Bétä Rist* Office took the property as opposed to the provisions of the sale is difficult to explain. Again, it would be very careless to ask the Office to hand over the properties back for one cannot be sure of the proper return of the properties without the properties being first given to the Office through a formal transfer document and after many years the properties being kept in the hands of the *Bétä Rist* Office. As I tried to explain in a similar case above, the Custodian Office could not be certain on the proper return of the properties taken without following the stipulated procedures. This paradox on the part of the Custodian Office clearly demonstrates that it failed to follow the procedures it first set, a clear indication of the Emperor's power to manipulate developments to his advantages. In addition to this, its refusal to turn the properties to the Ministry of Agriculture is reflected in the several letters that the Ministry of Finance

wrote to the Head Office. When it turned deaf ears, the Ministry of Finance desperately wrote warnings on its decision to take legal measures unless the properties were turned back willingly. To make things worse, in response to such letters, on April 5, 1953, the Head Office wrote to the Ministry of Finance that it did not take the said tractors. From 1948 to 1961, the tractors were not returned to the Ministry of Agriculture. At this time, the tasks of the Custodian of Enemy Property were entrusted to the Ministry of Mines and State Domains.¹¹⁹

Two of the major causes of peasant rebellion in Ethiopia during the Imperial period were government land alienation and land measurement. The same principle was applied to take extra lands by the *Bétä Rist*. Here are some examples. An appeal letter of tenants from Ṭora Šalamé *qābälé*, Lanfiro *Mikitil wäräda*, Silté *wäräda* of Haiqoč and Butajjira *awraja*, written to the province of Šäwa, dated July 1, 1972, is very informative in this regard in that the *Bétä Rist* Office measured their lands on its own in their absence in order to take extra lands. The tenants resented this move as dangerous for their existence because, as they made clear, the land was even insufficient for them without a portion of it being taken by someone else. For a better understanding of this situation, it would be worthwhile to quote directly what the tenants wrote in the last paragraph of the appeal letter:

አሁን የቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት በገዛ ፈቃዳቸው እኛ በሌለንበት የዘር ርስታችን ቀላድ ለኩብን ። አሁን የምናመለክተው ርስቱ የቤተ ርስት አለመሆኑ ማስረጃ አለን ። ለዚሁም የግብር ርስታችን ውስጥ ባለሙብት ይመስል መለካት አይገባቸውም ነበር ። እኛም ባለርስቶቹ መገኘት ነበረብን ። አሁንም ትርፍ ቢወጣ ከልጅ ልጅ ጋር ብዙ ጭሰኞች ስለሆንን አይበቃምና የቀዳማዊ

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት ትርፍ ቢገኝ እንዳይወስድብን የዘር ርስታችን እንዳይነካብን ያደርጉልን ዘንድ ከታላቅ ስልጣንዎ ስር ወድቀን እንለምናለን።¹²⁰

The Bétä Rist Office of Emperor Haile Selassie measured, at its will, our ancestral rist, in our absence. Now we apply that we have evidence that the rist is not that of the Bétä Rist for they should not measure our rist for which we pay tax as if they have the right to do so. Besides, it has to be measured in our presence. And now we pray, fallen beneath your great power, that even if there is extra land, let the Bétä Rist Office of Emperor Haile Selassie never take it for it is not even sufficient for us as we are many tenants together with our sons and grandsons.

Another interesting example is one that we have in the province of Arsi. In 1960 in an attempt to collect revenue, the overseer of Ṭiyo *wäräda* faced a serious problem from a certain Hamda Buta and from his relatives. The *balabat* and his relatives fomented rebellion against the *Šum* and made attempts to ambush him. The cause of this rebellion was land measurement. The *Bétä Rist* measured the land of *Balambaras* Hamda Buta and took 141 *gašas* of extra land. According to the appeal letter of the *Šum* written to the *wäräda* governor, the men of Hamda Buta refused paying *irbo*. As these were not enough, they enticed others to refuse paying *irbo*, and their children made attempts to ambush the *Šum* when he went back to the town of Moyé from which he narrowly escaped.¹²¹

¹²⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 29.

¹²¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 315, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 20.

Infact, land measurement with the hope of taking extra lands was the usual trick in those days. But, basically an extra land obtained after a certain *balabat's* or other people's lands were measured should be reverted to the state, and not to the monarch. Besides, the *Bétä Rist* Office exercised no authority to measure lands, a power that was exclusively reserved to the government. Therefore, it is because of the violation, by the *Bétä Rist* Office, of such basic prerogatives of the state that we say the activities of the Office in the above two cases were unjust.

Haile Selassie also acquired property through Imperial Order. In the period under study, royal land grant for elites, civil-servants, military and police officers, members of the royal family, and social and religious institutions was a common practice. During the post-liberation period such grants of government lands were made first by the Ministry of Interior and, after 1966, by the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration. Besides, the Emperor made special grants which were implemented through the Ministry of the Pen.¹²² One of the beneficiaries of such land grants was the monarch himself. The fact that grants of government lands were regulated through a series of special orders and pronouncements by the government means that the Emperor granted lands for himself through the Ministry of the Pen.

For example, on August 13, 1951, the Ministry of Interior wrote a special order to Le'ul *Ras* Siyum Mängäša, the Governor of the province of Tigray, to the effect that 40 *gašas* of government land of first class fertility in Qorbäta, Qobo, Alamaṭa, Dayu, and Waja

¹²²John M. Cohen, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution* (The Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Comp.Biv-Assen, 1975), pp. 59-61.

wärādas was to be selected and given to the *Bétä Rist* Office. The letter of order partially reads:

የቆርባው 20 ጋሻ መሬትና ደግሞ በቆቦ ወረዳ ወይንም ከአላማጣ ከዳዩና ከዋጃ 20 ጋሻ መሬት መንግስት ከሚያዝበት ለም ከሆነው ተመርጦ እንዲነሳና በድምሩ 40 ጋሻ መሬት በግርማዊነታቸው ቤተ ርስት ስም ሆኖ አጋፋሪ ተስፋይ ካህሳይ ተረክበው እንዲጠብቁ መታዘዙን እዩገለጸሁ በትእዛዙ መሰረት መረከባቸውንም በጽሁፍ እንዲገልጹልን አስታውቃለሁ።¹²³

This is to bring to your attention that in addition to the 20 gašas of land located in Qorbäta, order has been given to select additional 20 gašas of highly rated government lands either from Qobo wäräda or from Dayu, Waja, and Alamaṭa wärādas, together 40 gašas, in the name of the Bétä Rist of His Majesty to be handed over to Agafari Täsfay Kahsay, the overseer. This is also to notify that let the overseer make known to us whether he receives these lands according to the order or not.

Again, according to a land transfer document prepared on June 27, 1953, *Däjazmač* Tafärä Täsäma, the governor of Raya and Azäbo *awraja*, was ordered from the Ministry of the Pen and again directly from the Head Office to give government land that measured 20-30 *gašas* of uncultivated forest land located in Qobo *wäräda* to *Qäññazmač* Mogäsé Ali, the overseer. Accordingly, on June 27, 1953, a total of 25 *gašas* of uncultivated forest land located between the rivers Golina and Hormat was given to Mogäsé.¹²⁴ By the same token, a letter of order from the Ministry of the Pen, written on October 28, 1961, ordered *Fitawrari* Hailé Mikael Zäwdé, Vice Minister in the Ministry

¹²³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, File No., 2088.

¹²⁴For details on the wording of the transfer of the land, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 18.

of Mines and State Domains, to hand over government land in Mälka Säde, a place located 24 kilometers away from Awaš railway station, to Birhanä Selassé Abayaré. This land which is estimated to measure 30 *gašas* is located between the Rivers Kässäm (one major tributary of Awaš River), Qäbäna (another tributary), and Awaš River. On this land is found the Alsoba *qäbälé* bounded by the rivers Kässäm and Qäbäna. On March 26, 1962, the land was handed over to Näbiyé Le’ul Kiflé, Vice Commissioner for Civil Servants’ Administration.¹²⁵

Special orders were also given by the Ministry of Finance. In 1955, Méta Abo Vegetables Farm which formerly was administered by the Ministry of the Palace (*Gibi Ministér*) was given from the Ministry of Mines and State Domains to the *Bétä Rist* Office of the Emperor.¹²⁶ According to Shiferaw Bekele, such kind of move towards permanent and absolute ownership of lands of *madäria* and *yä-mängist märet* (government land) can be referred to as *restization*.¹²⁷

Another useful instrument through which the Emperor acquired property was litigation. Unfortunately, information about the legal processes in the courts is lacking. But, that litigation as one important way of acquiring property is reflected in the archives very clearly. For example, as we have discussed earlier, from the application letters of the children of *Agafari* Seifu Bänäbäru, one of the earliest counsels of the Office, to the Emperor, we learn that above 300 *gašas* of land in Haiqoç and Buta Jira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa was brought under the administration of the *Bétä Rist* through litigation. The children made it clear that their father was killed in 1948 when he went to

¹²⁵ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Shiferaw, p. 110.

the area to receive the land, by the losers of the litigation. The land was used by people, whose names are not indicated, in *Ijä Mänañña*.¹²⁸ The truth of this story is revealed from the several urban land grants that the children of the deceased counsel received from the Emperor. One of these special orders written to this effect from the Ministry of the Pen reads:

ወይዘሮ አስቴር ሰይፉ አባታቸው በቤተ ርስት ነገረ ፈጅ ሆነው ሲያገለግሉ መቆየታቸውንና ማረቆ የሚገኘውን ርስት ጉልት በጀ መኖሩ ይዘው የነበሩትን ሰዎች ከሰው በፍርድ በማስለቀቃቸው በዚህ ቁም አባቴን ደብድበው ስለገደሏቸው ስለአባቴ አገልግሎት ቦታ ይሰጠኝ ሲሉ መጋቢት ፲፩/፲፮ ዓ ም በልፍኝ አስከልካይ በኩል ቀርበው ስላመለከቱ ልዕልት ፀሐይ ሆስፒታል አጠገብ ለሰው እየተሰጠ ከተረፈው ቦታ ላይ 400 (አራት መቶ) ሜትር ካሬ ቦታ በርስትነት እንዲሰጣቸው መፈቀዱን አስታውቃለሁ።¹²⁹

Wäizäro Aster Säifu applied, on March 11, 1956 E. C., through the office of the Chamberlin, for land to be given for her, stating the service that her father Agafari Seifu Bänäbäru has rendered to the Bétä Rist Office as counsel and he succeeded in getting back the rist gult located in Maräqo which had been taken over by people in Ijä Mänañña through litigation, and that, because of this, he was beaten to death by the people, I hereby inform you that 400 square metres of land is endorsed for her as rist from the leftover land near Princess Şähay Hopital which has been given to people.

¹²⁸Dästa Täklä Wäld, *Addis Yä Amarinñña Mäzäbä Qalat* (New Amharic Dictionary) (Addis Ababa: 1962 E.C.), p. 84.

¹²⁹By similar orders, the Ministry of the Pen granted lands to 6 of his children – Zägäyā, Girma, Tayä, Adanäč, Bizunäš, and Nigatua Säifu. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 28, ቁ. ጎ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. Informant: Ato Zägäyā Säifu. See also annexes 40, 48 and 49.

Besides, one of his children, Zägäyā Säifu, was employed as a clerk in the Head Office as a reward.

Another case is that, in the 1930s E.C., *Girazmač* Mihraté Tirfé, the overseer of the property of the Emperor in the province of Käffa, won 80 *gašas* of land located in Määd Wuta after two years of litigation.¹³⁰

Moreover, a very interesting appeal letter written on March 12, 1975, by Tadäsä Wondimu, overseer of Maräqo in Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja*, to the office of the counsel, tells us that 1, 000 *gašas* of land in Maräqo was acquired through litigation which the Emperor sold for around Eth. 2, 000, 000 birr. Regarding the problems that he faced from the losers of the litigation, Tadäsä wrote:

ማረቆ ለህዝብ የተሸጠውን አንድ ሺህ ጋሻ መሬት ያላነሰ እንደትገሽ ነገር የትም ተለቆ የማንም መጠቀሚያ ሆኖ የነበረውን ተከራክሬ ወደ ቤተ ርስቱ ባስመልስ የተከራካሪዎቹ ወገኖች በኔ ላይ ፀብ እያበቀሉ ከአንድ እስከ አራት ጊዜ ዘርፈውኝ ሶስት ጊዜ ደብድበውኝና አካለ ኅደሎ አድርገውኝ አሸክሬም በዚህ ደብዳቤ ስለሞተ የቤተ ርስቱ ዋና ነገረ ፈጅ አቶ መኮንን መታፈሪያ ከቦታው ደርሰው ከተረዱት በኋላ ለህይወቱ መጠበቂያ መሳሪያና ዘበኞች እንዲሰጡት ሲሉ በሰጡልኝ ሐሳብ ካስገኘሁት ገቢ ላይ ጠመንጃና ሽጉጥ እንድገዛ ከቤተ ርስቱ ዋና ሹም ከክቡር ብላቴን ጌታ ብርኃን ሥላሴ አባ ኢሬ ተፈቅዶ ከገዛሁ በኋላ ተከራካሪዎች መሳሪያውንና አንድ ሺህ ሁለት መቶ ኃምሳ ብር የቤተ ርስቱን ገቢ አዘርፈውኝ ዘራፊው ለማ በሻህ በዓመቱ ተይዞ ለመዘረፉ አምኖ ማስረጃም ቀርቦበት ዝዋይ ላይ ያስቻለው የከፍተኛው ፍርድ ቤት በሁለት አመት እስራት እንዲቀጣ ፈርዶበት ሰውዬውም ከተቀጣ በኋላ ሞቷል። የከፍል አለቃዬ ብላቴን ጌታ ብርኃን ሥላሴ አባ ኢሬ ይህንኑ እኔ ለቤተ ርስቱ ደም በመቃባት ያተረፍኩትን ገንዘብና

¹³⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 25.

ድካም ተመልክተውልኝ ለህይወቴ መጠበቂያ የገዛሁብትን 670 ብር እንደገቢ ተቆጥሮ ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጠኝ።¹³¹

I restored a not less than one thousand gašas of land in Maräqo which was in use illegally by people as if it is something insignificant, and that the Bétä Rist sold it to the populace, the relatives of the litigants planted quarrels upon me and looted me four times; beat me three times until I become handicapped; and that my attendant died of this blow, the counsel of the Bétä Rist Office, Ato Mäkonnän Mätäfäria, after having affirmed this situation as true by appearing personally from the area, proposed guards and weapon to be given for me which the Bétä Rist General Administrator, His Excellency Bilattén Géta Birhanä Selassé Abayäre gave permission and that after I bought a weapon and a pistol to protect my life by taking money from what I have collected for the Bétä Rist, the weapon together with Eth. 1, 250 birr which is the revenue of the Bétä Rist was looted by people enticed by the losers; and that the looter Lämna Bäšah was captured after one year, accepted his crime and that evidence was presented before the High Court at Ziway, and was sentenced to two years of imprisonment after which he himself died. Considering my service and the profit that I have brought to the Bétä Rist at the expense of my life, my superior official in the Bétä Rist Office, Bilattén Géta Birhanä Selassé Abayäre ordered the money, which is Eth. 670 birr, with which I bought weapon to protect my life, to be settled under expenditure title.

¹³¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 36, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 33.

Though we have no full information of the civil case between the two parties that went to several courts, the bare fact is that the final verdict was given in favour of the Emperor thanks to the self suicidal and reckless audacity of the overseer while the tragic death of his attendant remains as a powerful evidence highlighting the rapacity of the *Bétä Rist* Office in appropriating land and the severity of the grievance meted out to the losers, and the futility of the justice system.

In addition to managing the property of the Emperor, the *Béta Rist* took responsibility to administer the property of people on their behalf. We have one example in this connection. On March 25, 1954 *Wäizäro Mintiwab Dästa* formally placed her *rist* and property (location, type, and amount is not clearly stated) under the administration of the *Bétä Rist*. Her word before the high court is very interesting for it gives insight into the intertwined nature of power and property.

እኔ ወይዘሮ ምንትዋብ ደስታ ርስቴንና ንብረቴን የሚያስተዳድርልኝ አጥቶ እኔም ሴት በመሆኔና ጉልበት አንሶኝ ርስቴንና ገንዘቤን ማንም ተካፍሎ ስለወሰደብኝ ችግራን ለግርማዊነታቸው አመልክቶ ቤተ ርስት ወኪል ሆኖ እንዲያስተዳድርልኝ ስለዘዘተልኝ...ያለኝ ርስቴንና ሐብቴን የቀዳማዊ ኃይለሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት ጽሕፈት ቤት ስለኔ ሆኖ እንዲያስተዳድርልኝ ሙሉ ስልጣን ሰጥቻለሁ።¹³²

I Wäizäro Mintiwab Dästa, having no one to manage my rist and property and for I am female and have no power, my rist and money were taken by people whom I do not know. For which reason I applied my problem to his Majästy and his Majästy gave order to the Bétä Rist Office to manage the

¹³²The contract with which she placed her property under the *Bétä Rist* Office before the High Court is found in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, ቁ. ቀ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 9.

property as my proxy..., Thus, I have hereby given full responsibility to the Bétä Rist Office of Emperor Haile Selassie I to manage all my rist and property on my behalf.

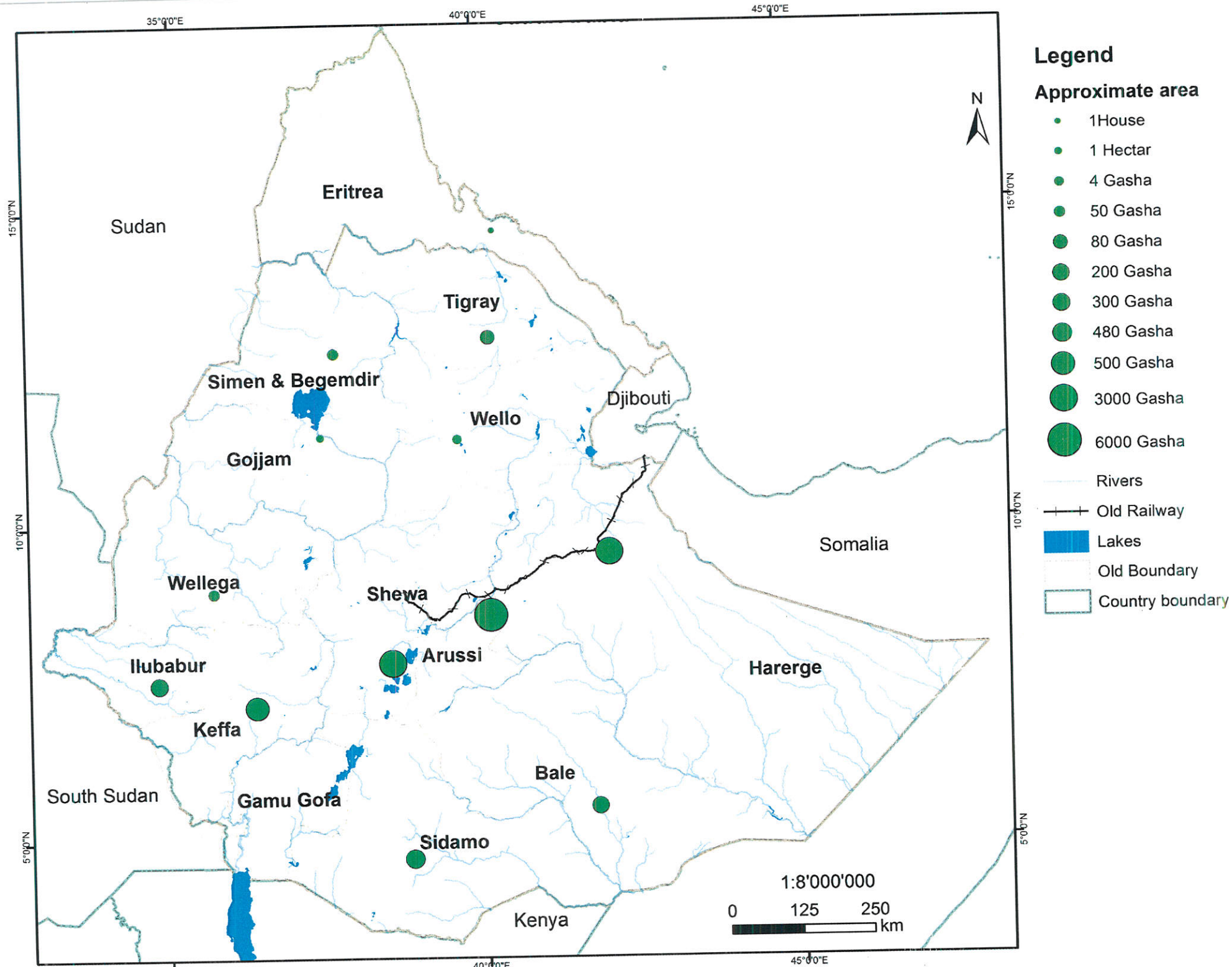
In her letter, we see three things that led her to give proxy right to the *Bétä Rist* - lack of overseer, being female, and lack of power. But the most compelling reason seems the last one, absence of institutional protection. Had this lady been able to exercise some kind of power in some ways, or had there been strong institution to protect her, she would not have put her property under the the administration of the *Bétä Rist*. In short, she sought protection to what remained in her hands was given full rights to the counsel of the *Bétä Rist* to represent her in court reflecting her plan to restore the property she lost before she gave full responsibility to the *Bétä Rist*.

Generally, apart from those lands and propreties that the Emperor inherited from his father, *Ras Mäkönnän*, and apart from those lands and propreties transferred in gift from Emperor Menilek, and Empress Zawditu and except those lands and properties that the Emperor acquired through confiscation, purchase, land grants, and under different unjust ways as we have explained above; other lands and properties that the Emperor acquired from different spectrum of society through bequeathments were not automatic. They were rather made to secure either of the following; a) pension (the most recurring motive), b) protection of powers and c) economic privileges. From what we have considered so far, we can arrive at the conclusion that power is the major organizing concept around which the history of acquisition of property is analyzed. It served as a major bargaining agent between the givers and the receiver; the sellers and the buyer; the granter and the grantee;

the dispossessed and the appropriator of property; and the just and the unjust in the acquisition of property.

For the distribution and approximate density of the landed property of the monarch, see the map on the next page.

In the next chapter we shall explore the inner workings of the management system by taking into consideration the following points: its structure at different phases, its personnel, salary of employees and how employees were motivated, the various controlling mechanisms that the Office employed, and the challenges it faced throughout its existence.



Sudan

Eritrea

Tigray

Simen & Begemdir

Wello

Djibouti

Gojjam

Somalia

Wellega

Shewa

Harerge

Ilubabur

Arussi

Keffa

South Sudan

Gamu Gofa

Bale

Sidamo

Kenya

Chapter Three: - Establishment of the *Bétä Rist*

Emperor Haile Selassie established (or inherited) a property management institution known as *Guada Bét* before the period of Italian occupation. However, details on the activities and exact date of its establishment are lacking. But, there is no doubt that *Guada Bét* was the precursor of the *Bétä Rist*. This is reflected under different circumstances. The most vivid picture about the existence of the property management institution of the Emperor called *Guada Bét* before the Italian occupation is shown in a civil case that the Office took against *Wäizäro Bälaynäš Kiro*s. In a defence letter written by her counsel and presented to the High Court, we learn that *Ato Tadäsä Mäšäša*, Treasurer of *Guada Bét*, lent Eth. 3, 000 birr to people whose names were not specified. But after the death of *Tadäsä*, the Office took to court *Bälaynäš*, his inheritor, to reimburse the above sum on the ground that *Tadäsä* died without settling the debt. The third point in this defence letter is very important and enlightening for it clearly defines *Guada Bét* the precursor of the *Bétä Rist* Office: “በስራው የተተካው የግርማዊ ጃንሆይ ቤተ ርስት ጸሕፊት ቤት....”¹³³ which literally means the *Bétä Rist* Office of his imperial majesty took its [*Guada Bét*] place....

The expulsion of the Italians in 1941 was a turning point in the history of the Emperor's property management institution. In the immediate aftermath of their expulsion, the

¹³³The full information of her counsel's defence is found in I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 5, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 9. In a letter written on Hidar (November) 4, 1935 E.C., from the *Rist* Department of the Emperor to *Abba Hana*, we learn that the inheritors of a certain *Hailä Giyorgis* borrowed a huge sum of money from *Guada Bét*, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 350, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 18. See also annexe 1. Again in an appeal letter written to the Emperor, *Ato ገብየሠ* is mentioned as one of the workers of *Guada Bét*. The appeal letter was written by four children of *Ato ገብየሠ* when *Nägadras Birhanä Selassé Abayäre* was the General Administrator of the *Bétä Rist* Office and they accused him of granting their *rist* land (located near *Ras Mäkönnän Spring* in Addis Ababa) to another individual, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 3, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 31.

Emperor made up his mind to reorganize it in a new way. Between 1941 and 1942, he established a modern, well organized and centrally directed property management institution called the *Bétä Rist* Office. The years 1941/'42 were taken as point of reference when ever workers applied for lands and salary increments; and when they prepared revenue reports to the Head Office, which indirectly shows us the time for its establishment.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, people referred to the *Guada Bét* as the *Bétä Rist* Office as if the later existed before the period of the occupation.¹³⁵

Although property management offices were established by other members of the royal family and members of the ruling aristocracy,¹³⁶ the one established by the Emperor seems, as we shall see, the largest organized property management institution that grew

¹³⁴In an application letter written on April 13, 1972, to the Managing Director of the *Bétä Rist* Office, *Ato* Hailé Agonafir who served in the Office at different capacities since 1942, asked for *madaria* land from the Emperor's holdings located in *Worqa Bušä qäbälé* of *Ilfäta* sub-district, *Dändi wäräda* of *Ambo awraja* for reason of low salary while he was made to shoulder three duties- as main treasurer, store keeper, and revenue collector in Addis Ababa, I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 43, also in Folder Nos., 215, and 315, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File Nos., 4 and 15 respectively. *Ato* Tadäsä Dämisse served as a clerk in the *Bétä Rist* Head Office. On August 19, 1957, he consigned the documents and stationary materials to *Ato* Zägäyä Säifu, the one who was appointed clerk in his place. One of these documents (handed over to the new clerk) was revenue and expenditure register prepared since July 31, 1941, I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 11, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 26. See also I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 251, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. . C.*, File No., 13; Folder No., 0, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 2088. A very interesting account that attested the reorganization of the management office in 1941 is the one that we get from the application letter of *Baša Dämisse Bäšah* written to the Head Office on April 7, 1953. In this letter he said: "I served in this office from 1941 to 1948 as overseer of *rist* and houses and rent collector in Addis Ababa..." I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 84, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 48. Similarly *Ato* Kasa Mingistu gives us very interesting information as to the time of the establishment of the Office in connection with his career when he said: "I the applicant, formerly your poor [man] and servant, serving as *Misläné* in the *Rist* Department of *Gännät wäräda* since 1941."

¹³⁵The *Bétä Rist* Office established a house to the Emperor in the town of *Nazrét* before the period of Italian occupation, I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 315, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 12. Regarding the presence of the Office before the period of Italian occupation see also in I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File Nos., 23, 24, and 34. Equally important is the information that we get from the application letter of *Ato* Edisa Dinsa who served in the *Bétä Rist* Office as assistant from 1927 to 1928 E.C., I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 186, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 69. See also Folder No., 18, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 2.

¹³⁶*Mär'ed Azmač* Asfa Wässän and Princess *Tänaññä Wäraq* for example established property management office called *Bétä Rist* and Princes *Mäkönnän* and *Sahlä Selassé*, Property Administration Offices, National Archives and Libraries of Ethiopia, Folder No., 2.4.10, *Alga Wäraš Gibi Rist Kifil* (*Rist* Section of Crown Prince, the Heir), File No., 10.11. Among the upper stratum of the ruling aristocracy *Däjazmač Mär'ed Bäyänä* and *Lij Sibisté* Samson established property management offices called *Rist Gult* and *Bota* Administration Office, I.E.S.W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 276, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 14. See also *Mislu's* B.A. essay.

in size and stature to be able to administer vast amounts of property along modern and feudo-capitalist lines. However, it never became a property management institution of the modern type at once. Modernity and organization came slowly and it faced several challenges in the process.

Before we move directly into the discussion of the evolution of the structure of the Office, its different phases, recruitment of personnel, controlling mechanisms, salary, motivation and corrective measures taken by the Office and the challenges it faced, I thought it apposite to give a brief account of the reasons for its establishment. An informant told me that the Emperor established the Office to appropriate enemy property.¹³⁷ Such a stance is, however, speculative because firstly the Office existed even before the period of Italian occupation. Again, such a position is erroneous because, in the most part, the Emperor never appropriated enemy property illegally. It is true that the Emperor, among others, actively took part in the several open tenders that the Custodian of Enemy Property published in *Addis Zāmān*. There were many other practical moves done in this regard, too.¹³⁸

Most informants maintain that it was established to manage the property of the Emperor.¹³⁹ The finding of this study agrees with this opinion. In general, there were at least three reasons that necessitated its reorganization. The first reason goes with the restoration of the monarchy and reorganization of the country after 1941. Alongside this grand task, the Emperor sought to reorganize the Office so as to manage the already known property. Secondly, the Emperor sought to restore lost privileges and properties

¹³⁷Informant, Vertikes Nalbandian.

¹³⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 48.

¹³⁹Informants, *Qäññazmač* Sahlé Ayu, *Ato Abära Moltot*, *Ato Zägäyā Säifu*, and *Ato Kābāda Fäsässä*.

from the period of the occupation. Thirdly, he envisaged investing in agriculture, industry and in real estate. Therefore, it was established to manage existing property, restore lost ones, and create additional property and money through active involvement in the various business concerns legally established in the country.

3.1. Phases in the Evolution of the *Bétä Rist*

After the restoration of the monarchy in 1941, the Office went at least through three phases of development. The first phase, which lasted from 1941/'42 to 1949, was a period of organization. *Guada Bét*, now christened *Bétä Rist*, faced several challenges most of which were created by the Italians. As a result, claims and counter claims as well as accusations and counter accusations constituted the hallmarks of this period though such things lingered in some ways down to the first two years of the *Derg* period. Sometimes, such claims and counter claims cost the lives of *Bétä Rist* officials.

During the war, as was true for the whole nation, the documents of the *Guada Bét* were burnt most probably during the looting that took place between the departure of the Emperor on May 2, 1936 and the entry of Italian troops to Addis Ababa on May 5, 1936. Several letters exchanged between the Head Office at Addis Ababa and the *Šums* (overseers) appointed in the provinces reveal that the *Šums* were unable to recover some of the lands of the Emperor for they had no tangible evidence as the documents were burnt during the war. In some provinces, Italians gave out the lands of the Emperor to collaborators, which made attempts to restore these lands very difficult for such

individuals proved to be powerful litigants.¹⁴⁰ In some areas using the general unrest and disorder created by the Italians as excellent opportunity, some individuals appropriated the lands of the Emperor under *Ijä Mänañña* (the practice of taking and using the property or money of other people without having ownership right, but stealthy).¹⁴¹ The Head Office insisted that the overseers should restore the lands of the Emperor and collect the revenue obtained therefrom in the best possible ways. On the part of the overseers, restoring the lands in the absence of written evidence or any other evidence became very hard and even dangerous to their lives. But, with the collaboration and assistance of provincial and local level administrators, elders and residents of the area who knew the history of the lands, the overseers managed to restore much of the lands of the Emperor. Some lands were in fact restored through litigation.¹⁴²

During this initial short period, the Office was run by two General Administrators - *Nägadras* Ti'umä Lisan Kasa who served from about 1941 to 1946, and *Ato* Hailé Golmamé who roughly served in the Office from 1947 to October 1949.¹⁴³

The second phase lasted from 1949 to 1962, and was characterized by administrative stabilization and could be described as the formative years when much tighter grip on the property of the Emperor was made through strict accounting system. During this time, the Managing Director was *Nägadras* (Latter *Bilattién Géta*) Birhanä Selassé Abayäré, the

¹⁴⁰Such was one major problem that we see in Raya and Azäbo *awraja* of the province of Tigray, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7.

¹⁴¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 28, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. *Dästa Täklä Wäld* defines it as “ባለቤትነት ሳይኖረው የሰው ገንዘብ የወሰደ ሰው እጅ መናኛ ይባላል እጅ መጥፎ ማለት ነው።”, *Addis Yä Amariñña Mäzäbä Qalat* [New Amharic Dictionary] (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1962 E.C.), p. 84.

¹⁴²In Raya and Azäbo *awraja* of the province of Tigray for example the *Bétä Rist* Office restored *rist gults* from six places by calling upon seven witnesses. One of these witnesses was Prince *Ras* Siyium Mängäša, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 560.

¹⁴³Regarding *Nägadras* Ti'umä Lisan's tenure, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder Nos., 88 and 315, and 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 32, 35 and 2088 respectively and as for *Ato* Hailé Golmamé's tenure see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 84, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 36.

person who attained key positions in the Imperial Ethiopian Government.¹⁴⁴ It was under his direction that the management office became well organized and commenced investment in agriculture, industry, and real estate. During this time the Office started mechanized and partially mechanized farming activities in some selected provinces from which the Emperor collected considerable amount of income. A considerable amount of money was also invested in agro-processing, textile, brewery, and insurance companies in which the Emperor and other members of the royal family were the major share holders. Sizeable amount of money was also allocated to buy and repair old houses and build new ones. These houses were rented out to individuals, companies, associations and government institutions from which the Emperor used to earn a huge amount of money collected in the form of rentals.

The third phase covered the years from 1961 to 1974/'75, and the General Administrators were Birhanä Selassé Abayäre and *Nägadras Säifä Selassé Libän*.¹⁴⁵ These years could generally be characterized as a period of decline and final collapse of the Office. Around 1961, the Emperor even decided to close the Office for he already gave out most of his lands that were located in the provinces and in some urban areas to his children and also to people who were generally referred to as *Balä Wuläta* (those who loyally served the nation and him in different capacities) as well as to the Haile Selassie I Foundation and

¹⁴⁴On October 11, 1948, he was appointed General Administrator of the Emperor's *Bétä Rist* Office, Folder No., 220, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 13. On August 10, 1955, he was appointed as Vice minister in the Ministry of Agriculture and on April 16, 1959, as Vice minister in the Ministry of Finance. His appointment came through the Ministry of the Pen, I.E.G. Ministry of Finance Archives, File No., 8402, Birhanä Selassé Abayäre (*Nägadras*). Again, around 1953 he served as a member of the Board of Trustees of St. Paul Hospital. Around 1965, he served as member of the Senate, Folder No., 197, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28; also in Folder No., 84, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 33, Around 1972, he served as a member of the Crown Counsel, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 124, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 8;

¹⁴⁵*Nägadras* Seifä Selassé Libän was appointed General Administrator of the Emperor's *Bétä Rist* Office in January 1972, Folder No., 242, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 5. He was the last to manage it.

Prize Trust.¹⁴⁶ A letter written on November 11, 1961 from the General Administrator to the main Treasury of the *Bétä Rist* Head Office informs that all the employees of the *Bétä Rist* to be fired with the exception of the counsels.¹⁴⁷ However, this was not implemented because the Emperor still held many lands and property both in urban and rural areas, (houses in urban areas), and many shares in different companies that necessitated the Office to continue functioning until 1974/'75. But some workers of the Head Office were transferred to other government institutions.¹⁴⁸ Yet, the final blow to the *Bétä Rist* Office came in the 1974 revolution that overthrew the Old Order. Following the triumph of the revolution, on account of an alleged will given from the deposed Emperor, all the movable and immovable property of the monarch and other members of the royal family was put under the Ministry of National Resources Development.¹⁴⁹ Though a circular letter to stop paying salary to *Bétä Rist* workers from the Ministry of National Resources Development was written on April 21, 1975, it was not implemented for the Ministry realized that the property that was still found in the hands of overseers would be lost and

¹⁴⁶In Addis Ababa for example a total of 220, 711 square metres of land of the Emperor located near Princess Šihay Memorial Hospital (now the Army's Hospital) was granted to different individuals, associations, workers of the Head Office, and even for foreign nationals from 1957 to 1966. Some people who benefited from this generous urban land grant include Princess Sara Gizaw who received, 33, 576 square meters of land, on May 15, 1963, *Däjazmač* Mär'ed Bāyānā who received 2, 845 square meters of land, and Paulos Ņoño who received 500 square meters of land. From the foreign nationals we find Doctor Hamlen who received 1, 000 square meters of land. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 14. Richard Pankhurst also received 3, 041 square meters of land which formerly was given temporarily to Silvia Pankhrust, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 18. The land and houses in the Second *Bétä Rist* now located to the North of Yākatit 12 Square was given to Crown Prince Asfa Wässān around 1952 E.C., I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 38, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 8. For the details on the type, amount, and location of lands given to his children see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 20. However, this land grant does not include grants made in the provinces of Simén and Bāgémdir, Harār, Sidamo and Wällo. According to this inventory, a total of above 4, 000 *gaša* of lands located in the provinces of Šāwa, Arsi, Tigray, Bali, Käffa, Wällāga, and Illubabur were given to his children.

¹⁴⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 9, Letter No., 267/10.

¹⁴⁸For example in a letter written on April 23, 1965, three *Bétä Rist* Head Office workers were transferred to the Ministry of Justice, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 37.

¹⁴⁹National Archives and Libraries of Ethiopia, Folder No., 2.4.10, *Alga Wāraš Gibé Rist Kifil* (*Rist* Section of Crown Prince, the Heir), File No., 10.11.

would bring accountability to the Ministry unless the workers made formal transfer of the property to it. Thus, the Ministry made the first circular letter void by writing a second letter and continued to pay salary to *Bétä Rist* workers until about 1976.¹⁵⁰ But the nationalization proclamation and the subsequent placing, on April 12, 1975, of the property of the royal family under the Ministry of National Resources Development formally marked the demise of the *Bétä Rist* Office.¹⁵¹

3.2. Structure of the *Bétä Rist*

As explained before, because of the absence of sources, we do not know about the history of the Emperor's property management institution established before the period of Italian occupation. But, in connection with the Office that was reorganized after the expulsion of the Italians, we know that the Emperor established offices for the management of his lands and other property before the period of the occupation.

The management system which was reorganized three months after the withdrawal of the Italians had one Head Office in Addis Ababa and branch offices in the provinces. As we have said earlier, the Office was the first modern, well organized, and centrally directed property management institution. Nevertheless, it never reached such ascent as defined above all at once. So, during its initial phase the most important departments of the *Bétä Rist* Head Office were those of the *rist* department, chief counsel, chief treasury, and chief record office, Secretarat (office of the chief clerk), and store. In the provinces where the Emperor held lands and properties before the period of Italian occupation, former

¹⁵⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 36, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 33, Letter No., 321/10/67 E.C.

¹⁵¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 195, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 6.

Šums (overseers) were restored to their place and they were ordered to work as before. In Addis Ababa, one person was appointed to collect rentals in a very traditional way. At the bottom of the administrative structure were guards and couriers who were assigned both at the Head Office and in the different parts of Addis Ababa where the property of the Emperor was located. According to one document, the guards who were serving before 1942 underwent no military training and were not soldiers. After 1941, however, they were replaced by soldiers who had received some military training.¹⁵²

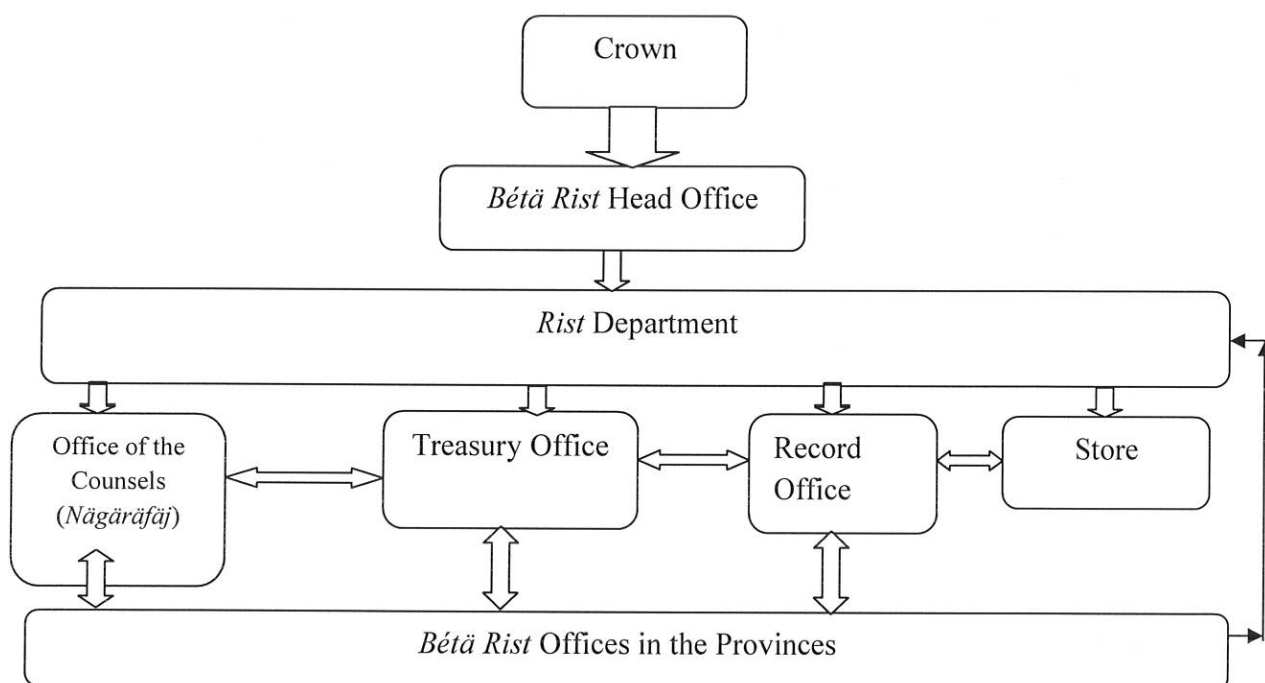
The appointment in October 1948 of Birhanä Selassé Abayäre as General Administrator was very crucial for a number of reasons. As his career revealed, he was one of those few peoples whom the Emperor trusted wholeheartedly. As a result of this, as we have indicated before, he attained key positions in the Imperial Ethiopian Government. For example, on August 10, 1955, he was appointed Vice Minister in the Ministry of Finance. Again, on April 25, 1959, he was appointed Vice Minister in the Ministry of Agriculture.¹⁵³ This person received, as his rank reveals, much experience in business, agricultural activities, administration, and law. Thus, it was not until 1949 that the structure of the *Bétä Rist* became a modern property management institution with departments having clearly stated powers and functions. In addition to the existing ones, new offices such as Farming and Cattle Breeding Development Office, and Real Estate Department were added. Moreover, the offices of vice administrator, vice counsel, vice

¹⁵² *Ato* Kasa Mingistu served in the *Bétä Rist* Office as a guard during the tenure of *Ato* Mäšäsa Zäwäldé and before Ti'umä Lisan Kasa was appointed Managing Director in 1942, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 84, *ፊ. ፊ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 33.

¹⁵³ The archives of the Ministry of Finance, File No., 8402. See also annexes 5 and 6.

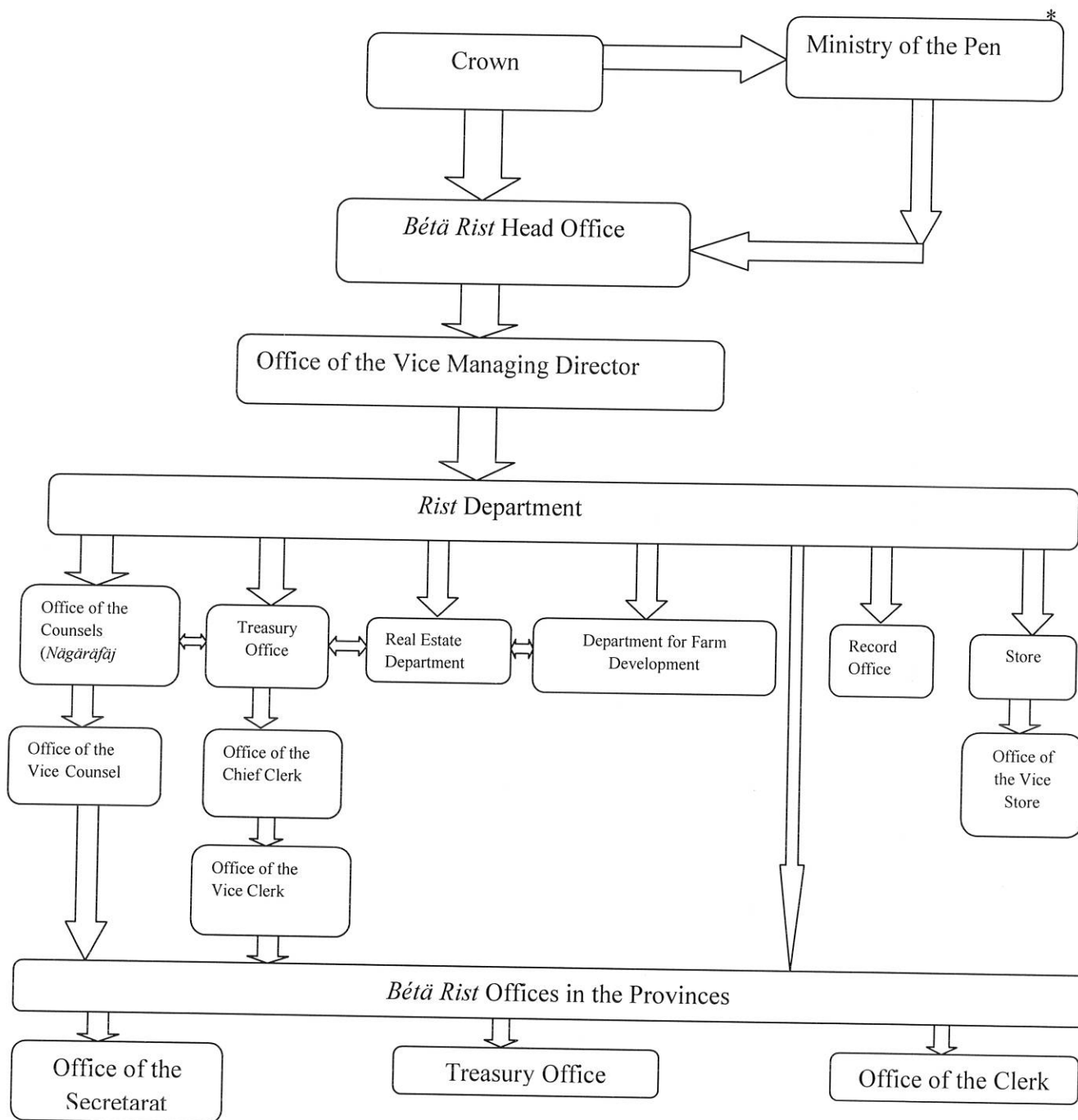
clerk, and vice store were established.¹⁵⁴ The office of the Vice Managing Director was established as Birhanä Selassé had many official responsibilities to shoulder in the Imperial Ethiopian Government. As the number of the offices increased so did the workers employed to the newly opened offices.

The structure of the *Bétä Rist* Head Office when it was established in 1941/'42 looked like the following:



¹⁵⁴On ፲፫ (January) 13, 1951 E.C, Ato ፲፱፻፱ ለብራህም was appointed Vice Managing Director to the *Bétä Rist* Office by *Nägadras* Birhanä Selassé Abayäré, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቁ. ፯. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 24.

And after 1949, the structure of the *Bétä Rist* Office looked like the following:



*Most of the time, special orders of the Emperor were given to the Head Office for execution through the Ministry of the Pen. At other times, orders were directly given from the Emperor.

Now, a brief remark on the duties of *Bétä Rist Šums* (overseers) appointed in the provinces is in order. The position of the overseer was formally established in August 1942.¹⁵⁵ Overseers (also known as *Mislänés*), who were appointed and sent to the provinces were like *Yä Mingist Šum* (government officials) because they were required to pay tax and tithe to the government, to maintain the peace and order of the respective area to which they were entrusted with the collaboration of *awraja* governors, and to serve as judges in their respective territory. But, they did not receive salary from the government; their salary was from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* Office. In some provinces, however, overseers were allowed to retain 25 percent of the total revenue that they collected before tax and tithe to the government were deducted. Thus, though the overseers combined private and government posts, they were fundamentally *Bétä Rist* workers. Despite the fact that the *balabat* and the *mälkäñña* of the area, which they were assigned to run, was the Emperor, the *Šums* in the provinces were by law above the local *balabats* and were able to give orders to the local *balabats* and *wäräda* level government officials. They were like *wäräda misläné* and were only responsible to the Governor General and to the *Wänbäroč* (Judges). The main duties of overseers were safeguarding the property of the Emperor from being taken by people who had no ownership right,¹⁵⁶ assess revenue with the collaboration of government officials and elected elders of the area, collect *Irbo* (a fourth of a given farm's produce) from tenants, and revenue from different sources, paid tax to the government, and collected money in return for *yä Atbia*

¹⁵⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 32, Letter No., 270/4, a letter written from the *Rist* Department to the General Secretary of Jimma *awraja*.

¹⁵⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 6, Letter No., 1422/5/51.

Daññenät (fee collected from a specific area in return for court service).¹⁵⁷ Thus, we see changes in the lexicon, workings, as well as in the kind of relationships that existed between the Emperor, the overseers and the tenants who farmed the land. In the workings of the *Bétä Rist*, therefore, the intermediary role that the *mälkäñña* used to play, in this case between the Emperor and the tenants, was taken over by the overseers who received salary on monthly basis. In the true sense of the term, *mälkäññenät* as an office that exercised administrative and judiciary authority over the area assigned to run was replaced by the *Bétä Rist* and by its appointed overseers.

3.3. Staffing the *Bétä Rist*

During its formative years (1949-1962), the Office administered about thirty salaried personnel working at the Head Office in Addis Ababa. According to informants, appointment was on the basis of loyalty, integrity, experience, and effectiveness. Top level Head Office employees, such as the General Administrators, were appointed directly by the Emperor. Sometimes, the Emperor directly appointed overseers to certain *awrajas* through the Ministry of the Pen.¹⁵⁸ But, in most cases the monarch appointed the General Administrator and the latter in turn appointed others under him. At times, provincial overseers were directly appointed from the Head Office by the General Administrator.¹⁵⁹ In some provinces, however, where the Emperor held extensive lands,

¹⁵⁷Tekalign, 348-‘9. Regarding the overseers role as *Atbia Dañña* see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 315, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 30, Letter No., 1292/47/42.

¹⁵⁸Kapuscinski makes the sole requirement to loyalty when he says: “His Majesty never made appointments on the basis of person’s talent, but always and exclusively on the basis of loyalty,” Kapuscinski, pp. 32 and 46. On April 4, 1949, the Ministry of the Pen appointed Bäqälä Dämamu *Šum* (overseer) to the Emperor’s lands located in Maräqo, Gurage, Šäwa, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 23, Letter No., 5815/25/41.

¹⁵⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 208, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 4, Letter No., 102/5.

the *Šum* (overseer) exercised authority to appoint secretary, treasurer, guards and runners.¹⁶⁰

In addition to the good qualities we have mentioned above that one has to possess to be employed in the Office, professional competence was given high priority.¹⁶¹ For example, as discussed earlier, throughout its existence, the Office exchanged hands six times. Out of these, the three managers carried the title of *Nägadras*. During the Office's formative years, the General Administrator was Birhanä Selassé Abayäre who introduced important reforms. He played, for example, an important role in the recruitment of personnel. Experienced people in finance, administration of lands and other property as well as urban development were recruited from the Custodian of Enemy Property, the Ministry of Interior, and from the Municipality of Addis Ababa.¹⁶² Under certain conditions, the children of former workers were employed in return for their fathers' long period of loyal service rendered to the Office.¹⁶³ Though the management system followed no formal

¹⁶⁰The property of the Emperor in the province of Illubabur was divided into five (Duräné, Hurumu, Darimu, Goré and Bädäno), each having an overseer and secretary appointed by the Chief overseer. The overseers and secretaries were responsible to the Chief overseer and secretary, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

¹⁶¹Loyalty and competence helped *Ato Ešäté Yigzaw* to be appointed *Šum* (overseer) to the province of Arsi, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. File No., 1.

¹⁶²By the time he was appointed General Administrator, the first thing that he had to do was finding loyal and competent workers. As a result he brought *Ato Hailé Agonafir* (who served as Chief Store Keeper and revenue collector in and around Addis Ababa) from the Custodian of Enemy Property; *Ato Tībäbu Abräham* (served as Vice Managing Director and Secretary) from the Ministry of Interior; and *Ato Zäwdé Wändimu* (served as Chief Treasurer) from the Municipality of Addis Ababa, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 45. Regarding the meaning, evolution, function and the sources of income of the *Nägadras* refer to Peter P. Garretson, "Some Thoughts on Towns and the *Naggadras* in Feudal Ethiopia in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," "Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism" (Addis Ababa University: March 1976), pp. 1-4.

¹⁶³*Baša Dämisse Bäšah* served in the *Bétä Rist* Office as overseer and rent collector for the Emperor's property located in the different parts of Addis Ababa. In 1947, he was relieved on the ground that he was not trained in accounting for the Office started modern accounting system since 1947. In return for his long time service his son *Ato Tädäsä Dämisse* was employed in the *Bétä Rist* Office, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 84, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 48. *Agafari Säifu Bänäbäru* served in the *Bétä Rist* Head Office as Chief Counsel and was killed in Maräqo in 1947. In recognition of his death in the cause of the Emperor, his son *Ato Zägäyä Säifu* was employed as assistant clerk in the *Bétä Rist* Head Office. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 28, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. Informant: *Ato Zägäyä Säifu*. Regarding *Ato*

vacancy announcements, people applied to certain jobs when there were such openings. On the part of the *Bétä Rist*, an individual was required to fulfil at least three things to be employed- good conduct, sufficient amount of *rist* or property, and was expected to submit a person as surety at the time of employment.¹⁶⁴ To the best of my investigation, the Head Office employed very few female workers, mostly typists, and some female salespeople employed in fruit shops,¹⁶⁵ a circumstance that reflected the insignificant degree of involvement and participation of females in the civil service that has prevailed in the country.

On the whole, as we have said earlier, the *Bétä Rist* Office exchanged hands six times. Before the occupation, there were two managing directors, *Ato Mäšäša Zäwäldé* and *Ato Tadäsä Mäšäša* (may be the son of Mäšäša). After the expulsion of the Italians, the first Managing Director of the Office was *Nägadras Ṭi'umä Lisan Kasa* who stayed in that position from about 1941 to 1945. Ṭi'umä Lisan was succeeded by *Ato Hailé Golmamé* who served for a brief period from around 1946 to September 1948. In October 1948, *Nägadras Birhanä Selassie Abayäre* was appointed as the third managing director whose tenure lasted for a much longer period of time (October 1948 to about January 1973). The last managing director was *Nägadras Seifä Selassé Liban* who served from about January 1973 to 1975/'76.

Mäšäša Zäwäldé and his son *Ato Tadäsä Mäšäša* refer to, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder Nos., 84 and 5, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 33 and 9 respectively.

¹⁶⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 14, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28.

¹⁶⁵First *Wäizaro Adanäč Dästa* and from January 27, 1960 on wards *Wäizarit Astér Maru* served as type writer (Amharic section), I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 7, Letter No., 764/10/52. See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 60, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

3.4. Salary of Employees

One essential aspect of modernity exhibited in the workings of the management system was the fact that workers, be it those permanently employed both at the Head Office and in the provinces or those employed for some time and even on daily basis, were paid in the form of monthly salary or in wages. From the General Administrator to the guards and runners, the Head Office workers were salaried. By the standard of the time, the monthly salary paid to Head Office workers and that paid for overseers working in the provinces could be assumed as attractive. For example, the General Administrator used to receive a monthly salary of Eth. 500 birr and his vice up to Eth. 400 birr.¹⁶⁶ Chief overseers in some provinces were paid monthly salary between Eth. 80 birr and Eth. 250 birr.¹⁶⁷ All the permanently employed and daily workers, deployed on some Farms where mechanized and partially mechanized farming activities were undertaken were also paid.¹⁶⁸ In some provinces, however, the overseers were given *qäläb* (up-keep) in lieu of salary which was 25 percent of the gross revenue that they collected from the area to which they were appointed before tax and tithe to the government was deducted. This could be done either in kind such as grain or in cash. According to an informant, this was

¹⁶⁶For example for the salary of *Bétä Rist* Head Office workers for the month of July 1963, see in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 4.

¹⁶⁷For the *Bétä Rist Šum* (overseer) of Addis Aläm for example a monthly salary of Eth. 80 birr was paid, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder Nos., 4 and 193, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ. . C., File Nos., 4 and 12, and for that of Illubabur Eth, 250 birr, Folder No., 4, File No., 12, for that of Maräqo Mito, Eth. 100 birr, Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 10, and for that of Anfilo Dulé Eth. 200 birr, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 193, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 5.

¹⁶⁸Arboyé, in the province of Arsi, was one of the areas where the *Bétä Rist* Office undertook partially mechanized farming activity. For the monthly salary of permanently employed workers and wages of daily workers paid see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 193, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ. . C., File No., 10.

done in order to win loyalty and to make them work diligently for more revenue collected means increase in the percentile that the overseers got.¹⁶⁹

3.5. Motivation

The management system motivated its workers through various ways. Such could be done through promotion to higher posts, salary increment, and letter of appreciation for their good performance and through occasional gifts. For example, they were given extra money for wedding and medical expenses.¹⁷⁰ Head Office workers were, however, more privileged than other workers for they were given land as *rist* both in rural and urban areas, and *madäria* (land basically given in lieu of salary).¹⁷¹ Sometimes, the Office gave extra wages for workers who exhibited exceptional performances.¹⁷²

In addition to the reinforcements mentioned above, formal salary increments were made to Head Office workers. This was particularly true to the tenure of Birhanä Selassé Abayäre. Immediately after he was made General Administrator, one of the major reforms that he introduced was salary increment for workers of the Head Office. He prepared the proposal and submitted it to the Emperor for endorsement. Then the Emperor accepted the proposal and a sum of Eth. 1, 545 birr was allocated to be

¹⁶⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 24. See also Folder No., 59, File Nos., 19, and 24. See also annexe 3.

¹⁷⁰In 1950, *Ato Tadäsä Dämissé* was given Eth. 135 birr for medical expense, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 24. On February 7, 1958, *Ato Zägäyä Säifu* was given Eth., 300 birr to support his wedding expenses, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 287, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2. The *Bétä Rist* Office wrote letters of appreciation to *Ato Ašagré Wubäté* and *Ato Lägäsä Altayé* overseers in *Sälalé awraja*, for having collected the *Irbo* and *Asrat* including the arrears on time I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 3. Informants told me that some workers were motivated through promotion to higher positions, *Ato Fäsäsä Käbädä*, *Ato Zägäyä Säifu*.

¹⁷¹On April 27, 1973, a total of 21 *gašas* of land located in different areas in the provinces was given to 18 *Bétä Rist* Head Office workers as *madäria*, each received on average a *gaša*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 88, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 39. See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 60, File No., 12.

¹⁷²An extra wage of Eth. 25 birr for 25 daily workers in *Arboyé Farm* was given from the *Bétä Rist* Treasury, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 193, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 4.

apportioned to the workers depending on their rank. The Emperor's approval of the proposed amount came through the Ministry of the Pen on May 16, 1949. Before this time the total budget expended in the form of monthly salary to Head Office workers was Eth. 2, 404 birr. Thus, this new salary increment raised the total amount by more than half. Accordingly, the maximum amount of money added to a worker was Eth. 100 birr, a sum added to the General Administrator, and the minimum Eth. 5 birr, an amount mostly added to drivers, guards, and runners.¹⁷³ However, the salary of workers appointed in the provinces was decided to continue as before- was effectively frozen. Salary increments were also made only to particular individuals. People with many years of service and those who shouldered double responsibilities were motivated through reasonable salary increases.¹⁷⁴

The second increment on the salary of Head Office workers was made on January 14, 1954. In this salary increment, a sum of Eth. 475 birr was allowed which raised the total from Eth. 3, 877 birr to Eth. 4, 352 birr. The maximum amount added to a worker at this time was Eth. 130 birr and the minimum Eth. 3 birr. During this second salary increment, the General Administrator, guards and runners were excluded.¹⁷⁵ While workers were motivated in the above mentioned ways, the management was also very much concerned about those workers transferred to other departments of the state. The Office wrote them recommendation letters in which their work experiences were reported in glorious terms.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 220, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 13, Letter No., 22/6/8. See also annexes 4 and 9.

¹⁷⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7, Letter No., 1399/10/53.

¹⁷⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 220, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 13, Letter No., 789/13.

¹⁷⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 84, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 1, Letter No., 99/10/62.

3.6. Controlling Mechanisms and Corrective Measures

The management system followed very modern and legalistic controlling systems which were valid and binding before the law. It issued internal regulations which established office hours of Head Office workers; urban lands and houses; annual revenue that was collected from each province per *gaša*; strict revenue and expenditure accounting; and the execution of the several agreements, contracts and concessions that the Office entered into with different entities in accordance with stipulated statements. Such official controlling mechanisms are reflected in bequest, purchase and sale of property; house rent, house reparation and construction contracts; land and machinery contracts; tenancy agreements; and in the fixing of timelines for the collection of *irbo* (one fourth of the produce from a farm) and other revenues from different sources. For example, on July 21, 1955, an official controlling system of office hours of Head Office workers was introduced. According to this regulation, workers were expected to be in their office from 3 to 7 hours local time in the morning and from 9 to 12 hours local time in the afternoon. If workers were absent from their office in these hours, their salary would be deducted for the hours they were absent from office.¹⁷⁷ Revenue and expenditure summary documents also reveal that the Office followed strict accounting system.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 16.

¹⁷⁸The *Šums* (Overseers) in the provinces and those at Addis Ababa had to settle accounts by appearing at the *Bētā Rist* Head Office at Addis Ababa at clearly specified timelines for auditing revenues that they collected in their respective provinces. According to a letter of order written on October 29, 1954 to one of the overseers of Sälalé *awraja*, overseers had to collect *Irbo* from October to March 30, revenue from vegetables and fruits from April 1 to April 30; and revenue from grass sale from May 1 to June 30. All the overseers had to settle their accounts on July 5 by appearing at the Head Office in Addis Ababa, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 19, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 48. Even the account obtained from the sale of the skin of cattle was strictly settled, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 16.

Whenever the management office encountered problems that could not be solved by the decision of a single person or office, and whenever there were tasks that demanded critical examination before steps were taken to implement them, committees, made up of three or four people (in most cases, the General Administrator took part), were formed to analyze the issue and pass decision.¹⁷⁹ This shows that the management office believed in team spirit and group decision, which constitutes a major hallmark of modern executive system.

In addition to the above formal controlling systems, the Office employed some informal and systematic controlling mechanisms. One such system was to use provincial governors who showed rock solid fidelity to the Emperor to spy and secretly follow up the activities of some overseers about whom the management developed scepticism on their commitment to loyalty shoulder the tasks entrusted upon them.¹⁸⁰

Failure to conform to the already formulated rules and regulations by workers serving in different capacities and levels would compel the management office to take but very modest corrective measures. Failure to collect revenue and settle accounts on time; having failed to obey and respect orders coming from superior officials; imbalance between estimate and revenue sent to the Head Office, and abusing peasants would result

¹⁷⁹On October 9, 1961, a committee of four people was formed to consider and investigate an appeal of tenants made against an overseer whom they accused of bad handling, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 20.

¹⁸⁰In a letter written on August 28, 1953, from the Managing Director to *Dājzmač* Gäräsu Duki, Governor General of the province of Illubabur, we see the *Bētā Rist* Head Office giving a task to Gäräsu to follow up and inspect the activities of the overseer, in clandestine or in any other way, whom the Office suspected of collecting a relatively low amount of coffee from the area, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 5.

in different kinds of punishments.¹⁸¹ But, depending on the weight of the problem, measures were taken step by step. Mistakes done once were passed with instruction and reproof. If people continued doing the same wrongs, the Office wrote letters of reprimand. Repeated salary deductions, and suspension from work came if they were unwilling to use the above corrective measures to avoid their wrongs. If workers failed to use all the above corrective measures to stay in their work but turned deaf ears and committed similar mistakes repeatedly, the Office would fire them.¹⁸² Seldom did workers leave their jobs by writing resignation letters on reasons of low pay.¹⁸³ In general, as long as workers admitted their wrongs and vowed not to repeat mistakes, the management system was not harsh; it was slow to take actions and lenient to give pardon.¹⁸⁴

3.7. Challenges to the *Bétä Rist* Office

Throughout its existence the management office encountered several challenges that affected its smooth and healthy functioning. Generally, we can categorize the various problems into two- external and internal. Under the category of the external challenges, we have those problems created by the Italians, British officials, and those created by local *balabats* (gentry) and provincial government officials. The internal challenges on

¹⁸¹In a letter written on October 27, 1958, from the Head Office to *Ato Zägäyā Säifu*, the latter was suspended for having failed to obey an order given from his superior until the matter was considered by a committee, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 41.

¹⁸²In a letter written on January 29, 1960, from the Head Office to *Grazmač Gäsässä Mängäša, Bétä Rist Šum* (overseer) for the province of Illubabur, the latter was rebuked, and his salary was suspended for having failed to obey orders and for bad handling of tenants, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 251, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 13. On April 2, 1960, *Ato Täsfaya Gäsässä, Bétä Rist Šum* for Anfilo Dulé was fired and the salary of other workers there was deducted, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File No., 15.

¹⁸³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 3, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 36.

¹⁸⁴The *Bétä Rist* Office did not take actions on workers who did not follow stipulated rules due to sickness; for wrongs done once; on those workers who admitted their mistakes and asked forgiveness after being fired; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 250, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 14.

the other hand were created by *Bétä Rist* Head Office workers and those workers who were appointed in the provinces as overseers.

3.7.1. Problems from the Period of Occupation

From 1936 to 1941, Ethiopia was under Italian fascist regime. Using the ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity of the Ethiopian social fabric as fertile ground, the Italians imposed a colonial policy of divide and rule so as to achieve their objectives. They appointed members of one ethnic and religious group over another. Oromos were, for example, appointed over Amharas and Tigrrians; and in some areas, Muslims were favoured and were appointed over Christians.¹⁸⁵ In general, the existing system was replaced by a colonial system. One major change that they introduced was exhibiting in the acquisition of land. As explained above, people who were denied their natural right of using land were given land of their own; the lands of the ruling aristocrats including those of the Emperor were confiscated; and former *balabats* were changed by those appointed by the Italians who were in conformity with their policy of divide and rule (collaborators). Besides, using the general insecurity that was prevalent during this period as excellent opportunity, people in the provinces took the lands of the Emperor as their own. Following the expulsion of the Italians, the Emperor reorganized his property

¹⁸⁵Regarding their policy of divide and rule and the policy that they designed in order to facilitate the conquest among Amhara, Oromo, and Muslims see Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (Zed Books Ltd., 1985), pp. 157-164. In the province of Arsi, for example, a Muslim named Hajji Osman Qabäto was made *Fitawraré Abba Dula* and was given the *balabatnat* of Sabiro-Siré which, before the period of the occupation, was Godana Gäläč's *balabatnat*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 331, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 30. Regarding the problems that an Italian appointed Oromo official by the name Barianto *Abba Saru (Fitawrari)* in whose house was found the colors of Fascist Italy and the problems that his brothers created in the province of Tigray, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7. Regarding the problems that the overseers of the *Bétä Rist* Office faced from people who were given the *rist* of the Emperor by the Italians in the province of Käffa, and the problems that were created by the workers of the Ministry of Finance and of Agriculture, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 24.

management institution. Thus, when former overseers in the provinces were ordered to resume their works, they faced serious challenges from people who took the lands of the Emperor under the land policy of the Italians. Besides, officials who were appointed by the Italians posed serious challenges over the transfer of land and other property. Moreover, the Italians burnt the houses of the Emperor and destroyed substantial amounts of grain.¹⁸⁶

In the first few years after the occupation was over, relation between British and Italian nationals who lived in Addis Ababa was amicable. There was a racial solidarity that overcame enmity. In addition to the problems that they created to the management system, the Italians, backed by the British, used force to acquire the property of the Emperor. According to one archival document, Italians snatched several keys from the *bota ṭäbaqé* (guard), unlocked the houses of the Emperor by force and started living in them by force.¹⁸⁷

3.7.2. Challenges from the British Decade

No one would deny that the Italians were ousted from East Africa in general and from the soil of Ethiopia by the unflinching and stout struggle of the Ethiopian patriots with the collaboration of Commonwealth forces. However, the expulsion of the Italians did not bring total independence for Ethiopia. In what amounted to colonial rule, the country's future was continued to be decided by the British for the next four or so years. Not only did the British presence affect the country's major affairs like foreign relations,

¹⁸⁶At a place called Šaboka in the province of Käffa, the Italians burnt 33 houses and 2, 000 *daula* (a *daula* measures on average 100 Kilograms) of grain of the *Bétä Rist*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ጎ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2088.

¹⁸⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 350, ቀ. ጎ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 14.

finance, administration and territorial integrity but it also affected the day-to-day life of the people. British civilian officials and military posed serious problems in the collection of rentals from Italian lessees for they gave orders not to ask rentals from the Italians unless they paid willingly. The full meaning of British interference is explicitly stated in an application letter written to *Abba Hana* and reads as follows:

መጀመሯ [sic] እነኚህ በዝርዝር የተመለከቱትን የግርማዊነታቸውን ሱቆች ስንረከብ ምንም እንኳን ጣሊያኖች ጠላቶቻችሁ ቢሆኑ እነኚህ በሱቆቻችሁ ውስጥ የሚኖሩትን ጣሊያኖች በኪራይ ረገድ እንዳታስቸግሯቸው ቢፈቅዱ ኪራዩን ይክፈሉዎችሁ ባይፈቅዱ ግን ከኢትዮጵያ እስከናስወጣቸው ድረስ ልታስገድዷቸው አይፈቀድላችሁም ብለው ሱቆቹን ያስረከቡን የእንግሊዝ ባለስልጣኖች ስላስጠነቀቁን በዚህ በሶስቱ ሉክ ወረቀት ዝርዝራቸው በተጻፉ ሱቆች ውስጥ ያሉ ጣሊያኖችና ግሪኮች ይክፈሉና ይልቁንም የሊሬ ዋጋ ስለጋሸበ ከጥቅምት ጀምሮ በብር እንዲሰጡን ክርክር ጀምረናል። ቀድሞ ብዙ የኪራይ ገንዘብ ያስገኙ የነበሩ ትልልቅ ሱቆች በእንግሊዝ ባለስልጣኖች ስለተያዙ ለጊዜው ገቢ የለንም።¹⁸⁸

When we first received His Majesty's shops from British officials which are indicated in detail, they [British officials] warned us by saying "though these Italians who are living in your shops are your enemies, you are not allowed to use force to collect rentals unless they paid you willingly and until we will oust them from Ethiopia." Now we insist that the Italians and the Greeks who are living in the shops listed in these three papers have to pay rentals. And we are debating to receive rentals in Birr because the exchange rate of Lire [Italian unit of currency] is inflated. For the time, we have no income because the big shops from which

¹⁸⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 350, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7.

significant amount of income was collected formerly are now occupied by British officials.

From the above account there are at least two things that reflect the domineering position that the British exercised over Ethiopia in general and even on personal matters. One is that it was not the Emperor but British officials who had the power to consign the shops from the hands of the Italians to *Bétä Rist* officials. Secondly, while the British clearly recognized the shops as the property of the Emperor, they showed their superior position when they prohibited *Bétä Rist* officials from using force so as to vacate the shops. They forced the Ethiopians to wait for them to force the Italians to vacate the shops. Thirdly, they reserved the credit of ousting the Italians from Ethiopia for themselves as though the Ethiopian state and the patriots played no part in the process of ousting the Italians. All this showed that Ethiopia's sovereignty was placed at the mercy of the British. Surprisingly enough, the British never referred to the Italians as their enemies. In addition to such paradox of arrogant intervention in the relationship of Italian residents in Addis Ababa and the *Bétä Rist* Office, houses in Addis Ababa from which the Office used to collect substantial amount of money in the form of rentals were occupied by British officials and military for free.

Using the general instability that was apparent following the expulsion of the Italians from Ethiopia, Addis Ababa experienced one of the most organized loot from its residents and from foreign nationals. Unbridled among the foreign nationals were British officials and military. One of their targets was *Käsaté Birhan* (Advent of Light) Printing Press which the Emperor bought from Asmara before the war. Beginning from December 27, 1941, British officers began looting the printing press, dismantling the machines and

packing them to take the machines to other areas. An application letter written on January 9, 1942 to the Emperor from His Imperial Majesty's *Rist* Department is informative of the activities of the British officers. For the letter speaks for itself, we present it as follows:

ከሳቴ ብርሃን ተብሎ ተሰይሞ የቆመው ማተሚያ ቤት በሙሉ የጽሕፈቱ ማተሚያ እቃና በያይነቱ ፊደል ሁሉ ቀድሞ በተለይ በግርማዊነታቸው ገንዘብ ከአስመራ የተገዛ ነበር። አሁን ግን እንግሊዞች የማተሚያዎችን መኪና እየፈታቱና በሳጥን እያዘጋጁ ስለሚወስዱ ከመወሰዳቸው በፊት አስቀድመንም ወደ ክቡርነትዎ አመልክተን ነበር። ይልቁንም ከታሕሳስ 18 ቀን ጀምረው እንግሊዞች የማተሚያውን መኪና እየፈቱ መውሰድ ስለጀመሩ አቶ ተፈራወርቅና ከርነል ማቴው ወደ ማተሚያ ቤቱ ሄደው መኪናዎችን ለመወሰድ እንደተዘጋጁ አይተው ከርነል ማቴውም መኪናው እርግጥ ለመወሰድ የተዘጋጀ ነው ግን ለዚህ ጥያቄ እንዲደረግ ይህ መኪና እርግጥ የግርማዊ ጃንሆይ መሆኑን ከመሰረቱ ጀምሮ የሚያስረዳን ሰው አምጡ ስላሉ ለዚህም አቶ ሰለሞን የኔነህ እንዲገልጥላቸው ጠርተን ጥንት የግርማዊነታቸው የነበሩትን የመኪናዎችን አይነት ዘርዘሮ ጽፎ ቀድሞ በዚህ ማተሚያ ቤት እነዚህ መኪናዎች ነበሩን እነዚህንም አሁን ከጥቂት ቀን በፊት የእንግሊዝ ባለስልጣኖች ወስደዋቸዋል። ስለዚህ በተወሰዱበት መኪና ምትክ ይህ እንዲቀርልን ነው ብለን ለከርነል ማቴው አስረድተናቸው ነበር። ግን እስከ ዛሬ መኪናዎች ከመወሰድ አልታገዱም። ስለዚህ ይኸን ጉዳይ ክቡርነትዎ እንዲያውቀው በማክበር እናመለክታለን።¹⁸⁹

The printing press named Käsaté Birhan and all the machines and different equipments including the alphabet were bought from Asmara by His Majesty's money. Now the British [officials] are dismantling the machines, packing them in boxes and started looting. This, they started

¹⁸⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 350, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 9, Letter No., 570, an application letter written on January 9, 1942 from the *Rist* Department of the *Bétä Rist* Office to the Emperor. See also annexe 7.

openly beginning from Tahisas (December) 18. But, before they were taken, we have informed the situation to your Majesty. This situation is confirmed by Cornell Mattew and Ato Täfära Wäraq after which Cornell Mattew questioned as to whether the printing machines are the property of His Majesty or not. Then, Ato Solomon Yanenah was summoned to clarify on the machines after which he made a list of them that were formerly taken by British officials. And now we have asked Cornell Mattew to give the packed machines as a substitute to the machines that were taken by British officials. But, because the machines are still being taken and there is no one to stop this, we respectfully inform the situation to your Majesty.

Regarding the dominant position that the British exercised over Ethiopia, Bahru wrote: “Apart from the legal provisions, the overbearing racist attitude of the British officials and officers operating in Ethiopia was calculated to emphasize their superior position in the country.”¹⁹⁰ Sources also tell us that the British officers plundered the property of the Emperor located at *Däjač* Balča Säfär and in Sänga Tära. According to a letter written, on April 25, 1942, to the *Rist* Department, British officers of the Artillery Division organized looting on the properties located there, demolished the houses of the Emperor, and took essential materials with which the houses were constructed. Some pertinent section, picked from this letter, reads:

እደጃዝማች ባልቻ አጥር ግቢ እንግሊዞች በየጊዜው እያፈረሱ ቆርቆሮና ባንቃውን አራት ማዕዘንን እንጨት አግዘው ስለጨረሱትና ሌባውም በእንግሊዞች እያመካኘ ሌሊት እያፈረሱ ስለወሰደው ወደ እንግሊዞች የጠበቀ ማዘገፍ ባለመተላለፉ ምክኒያት በዚያው አውራጃ

¹⁹⁰Bahru, 179

በሰንጋ ተራ ያሉት እንግሊዞች መደፈኞች እግቢው ውስጥ ዘበኛ አቁመው እኛ እንዳናስፈርስም በግቢው እንዳንገባ አስከልክለው ቤቱን እያፈረሱ ቆርቆሮውን ሳንቃውን አግዘው ጨረሱት። ደጃዝማች ባልቻ ከሰሩዎቻቸው ከፎቁና ከልፍኝ አዳራሹ በቀር ጠላት የሰራውን በሙሉ አፍርሰው በሚያዝያ ወር ወሰዱት።¹⁹¹

Because an order to stop their looting is not given, the British [British officials] demolished [the house] located inside the enclosure of Däjäč Balča and took the entire wooden beam, the gate and iron sheets. Under the cover of the British [British officials], the thief also demolished [the houses] at night and looted. Such kind of looting is also undertaken in Sanga Tara by the officers of the British Artillery Division. [When we tried to collect our property], their guards prevented us from entering into the enclosure. With the exception of the ilfiñ and the adaraš and the foq [ground plus structure] which were constructed by Däjäč Balča, they looted all the houses that were constructed by the enemy [Italians].

As clearly stated in the above letter, British officers organized looting at different times; and took all the most essential parts of the houses. In addition, the British were implicated as those who started the pillage which was followed by other people under the pretext of British officers. Sad to say, the Ethiopian state was unable to stop such organized looting by the British officials and officers depicting the nominal nature of the country's independence.

¹⁹¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 350, ቀ. ታ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 20, letter No., 32. See also annexe 8.

3.7.3. Challenges from Local *Balabats* and Government Officials

In addition to the problems that were created by the Italians and British officers and officials, the *Bétā Rist* faced problems from local *balabats* and government officials. Overseers who were appointed in the provinces faced serious challenges from *Çiqā Šums* as the latter refused to pay *irbo* (one fourth of a produce) that was to be collected and sent to the treasury at Addis Ababa while the overseers were compelled to pay tax to the government.¹⁹² At times, local *balabats* and government officials joined hands and refused to listen to the overseers in the collection of the income of the Emperor. A very interesting example of such collaboration concluded between local *balabats*, *wärāda* level governors and bandits against the overseers appointed in the provinces is reflected in a report prepared by *Nägadrās* Birhanā Selassé Abayäre which he submitted to the Emperor. A very enlightening part of the report reads:

አቡቴ በጣም ማለፊያ መሬት ነው። በመሬቱ ላይ ያሉ ጭሰኞች እርስ በርሳቸው ተጋድለው ሰብላቸውን የሚሰበሰቡው በመጥፋቱና የኛም ድርሻ ከ 600 ዳውላ በላይ የሚጠፋብን። ወስላታው ብዙ ነው መኪና አይገባም እህል ለማስጫን ያስፈራል። ወረዳ ገዥዎች ከወስላቶች ጋር ይስማማሉ ጸጥታ የለውም። ዋናው ረጋሳ ዳዲ የሚባል ያገሩ ተወላጅ ባላባት ነው። ከሹማምንት ጋር አበልጅ የጡት ልጅ ሆኗል። ግንደበረት ድረስ 30 ወስላቶችን አስቀምጧል። በረጋሳና በወረዳው ገዥ ምክኒያት የሰምንት ጋሻ መሬት አበል በጭራሽ ማጣታችን ነው።¹⁹³

¹⁹²In the province of Arsi, at a place called Robé, the *Bétā Rist* Office lost revenue that was collected from 3 *gašas* of land for the Director of the province taken the revenue by force and given directly to the treasury of the Government, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 560, letter No., 8913/13/44. Regarding the problems that the *Çiqāšums* created, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2088, Letter No., 106/5/53.

¹⁹³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 4. See also annexe 2.

The fertility of the land in Aboté is highly rated. We will lose above 600 daula [a daula on average measuring 100 kilograms], which is our share; because the tenants killed one another and that there is no one to gather their crop. Because there is no road for a car and that the area is infested by many bandits, it is frustrating to load and transport grain. The area is not secured because the wäräda level governors are in good terms with the bandits. The ringleader is Rägassa Dadé who is at the same time the local balabat. He is related with government officials as abä lij and ya ūt lij. He stationed 30 gangs as far as Gindä Bärät. As a result we are about to totally forfeit the abäl [share] that was to be collected from 8 gašas of land.

Aboté was a small territory within Sälallé *awraja* in the Governorate General of Säwa. As clearly described in the above report, the area was very insecure for it was infested with bandits whose relation with *wäräda* level governors was amicable. Besides, the areas under the rule of the local *balabat* (Rägassa Dadé) and *wäräda* level governors proved to be tough territory for the overseers to cross. Moreover, the bandits were organized by the local *balabat*. The combined effect posed serious challenge to the overseers in the collection of revenue. As indicated in the report, the amount of revenue that the Office lost was estimated to be 600 *Daula*, a *Daula* on average measuring 100 kilograms of grain. As these were not enough, they fomented rebellions among tenants against the overseers to prevent

them from ensuring the tributary rights of the Emperor.¹⁹⁴ Sometimes, overseers in the provinces were imprisoned by *wäräda* level government officials.¹⁹⁵

3.7.4. Challenges From Within

Some of the challenges that the management office faced were created from within by the overseers themselves. Major challenges from within include overseers at different levels who turned out to be corrupt; they disregarded the duties entrusted upon them; engaged in untimely collection of revenues and settlement of accounts while such tasks were to be done according to clearly stipulated timelines; took part or all of the revenue of the Emperor for themselves; were unwilling to hand over documents to newly appointed overseers; fomented rebellions among tenants by enticing them to refuse orders given from the newly appointed overseers; and intrigued with local *balabats* and provincial government officials.¹⁹⁶ Some of the problems that the Office faced were created by absentee overseers. Such problems occurred as a result of lack of close control, and supervision on the part of the overseers as they lived in Addis Ababa while they were appointed in the provinces, some near and others very far from the capital.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 34.

¹⁹⁵The *Bétä Rist* overseer for Qorbäta, Tigray province, was for example imprisoned by local level government officials, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2088, Letter No., 1706/5/49.

¹⁹⁶For example, overseers in Säälälé were criticized for having collected lower revenue for the year 1954, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 23. *Ato Gäbrä Mariam Abbay*, overseer of the *Bétä Rist* in Minjar refused to settle accounts despite the Head Office wrote him several times to do so, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 315, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 15. Regarding the intrigues made between the overseers and the local *balabats* see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2. Regarding the overseers who took the revenue of the *Bétä Rist* for themselves see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 215, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 6. Overseers in Qälläm *awraja* of Wälläga province assessed coffee collected from Kuré Lafto Kortu *qäbälé* of Gidamé *wäräda* with Anfilo *qunṭar* (Six Anfilo *qunṭar* measures one *kubaya*) and tried to settle it with Baro *qunṭar* (a variant which measures half of Anfilo *qunṭar*), I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2, Letter No., 698/9/49.

¹⁹⁷*Girazmač* Gäsässä was *Šum* for Illubabor *Bétä Rist*. But, in the most part he lived in Addis Ababa, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 251 ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File Nos., 13, and 18.

When the Office faced challenges of the above sort, it took very systematic, but modest and step-by-step measures to cope with these setbacks. As pointed out earlier, overseers who created problems of the above sort were advised, rebuked, and given letters of reprimand. If they were not willing to correct their wrongs by the above measures, the Office made reasonable salary deduction. The next measure was suspension from work for sometime but workers were given the chance of being reinstated to their posts provided that they agreed to never repeat similar wrongs. It was after the failure of all these recourses that the Office went to the extent of firing workers. For the most part, however, workers employed and appointed at different levels were loyal to the tasks entrusted upon them. Depending on their performances, as noted above, they were given incentives in various ways. In this, the management office exhibited a proper system of giving incentives and motivating employees to be diligent workers. Workers with excellent performances were promoted while the indolent were demoted and at times fired from work.

So far, we have tried to show the structure of the *Bétä Rist*. In the next chapter, an attempt is made to look at how much effort was made to enlarge the property of the monarch through investment mainly in the agricultural and industrial sectors as well as in the development of real estates.

Chapter Four: - Economic Investment.

In chapter three, an attempt was made to categorize the evolution of the management system into three phases. In this chapter, we will focus on the second and third phases which cover the years from October 1948 to 1974/'75. In many respects the year 1948 was a watershed in the history of the Emperor's property management institution. Since then, the Office became more stabilized, well organized, well staffed, and well directed. Starting with the General Administrator, men who had long experience in finance, administration of lands, agriculture, and in urban development were employed in the Head Office. In January 1973, for example, *Bilattén Géta* Birhanä Selassé Abayäre was replaced by *Nägadras Säifä* Selassé Libän as General Administrator. On January 22, 1973, the Finance Department of the Head Office handed 32 registers to the newly appointed Managing Director. These registers dealt with revenue and expenditure, title deeds, urban lands, *asrat* (tithe), bank accounts, petty cash, revenue and expenditure summaries, and government tax, indicating how the management system was well organized and systematized.¹⁹⁸ Besides, as we have said in chapter three, new departments were also opened pursuant to the Emperor's plan to maximize his property through economic investment mainly in agriculture, industry and in the development of real estates.¹⁹⁹ In addition to the economic motives that such engagements would bring to the monarch personally, the emperor sought to demonstrate the potential of modern agricultural methods which inturn would encourage others to emulate.

¹⁹⁸I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 88, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 39.

¹⁹⁹For full information of work done and to be done starting from 1949, see I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 48.

According to an expenditure summary prepared for the years from May 1949 to January 1971, a total of Eth. 7, 908, 787 birr and 51 cents was expended from the treasury of the Head Office. From this, Eth. 362, 768 birr and 67 cents was allocated for purchase and development of lands. Eth. 615, 697 birr and 74 cents was invested in the development of real estates; Eth. 167, 217 birr and 47 cents for purchase and reparation of agricultural machineries and vehicles; and Eth. 81, 945 birr and 89 cents expended for fuel used by tractors which were deployed in the different partially mechanized farming activities run by the *Bétä Rist* Office.

Table 1: - Invested capital and the amount of money allocated for each expenditure title for the years from May 1949 to January 1971.

No.	Expenditure Title	Amount(in Eth. Birr)
1	Salary	1, 213, 178.05
2	<i>Darägot</i> (Gift or bonus given to people)	942, 733.46
3	Money given to the Palace	1, 946, 691. 65
4	Money utilized for buying stationary materials	2, 099. 65
5	Money paid for postal and telephone services	7, 754. 61
6	Purchase and development of land	362, 768.67
7	Construction and reparation of houses and fences	615, 697. 74
8	Tithe set aside	214, 851. 51
9	Tax for urban lands	36, 699. 20
10	<i>Firé Gibir</i> (Land tax)	286, 354. 15
11	Purchase and reparation of vehicles	167, 217. 47
12	Fuel	81, 945. 89
13	Electric light and water services	13, 355. 12
14	Others	2, 004, 440. 42
	Total	7, 908, 787. 5

Source: For the audit statement of the expenditure of the *Bétä Rist*, look at I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 262, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር.*, File No., 1.

4.1. Investment in Agriculture

As we have tried to show in chapter two, Emperor Haile Selassie owned vast tracts of land in the provinces. These lands were used for the cultivation of different kinds of food grains, cash crops, fruits and vegetables. On some of his lands, attempts were also made to raise cattle. In general, in what was generally categorized as *rist* and *gult* land tenure areas, the Emperor's lands were, for the most part, not fragmented but located in one area. Besides, the lands were carefully selected and were very fertile. Interestingly enough, some of his lands were located near perennial rivers and streams, a circumstance that made irrigation agriculture possible. When in 1949 a department for the development of agriculture along modern lines was opened, it envisaged to invest in the cultivation of varieties of food and cash crops, fruits and vegetables and cattle breeding activities. To this end, the Emperor allocated substantial amount of money as we shall see in this chapter one by one.

With the exception of those lands reserved and bought for plantation agriculture and for partially mechanized farming activities, the vast tracts of land of the Emperor located in the provinces were cultivated by tenants, mostly in what was generally referred to as the south where land was measured, and by peasants in the north where the main land tenure system was *rist*. As this study confirmed, the dominant, if not the sole, share cropping agreement entered into between the *Bétä Rist* and the cultivators was *Irbo* (a fourth of one's produce). This issue will be further explained in an independent chapter which is devoted to tenancy.

The several land lease contracts entered into between the Office and the cultivators also revealed that transitions from the collection of *irbo*, for the most part paid in kind, to land lease that was paid in cash, the amount of which was fixed and paid on a yearly basis, were taking place, a circumstance that highlights the emergence of early capitalist production relations in a predominantly feudal agrarian economy. The formal land lease contract document contained names of the lessor and the lessee; location and amount of land given to the lessee, in most cases measured in *gaša*; contract period; amount of money to be paid to the *Bétä Rist* treasury every year; provisions to be kept; the amount of interest to be paid by the lessee if failed to settle accounts on the specified date fixed for that purpose; details on the transfer of property to the lessor at the time of the termination of the contract; and conditions that need to be observed when the two parties desired to terminate and renew the contract.²⁰⁰ Lands were thus leased out to individual farmers up to five years. Depending on the prevailing land tenure system and potential of the land, the amount of money fixed to a given land leased out for Lessees varied from one area to another. In Haiqoç and Buta Jira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, for example, a *gaša* of land was leased out at one place for Eth. 700 birr and at another place for Eth. 465 birr per year. In this same *awraja*, 3 *gašas* of land were leased out for Eth. 300 birr per year. In addition to *irbo*, the lessee had to pay *firé gibir* (land tax), tithe, education and health taxes to the government.²⁰¹ Mostly, revenue obtained from *irbo aras* (cultivators) was insignificant. For example, in Gawota *qäbälé* of the province of Käffa,

²⁰⁰I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 46.

²⁰¹I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 49. See also Folder No., 227, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 23.

Eth. 448 birr, 201 Shilling, and 1, 540 lire (Italian unit of currency) was collected from 1942 to 1944.²⁰²

Table 2: - People who entered into land contract agreements and amount of money that they paid to the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* on January 26, 1973.

No	Province	<i>Awraja</i>	<i>Wäräda</i>	Lessee	Extent of land in <i>gaša</i>	Amount paid (Eth. birr)
1	Šäwa	Çäbo	Bäčo	Damté	1	100
2	Šäwa	Mänagäša	Addis Aläm	Mäzläqia	0.50	250
3	Šäwa	Yärär	Ginbiču	Zägäyä Säifu	1.50	150
4	Šäwa	Kämbata	Kontäb	Abägaz	1	300
5	Harärgé	Gälämso	-	Bušura	0.50	200
6	Šäwa	Kämbata	Siqé	Awgčäw	0.50	133
7	Šäwa	Tägulät and Bulga	Ankobär	Bälainäh	1	30
8	Šäwa	Çäbo & Guraghe	Tulu Bido	Bäqälä	30	2, 000

Source: These lands that were given to individual contractors were inherited from a noble lady called *Wäizäro Tisämé Abba Yirga*, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 311, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ ቤ . ር., File No., 2.

As clearly shown in the above table, the amount of money fixed to a *gaša* of land in what was generally referred to as *rist* areas was much lower than in areas where land was measured. A *gaša* of land in Tägulät and Bulga *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, for example, was leased out for Eth. 30 birr per year while the same amount of land in Kämbata *awraja* of this same province was leased out for Eth. 300 birr. In the province of Harärgé as shown above, half a *gaša* of land was leased out for Eth. 200 birr.

²⁰² *Girazmč* Mihräte Tifé was the *Šum* (overseer) of the area who brought the revenue to the Head Office at Addis Ababa, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቅ. ሥ ቤ . ር., File No., 24.

Lands were also given in concession to people who were interested to invest in agriculture. One of the places that were very attractive to foreign investment was the area located along the courses and drainage basins of the Awaš River, one of the major perennial rivers of Ethiopia suitable for irrigation agriculture. For example, the *Bétä Rist* leased out 10 *gašas* of land located in Jäju *wäräda* of Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi to two Italians named Nerino Oliviero and Angelio Fossier for a period of 10 years. As clearly stated in the concession contract, the lessor and the lessees agreed to adhere to 7 conditions. For example, the lessees undertook to clear the forest at their own expense and use the Awaš River to irrigate the Farm. As for the payment of the contract, they undertook to pay Eth. 1000 birr for the first two years per year; from the 3rd to the 5th years Eth. 1, 500 birr; and from the 5th to the 10th years Eth. 6, 000 birr per year. These foreign investors planned to develop 400 hectares of land with two tractors. The lessor entered an agreement to give a tractor for a period of 6 months while fuel and driver and other expenses were to be covered by the lessees. In this agricultural concession the investors planned to cultivate food grains such as *teff* (*Eragrostis*) and wheat (*Triticum aestivum*); cash crops mainly cotton and tobacco, and fruits such as banana (*Genus Musa*), orange (*Genus Citrus*), and mandarin (*Citrus Reticulate*) as well as such vegetables as lettuce (*L. sativa*), and tomato (*Lycopersicon esculatum*).²⁰³

The *Bétä Rist* was one of the major grain suppliers in the country in general and for the residents of the city of Addis Ababa in particular. In the remotest provinces like Tigray, the grain which the overseers collected from cultivators, mostly *irbo*, was sold out to the

²⁰³I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 44, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 2088 (Imperial Ethiopian Government, the Archives of the Ministry of Agriculture). These Italians started cultivating the land and were given permission to buy gasoline to be utilized for that purpose from the Ministry of Agriculture, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., Folder No., 60, File No., 39. See also annexe 23.

residents of the area. Price was fixed according to the market of the area at the time the grain was decided to be sold.²⁰⁴ In 1953, for example, a total of 965 quintals of a variety of food grain was sold for Eth. 15, 868 birr and 66 cents to the residents of Addis Ababa. The types of food grains sold were *teff* (*Eragrostis*) of varied standards, the chosen quality being *mañña teff* (the extremely white one), barley, sorghum, chick-pea, and rye. On average, one quintal of food grain was sold for Eth. 16 birr and 43 cents. Civil servants who bought grain with credit (paid in three instalments) include workers of the Ministry of the Pen, Artistic Printing Press, Imperial Bodyguard from its 10 departments, the Army, Private Treasury of the Emperor, the High Court, the Ministry of Justice, the Secretariat of the Empress, the Palace, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture, *Bétä Rist* Head Office workers and interested individuals.

Table 3: - Type of grain sold from the Main Store of the *Bétä Rist* in Addis Ababa for the residents of the city and estimated price for the year 1959.

No.	Type of Crop	Quintal	Price (Eth. birr)/quintal
1	<i>Teff</i> of best quality (<i>mañña teff</i>)	1	25
2	<i>Särgäñña Teff</i> (half white and half red)	1	17
3	Wheat	1	19
4	Barley and Sorghum	1	12
5	Pea	1	17
7	Bean	1	14
8	Chick-Pea	1	16
9	Maize	1	10
10	Nigger seed and Lentil	1	22

Source: I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 262, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 15

²⁰⁴For example, Eth. 4, 796 birr was obtained from the sale of grain in Qorbäta *Bétä Rist* in Raya and Azäbo *Awraja* of the province of Tigray in the financial year ended 1960, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 156, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 26. Eth. 1, 177 birr from different areas of Säälälé *Bétä Rist*, and from Tägulät and Bulga, Eth. 528 birr in the financial year ended 1955, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 194, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File Nos., 27, 2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, and 22.

4.1.1. Production of Cash Crops

The production of cash crops, especially coffee, was one major area of agricultural investment to which the Emperor allocated substantial amount of money. Attempts to cultivate coffee were made in the provinces of Simén and Bägémdir, Balé, Arsi, Harärgé, Wälläga, Illubabur, and Käffa.

In Simén and Bägémdir Governorate General, for example, an attempt to plant coffee was made at a place called *Abba Samuel-Gomängé*, an area located between the towns of Gondär and Azäzo. Basically, the *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* Farm was established for the cultivation of different kinds of fruits and vegetables that were to be sold out to the residents of the town of Gondär. In this same site an attempt was also made to raise cattle.²⁰⁵

For a long time, the Zägé peninsula was the major single coffee producing area in the entire province of Simén and Bägémdir. The people of Zägé were dependant on the production of coffee. Its coffee was even exported to the Sudan.²⁰⁶ The only area that came to rival the Zägé peninsula in the 1950's and 1960's was the *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* Farm. To this end, coffee seedlings from the Coffee Board were sent to this farm. The credit of having introduced coffee to this area was given to a man named *Abba Samuel* for whom the farm was named. This man was sent to the area from the Coffee Development Board. Then he was given a land to be a coffee nursery site where he grew coffee seedlings in great number. Initially, the aim was to distribute coffee seedlings to

²⁰⁵I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ ቤ . ር., Simén and Bägémdir *Bätä-Rist* File No., 2

²⁰⁶Giziew Melesse, "The Naviga Tana Company," B.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, 1987), p. 12. See also Binayew Tamerat, "A History of Zägé Peninsula, 1902-1991," M.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, 2009), p. 3.

the surrounding farmers. But, according to a report written in 1955, there were six thousand coffee trees at the *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* Farm. Fifty percent of these were ready to give coffee seeds while at the same time a substantial number of coffee seedlings were ready to be planted. The total number of coffee trees reached two hundred thousand around 1955. According to a revenue-expenditure summary for the month of November 1964, one hundred and eighty one kilograms of coffee were sold out for Eth. 253 birr and 40 cents which mean Eth. 1 birr and 40 cents for a kilogram of coffee.

In the 1960's experts from the Coffee Development Board were sent to examine the feasibility of the *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* Farm for coffee production, a task that had to be done at the beginning. One mission of the expert group was to select areas suitable for further coffee plantation. Against such lofty mission, however, the expert group confirmed that the *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* Farm was not suitable for coffee plantation on the ground that the land was not fertile but stony. The recommendation of the expert group thus aborted the idea of promoting coffee plantation in the region in general and in the Farm in particular.²⁰⁷

The Emperor also possessed a coffee farm in Dolo in the province of Balé. In 1958, for example, Eth. 2, 193 birr and 85 cents was allocated and given to *Ato* Solomon Wärqu, the overseer of the province, to clear the forest and prepare the land for the cultivation of coffee.²⁰⁸ The *Bétä Rist* Office also owned coffee farms in the provinces of Arsi and Harärgé. According to a letter written in August 1959, Eth. 8, 257 birr and 5 cents was

²⁰⁷I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 76, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., Simén and Bägémdir *Bätä-Rist* File Nos., 2, and 3. For a picture showing the handing over of coffee seedlings grown from *Abba Samuel* nursery site, refer to *Addis Zämän*, 21st Year, No. 192, Nähasé (August) 8, 1952 E.C, p.1. On the attempts made to plant coffee at *Abba Samuel* Farm see *Addis Zämän*, Tahisas (December) 22, 1953 E.C, p. 6.

²⁰⁸Some equipment bought to clear the forest includes different types of saws, scissors, spades, lever, and axes, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 300, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No. 15. See also annexe 9.

allocated to buy 5, 505 seedlings of coffee from Wänj nursery site to be planted at Arboyé Tibila (Tifsihita Gännät) Farm, an area located in Jäju *wärädä* of Arba Gogu *awraja* of the province of Arsi, a seedling for Eth. 1birr and 50 cents.²⁰⁹ From this Farm, a harvest of 62 quintals and 38 kilograms of coffee was obtained in 1964.²¹⁰ Maison F. Livierato was an import-export company in Ethiopia. In 1962, 3, 523.59 kilograms or 207.27 *färäsulla* (one *färäsulla* measuring 17 kilograms) of coffee, obtained from the province of Harärgé, was sold to this company for Eth. 4, 353 birr and 10 cents, a *Färäsulla* of coffee sold for Eth. 21 birr, and a kilogram of coffee sold for Eth. 1 birr and 23 cents.²¹¹

In the province of Wälläga, too, the Emperor possessed coffee growing fields at places called Anfilo Dulé and Kuré Lafto Kortu, in Gidamé *wäräda*. In 1954, for example, he earned Eth. 1, 600 birr from the sale of coffee obtained from Anfilo Dulé.²¹² Again, in the financial year ended 1960, Eth. 4, 352 birr and 65 cents was obtained from the sale of coffee in Kuré Lafto Kortu.

Table 4: - Revenue obtained from Anfilo Dulé *Bétä Rist* in the Financial year ended 1960 (Eth. birr).

Coffee	Honey	<i>Irbo</i> (Food Grain)	Fire wood	Others	Total
30, 646.35	215	4, 216.30	9	303	35, 389. 65

Source: W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 151, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ ቤ . File No., 1.

²⁰⁹ I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ ቤ . C., No., 16.

²¹⁰ I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 347, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ ቤ . C., No., 1.

²¹¹ I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ ቤ . C., No., 16.

²¹² *Ato Tädäsä Täsäma* was the man who brought the coffee to Addis Ababa, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 194, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ ቤ . File No., 14

Another area where an experiment of coffee plantation was undertaken was in the province of Illubabur, a province which was known for its coffee in the country. In a letter written on August, 28, 1953, from the Head Office in secret to *Däjazmač* Gäräsu Duki, the then Governor General of the Governorate General, we learn that the Emperor held 360 *gašas* of land bought from State Domain for the cultivation of coffee. In the meantime, Eth. 15, 000 birr was obtained from the sale of 9, 792 kilograms of coffee, a kilogram of coffee sold at Eth. 1 birr and 53 cents, an amount far less than what the Office was expecting from these lands. As a result, Gäräsu was given a mission to secretly (or by any other mechanism) find out the reason why the overseers (*Girazmač* Gäsäsä Mängäša, chief overseer and his vice, *Ato* Täsfayä Gäsäsä, may be his son) collected such a low amount of revenue from the province. The Office was also disappointed about their indolence as they did not start forest clearing while other people from Addis Ababa went there and began forest clearing. Thus, under Gäräsu's supervision, the Head Office allocated Eth. 3, 000 birr which was to be used for forest clearing.²¹³

Yet, the major coffee growing areas of the Emperor were located in the province of Käffa. In this province, the Emperor held 253 *gašas* of coffee land in different areas.²¹⁴ From this, 189 *gašas* of coffee land were located in Kaša (83 *gaša*), in the vicinity of the

²¹³W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 243, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. File No., 5. See also annexe 22.

²¹⁴In the province of Käffa, the Emperor's *Bétä Rist*, and other members of the royal family, and forty four (44) high ranking ruling aristocrats held 2, 159 *gašas* of best coffee lands. The amount of land that the emperor owned in this province is significant and information given from the *Därg* is genuine as indicated in foot note no. 22, *Addis Zämän*, 34th year, No. 552, Sunday, Hidar (November), 1, 1967 E.C. p.1.

Church of Andärača *Mädahinétä Aläm* near the town of Bonga, 88 *gašas*, and in Nono Märdasa *qäbälé* of Limu *wäräda*, 18 *gašas*.²¹⁵

In the 1940s the Governor General of the province of Käffa was *Däjazmač* (latter *Ras*) Mäsfin Siläši. As we have noted before, he, together with *Däjazmač* Gäräsu Duki, was given assignments many times by the Head Office to carefully select lands suitable for the cultivation of coffee and were asked to render support to overseers and even to systematically spy on their activities on behalf of the Office. The reactions of these people to such assignments were very positive and enthusiastic. For example, sometime around 1953, *Däjazmač* Mäsfin was assigned to search, select, and buy lands in the province of Käffa that were suitable for coffee plantation. Accordingly, he bought 43 *gašas* of land in Sädéqa and other nearby *qäbälés*. Another area that he selected for coffee plantation was Gotu which measured 2 and a half *gaša* of land located 50 kilometres away from Sädéqa.²¹⁶

In order to reinforce the above coffee plantation scheme, in 1955, the Emperor bought 30 *gašas* of forest land at Eth. 900 birr from State Domain, a *gaša* of land for Eth. 30 birr.²¹⁷ The price of the land was so cheap because the land was totally uncultivated. At the time of purchase, the land was covered with dense forest. On April 18, 1957, Eth. 25, 000 birr was allocated to develop Kaša *Bétä Rist*.²¹⁸ The money was given to Mäsfin Siläš and not in fact to *Ato* Tadälä Qoričo, the then overseer of the province, to be utilized for forest clearing: for wages and food for daily workers who were deployed in forest clearing activities; for buying different farm implements and for other expenses related with the

²¹⁵ W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, *ፊ. ቅ. ሥ.ቤ.* File Nos., 6 and 12.

²¹⁶ W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, *ፊ. ቅ. ሥ.ቤ.* File No.4.

²¹⁷ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, *ፊ. ቅ. ሥ.ቤ.* File Nos., 11 and 2088.

²¹⁸ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, *ፊ. ቅ. ሥ.ቤ.* File No., 4.

coffee plantation project.²¹⁹ After the forest was cleared, 100, 000 coffee seedlings were planted on this site for which the *Bétä Rist* Office allocated Eth. 5, 583 birr and 75 cents.²²⁰

Däjazmač Mäsfin Siläš's confidence on the potential of the areas selected for coffee plantation is impressive. According to his report, Eth. 100, 000 to 130, 000 birr could be obtained within two years after the commencement of the plantation project. But, before the beginning of the plantation, for example in 1953, revenue collected from this area was estimated to be Eth. 8, 108 birr, a figure far less than the alleged income that the Office would possibly earn after the plantation project would be started. A very obsequious letter, written on March 17, 1954 and addressed to the Emperor, gives us an impression of the *Däjazmač's* determination to diligently serve the monarch:

... የኔን ንብረት ለማቋቋም ለሚጥሩ ለባለግርማው ንጉሤ በገንዘብ ለሚሰራው ስራ ቀርቶ ራሴ መጥረቢያ ይገዢ ብሰራ ቅር እንደማይለኝ አምላክዎ ምስክራ ነው። አሁንም ትእዛዙን ቆርጠው ይስጡኝና ስራውን ልጀምር። ገንዘብም ከ 10, 000 ብር በላይ አልፏልግም። ለጊዜው ለዛሬው ይበቃል። ባሯዎ [sic] መስፍን ስለሽ።²²¹

Your Lord is my witness that I do not mind to work, for my majestic king who strived to establish my property, even by carrying an axe let alone the work that is to be done with the help of [your money]. Now let you give me the order so that I shall start the work. As for the money, I need not more than Eth. 10, 000 birr. Suffice is for the time being, for today. Your slave, Mäsfin Siläš.

²¹⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 5, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 5.
²²⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 240.
²²¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 4.

He even asked the Emperor to replace the overseers working in the province of Käffa for the revenue collected from tenants in the form of *Irbo* was discovered to be disappointing. A very informative part of the report reads:

“...እስከ 3 ዓመት ቤተ ርስት በዚህ ስራ እጁን ሳያገባ በኔና በፊታውራሪ ወርቃለማሁ ኃላፊነት እንዲሰራ ለማቅኛና ለመጋዘን መስሯ 25, 000 ብርና አንድ ጅግ ካሚዎኔት [ይሰጠን]....”

Let the work be done by the direction of myself and Fitawrari Wärqalämahu for three years during which time the Bétä Rist would play no part. Let us be [given] Eth. 25, 000 birr, a car of the jeep model, an amount to be used for development of the land and for the construction of a store.

According to his report written on May 13, 1954 to the Emperor, the *Bétä Rist* Office held 500 *gašas* of land in the province of Käffa. Out of these, 200 *gašas* of land was covered with coffee forest.²²²

Dr. Fiumana, forest and plantation expert reported that forest clearing started in May 1954 with 65 daily wage workers who received Eth. 1 birr per day. The workers were also supplied with flour, pepper and some salt. As a result, 10 *gašas* of forest land was cleared; and the logs were collected in one place in 1955. Included in the report is that more than 200, 000 coffee seedlings were planted on this Farm. The ideal months for planting coffee seedlings were May and June. For a *gaša* of land, Eth. 1, 000 birr and 5 quintals of *teff* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*) flour was allocated. Areas covered with forest and now cleared include Yaga, Gahé Yiwuṭa, Näuš, Yiqir, Adäma, Békéb, and Bikära

²²²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos., 4, 6, and 15.

qäbälés. The expert confirmed that the coffee seed was promising; and there was rain almost in all the four seasons. A major challenge to the Farm were weeds which grew easily and very quickly and that it had to be removed almost every week so as to protect the area from being covered with weeds again. When the coffee seeds ripened, money was allocated that was to be paid for daily workers who picked the coffee seeds from the coffee trees on daily basis. Apart from this, tenants were not forced to render unpaid labour service. For example, in December 1957, daily workers who picked coffee seeds were paid Eth. 1 birr per day. Another potential area that the Emperor bought for coffee plantation was located in Aqinača *qäbälé* of Çäna *wäräda*. The lands which measured 30 *gašas* were bought at Eth. 948 birr and 50 cents from State Domain. In addition to the sufficient amount of rain that the area received annually, the land was squarely drained by a perennial river called Wäš. To alleviate transportation problem a driveway that linked the *awraja* (Käffa) with Kaša was constructed.²²³

According to the report of *Ato Wäldä Giyorgis Bäqälä*, the overseer of Kaša *Bétä Rist* (appointed and sent to the area in 1954), there were 5, 400 coffee trees in Kaša. In the meantime, the Governor of Käffa *awraja* was *Fitawraré Wärqälämahu Faris*. According to a report prepared by *Wärqälämahu*, in the years 1954-'55, 10 *gašas* of land were cleared for coffee plantation. In this land 50, 000 seedlings of coffee were planted and were in good condition. To this end, Eth. 10, 000 birr was allocated; the greater portion of which was paid for daily workers who cleared the forest. There were 500 to 600 *kuli* (daily workers) who were deployed to clear the forest and plant new coffee seedlings and work it. Wild forest was abundant and in the years mentioned above 43 quintals of wild

²²³Regarding the report of the expert, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 4. See also Folder No 5, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 5

coffee was obtained; and from tenants 50 *daula* (a *daula* approximately measuring one quintal) of coffee, an amount which raised the total to 118 quintals. As noted above, the River Waš formed the potent force behind this plantation, a river which was easy to drain and guide the waters to the Farm. According to a letter written in 1959 from the *Bétä Rist* Office of Käffa to the Head Office, above 40, 000 seedlings of coffee were planted along modern lines in addition to the *wof arasš* (wild or forest) coffee which was in good keeping.²²⁴

Birhanä Selassé Abayäré and Mäsfin Siläš personally visited Kaša coffee plantation. The latter was very much delighted of what he saw there, rebuked himself for having disregarded the works of the Emperor, confirmed Kaša alone sufficient for coffee plantation, and swore to work diligently as one bond servant to make the project more profitable.

በከፋ ካሻ የሚባለውን እኔ እንዳሰራው የታዘዘኩትን ፊታውራሪ ወርቃለማሁ ለነጋድራስ ብርታነሥላሤ አባይሬ እንዲያሳዩ ታዘው ያሳዩትን እኔም ከማጅ ስመለስ ሄጀ ባዬው ከልክ ያለፈ ተደሰትኩ። ጊሚራ ውስጥ አሞራ ገደል የተባለው በእውነቱ መንገድ ካልዎጣለት አድካሚ ነው ነገር ግን እንዲዎጣ አድርጌአለሁ። ይህ ግን ከመቅረቡም ጋር መንገዱም በስምንት ሜትር ስፋት የተሰራ በመሆኑ በመኪና ቡኑ ውስጥ ድረስ ገብቻ ሳየው የጌታዬን ስራ የበደልኩት እኔው ራሴ በመሆኔ ላለፈው ራሴን ወቅሽ ለወደፊቱ ባመት ሁለት ሰዓት ጊዜ እዚያ መገኘቱን መረጥኩ። እሌላ ላይ መድከም ከንቱ ነው ይኸው ይበቃል። እድል ቢያጋጥመኝ ግርማዊ ባዩት ጊዜ የሚሰጡትን ትእዛዝ ና የቱን ያህል መደሰትዎን ነው የምናፍቀው። አሁን ግን በግንቦት ወር ሄጀ ያለፈውን የተሰራውን ለማጣራት ልሳሹን መድገምና መስራት እንዲሁም አዲስ ቡን ከጫካው ለመገላገል ና ቡኑ እንዲያገለግል ማድረግ አለብኝ። አሁንም እንዲሰራ ትእዛዝ ና \$ 12,

²²⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ጋ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 4.

000 ብር ለፈታውራሪ ወርቃለማሁ ሰጥቻለሁ ወደፊት ከግርማዊ ገንዘብ አንጠይቅም
እርስ በርስ እያሰራን ገቢውንም ከሁለት አመት በኋላ ያዩታል። የድሜ ደሃ ካለደረገኝ
በፍጹም የጌታዬን ስራ እንደ አንድ ባሪያ ሆኜ ለመስራት ና ለማቋቋም የቆረጥኩ ነኝ።

On having visited Kaša in Käffa upon my return from Maji, an area formerly visited by Birhnä Selassé Abayiré under the guidance of Fitawraré Wärqalämahu which was decided to be developed under my direction, I rejoiced beyond limit. Amora Gädäl in Gimira was indeed inaccessible until a driveway was constructed under my direction. But this one [Kaša] is accessible and the road is constructed eight metres by eight meters wide. As a result, I drove up to the middle of the coffee tree. On having seen it, I reproached myself for having disregarded the work of my master, but I decided to be there two and three times per year in the future. Now, I need to go there in May and inspect the ongoing work; make the farm cultivated again and liberate coffee from the forest so that the coffee would bring benefit. It is futile to toil in other areas, this one is sufficient. My longing now is, if I am lucky, how much your Majesty will be pleased and the order that you will give when you would have a chance to visit it. For the time being, I gave instruction to give Eth. 12, 000 birr to Fitawraré Wärqalämahu. For the future we will not ask money from your majesty because we will be self sufficient and that you will see the result after two years. I am determined to work and establish the work of my master as a slave.²²⁵

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

Another potential area for the cultivation of coffee in the province of Käffa was Limu *wäräda*. In this area, the *Bétä Rist* held a total of 118 *gašas* of coffee land- in Tänäbo 28, Lalo Bolo 28, Bélda 24, Taboté 17, Säqa 5, Gutu 2, and Säduqa 20.²²⁶

Despite the fact that Mäsfīn Siläš was one of the most loyal servants of the Emperor, the areas mentioned above brought the *Bétä Rist* and himself into an open misunderstanding as the latter took the revenue of the Emperor by force which was in the hands of the overseer assigned for that area. In a letter written on June 25, 1953 from the Head Office to Mäsfīn Siläš, the above mentioned coffee lands were restored to the Emperor through litigation but Mäsfīn Siläš took them by force and gave the coffee lands to his son named Jara Mäsfīn. The overseer, *Qäñazmač* Aboyé Säršé, informed this situation to the Head Office and the *Däjazmač* was kindly asked to restore the lands and the coffee in the following way:

በሊሙ አውራጃ ግዛት የሚገኘውን እንዲጠብቁ ቀኛዝማች አቦዬ ሠርጺ ቀድሞ የወይዘሮ ወሰንየለሽ ርስት የሆነውንና በኋላም ቤተ ርስት ተረክቦ ይዞት የነበረውን አጨቤ ከሚባል አገር 12 ጋሻ መሬት ተረክቤ ከመሬቱ ላይ 7 ዳውላ ቡና በካርኒ ሰብሰቤ ከተቀበልኩ በኋላ የልጅ ጃራ መስፍን ነው ሲሉ የሰበሰብኩትን ቡና ጭምር ወሰዱብኝ። ተነቦ 28 ጋሻ፣ ላሎ ቦሎ 28 ጋሻ፣ ቤልዳ 24 ጋሻ፣ ታቦቱ 17 ጋሻ፣ ሰቃ 5 ጋሻ፣ ጉቱ 2 ጋሻ፣ ሰዶቃ 2 ጋሻ ተኩል በጃችን የቆዩውን በሳቸው ዳኝነት ተከራክሪ ከረታሁና የያዙትን ሰዎች ካስለቀቅኩ ወዲህ ለልጄ የሚገባ ነው ብለው እኔን ከልከለው ለራሳቸው ወሰዱት ሲሉ አመልክተውናል። ስለዚህ ከዚህ በፊት በፍርድ ቤት እንደተወሰነውና እንደጀመርነው ክፍያ አለቃው እኛ በመሆናችን የኑዛዜውን መዝገብ እያዩን ከኛ ጋር እዩተነጋገሩ ድርሻዎን እንዲወስዱ ይደረግ ነበር እንጅ ሹማችን የሰበሰበውን ሰብል መውሰድና ብቻውን እዩተከራከረ የያዙትን

²²⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 29.

ሰዎች በብዙ ድካም ካስለቀቀ በኋላ መሬቱን ለራስዎ ብቻ ማድረግ ተገቢ ስላልሆነ የክብርነትዎ መልካም ፈቃድ ሆኖ የተወሰደብንን መሬትና ቡና መልሰው እንዲያስረክቡልን በማክበር እንለምናለን።²²⁷

Qāññač Aboyä Säršé, who was appointed in Limy awraja to oversee coffee lands which the Emperor inherited from Wäizäro Wässänyäläš located in Ačäbé that measured 12 gašas, informed us that you [Mäsfin Siläš] took seven daula of coffee, which he collected from these lands, under the pretext that the land is the property of Lej Jara Mäsfin [his son], and that after he won the lands located in Tänäbo (28 gašas), Lalo Bolo (28 gašas), Bêlda (24 gašas), Taboté (17 gašas), Säqqa (5 gašas), Gutu (2 gašas), and Säduqa (2 gašas), in a court the verdict of which was given by you, and vacated them from those people who possessed the lands, you took it by saying “It must be given to my son [Jara].” What was proper is that you would take your share as we have already started the division on the basis of the bequeathal document and the decision of the court. Therefore, we respectfully beg your Excellency’s goodwill to restore the lands and coffee because it is improper to exclusively take the lands which our overseer won after many ups and downs.

From the above letter we can understand that the 118 *gašas* of land that the Emperor owned at different areas of Limu *awraja* were the lands of *Wäizäro Wässänyäläš* about whom we do not know much. The overseer made clear that he won these lands through litigation the verdict of which was given by *Mäsfin Siläši*. From these lands the overseer collected 7 *daula* coffee after which *Masfin* deliberately took the lands and the revenue

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

from the hands of the overseer by force under the pretext that the lands should belong to his son, Jara. This situation was reported to the Head Office. The Head Office on its part made it clear that there was a will from Wässänyäläš by which some lands from the 118 *gašas* were given either to Mäsfin or to his son, Jara. Again the Head Office tells us that Masfin played no part in the restoration of these lands. Thus, his action of taking these lands and the already collected revenue by force is considered to be improper. For the Head Office what was proper is sharing the lands according to the words of the will. Finally, the Head Office kindly asked Masfin to restore the lands and the revenue collected there.

Despite the fact that we do not know how this matter was finally solved, from the spirit of the letter as well as from the almost all time friendly relationship that we see between the Emperor and Masfin Siläš, it is possible to suggest, with a fair degree of confidence, that the two sides might have solved their misunderstanding peacefully in accordance with the words of the alleged will that Wässänyäläš left behind.

In general, the province of Käffa was reputed for its coffee, honey and other spice trees like cardamom. On July 21, 1958, for example, 6, 749 kilograms (about 397 *Färäsulla*) of coffee was sold from Kaša. In this same year, the Office sold 204 kilograms of honey which was obtained naturally from the forest. Besides, 9, 000 cardamom (*Elettaria Cardamomum*) fruits were picked from the natural forest.²²⁸

²²⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 11. As for the forest, kinds of trees in the forest, altitude of the area, soil type, availability of rain, and the potential of the area, see the report of Dr. Fiumana in Folder No. 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 4.

Table 5: - Revenue gained from coffee sale from Wälläga, Balé, Illubabur and Käffa provinces for the years 1952, 1953, and 1954.

No	Name of the Overseer	Place	Reason	Amount in Eth. Birr	Year
1	Tadäsä Dämāna	Anfilo Dulé, Wälläga	Sale of Coffee	7,000	1952/'53
2	Wäldä Mariam Dingu	Ginär, Balé	Sale of Coffee and grains	1,465.90	1954
3	<i>Dājač</i> Gäräsu Duki	Illubabur	Sale of Coffee	25,000	1954
4	Amanuel Čärnät	Same	Same	26,149.25	1952/'53/'54
5	<i>Dājač</i> Mäsfin Siläš	Käffa	Same	668	1954
6	Tadäsä Täsāma	Anfilo Dulé, Wälläga	Sale of Coffee, grain, honey, and from others	5,191.84	1954
				Total	65,475

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 194, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos., 14, 17, 18, and 22.

Basically, Gäräsu Duki and Mäsfin Siläš were not overseers but were provincial administrators. But many times we see them loyally serving the Emperor, an indication of their readiness to fawn on the Emperor.²²⁹

Table 6: - Revenue obtained from Kaša *Bétä Rist* for some selected years.

No	Item	Amount in <i>Färäsulla</i>	Year
1	Coffee	291	1955/'56
2	Honey	42	1955
3	Same	295	1955/'56
4	Same	30	1957
5	Cardamom	9,000 fruits	1958

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 5, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 5. Regarding the number of cardamom fruits picked from the natural forest see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos., 13, and 34.

4.1.2. Tifsihitā Gännät Farm

The Tifsihitā Gännät Farm was one of the places where partially mechanized farming activity was practiced in Ethiopia during the post liberation period. The original name of

²²⁹*Dājzmač* Gäräsu was, for example, made leader of the activities of Illubabur *Bétä Rist*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 251, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No., 13.

the area was Arboyé Tibila and was located in Jāju *wäräda* of Arba Gugu *awraja* in the province of Arsi. Latter its name was changed from Arboyé Tibila to Tifsihitā Gännät (the pleasure of Paradise) so named perhaps to mark the beautiful landscape the plantation agriculture displayed. It was far from Asäla town, the administrative capital of the province of Arsi, by 125 kilometres. But the nearest route to Addis Ababa was through the town of Nazrét (now Adama) which was located 50 kilometres away from the Farm. Observers noted that the area was in a hot low lying area but it was a perfect flat plain surrounded by mountain slopes suitable for irrigation agriculture. The area was located along the drainage basins of such big and perennial rivers as Awaš, Wärenso and Qäläṭa and was bordered in the north with Yärär and Käräyu *awraja* of the province of Šäwa. Of the three, the Wärenso River which originates in the surrounding highlands of Arsi was the potent force behind the Tifsihitā Gännät Farm. Irrigation canals connected with this river took water to the Farm. According to the reports of agricultural experts, the water from this river was sufficient to develop 20 *gašas* of land. There was also a greater chance of utilizing the Awaš and Qäläṭa rivers if rain and the water from the Wärenso River became insufficient to develop the entire desert that stretched as far as the Awaš River. To avoid the risk of water shortage, therefore, an irrigation canal construction contract was signed between Birhanä Selassié Abayäre and an Italian contractor named Mario Bertalline. The contract was signed on August 26, 1959. To this effect, Eth. 17, 700 birr was allocated. This irrigation canal constructed from the Awaš River to the Farm measured 34 meters, an indicator of how close the Farm was to the river.²³⁰

²³⁰*Addis Zämän*, Säné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2. See also *Addis Zämän*, 21st Year, Nähasé (August) 5, 1954

The Tifsihitā Gännät Farm was established in 1955/'56.²³¹ On this Farm the *Bétā Rist* Office planned to develop 50 *gašas* of land. But, according to a fuel purchase request statement prepared on September 19, 1963, the Emperor only held 30 *gašas* of land where partially mechanized farming activity was undertaken.²³²

The Farm was the most comprehensively organized and partially mechanized farming scheme in terms of personnel, farm machineries and equipments, and social facilities that rendered service to the agricultural community. Due to its proximity to the city of Addis Ababa, it was closely and constantly supervised and inspected by the General Administrator every Saturday and Sunday.²³³ The Emperor visited the Farm on December 22, 1963.²³⁴

Agricultural experts, mostly foreign nationals, were permanently employed, who gave advice on how to improve production and expand the development scheme.²³⁵ Sometimes, they were even made Managing Directors of the Farm.²³⁶

From 1955/'56 to 1964, the Tifsihitā Gännät *Bétā Rist* exchanged hands four times. The first Managing Director and clerk was *Ato* Wodaje Kasa whose tenure lasted for about a

E.C., p. 2, and 24th Year, No. 90, 1957 E.C. p. 2. Regarding the length of the irrigation canal refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 166, *ፌ. ም. ቤ.* Letter No., 2173/23/51.

²³¹ *Addis Zāmān*, Säné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2. Ketabo mistakenly asserted that the Farm was established by the Haile Selassie Foundation, Ketabo, p. 127.

²³² Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Agriculture Archives, Folder No. 44, File No., 2088.

²³³ *Addis Zāmān*, Säné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2.

²³⁴ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, *ፌ. ም. ቤ.* File No. 1.

²³⁵ A certain Sorache Gaditano was for example one of the experts employed to this Farm, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, *ፌ. ም. ቤ.* File No. 4.

²³⁶ Muse Jentelli Louis was for example Managing Director of the Farm in 1950 E.C, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 347, *ፌ. ም. ቤ.* File No. 3. See also *Addis Zāmān*, Säné (June) 20, 1952 E.C., 21st Year, August 5, 1954 E.C., p. 2, and 24th Year, No. 90, 1957 E.C. p. 2.

year.²³⁷ In 1957, Wodaje was succeeded by Tadäsä Gäbrä Şadiq.²³⁸ Not long before, a certain Italian by the name Oliviero Francesco was made Managing Director until about 1962. In 1963, Oliviero Francesco was replaced by *Ato* Sosisa Băyănă for having failed to diligently and loyally carry out the tasks entrusted upon him.²³⁹

Table 7: - Names, position and salary of workers that were permanently employed in the Tifsihită Gănnăt Farm as prepared for the Month of December 1962.

No.	Name	Position	Salary (Eth. Birr)
1	Sosissa Băyănă	General Manager	300
2	Tadäsă Gäbră Şadiq	Overseer and clerk	200
3	Ferrari Nicola	Health worker	400
4	Tadäsă Dămissé	Control of Daily workers	150
5	Adisu Dăsta and 4 others	Tractor Drivers	170, 150, 32, 44, 19.50
6	Fălăqă Dubală	Director of work	50
7	Hailă Găbriél Wăldă Şadiq	Same	60
8	Măngăşa Mălké	Same	80
9	Tădăsă Ali	Same	35
10	T/Silassé W/ Yohannis	Store Keeper	60
11	Amé Adăm	Orange Grafter	37.24
12	Tădăsă Mamo	Director of work (Leader)	56
13	Dăssalăñ Hailu	Director of work (Leader)	35
14	Dăjăné Kidané	Director of work (Leader)	35
15	Wăldă Sănbăt	Guard	35
16	Mamo Abăra	Cattle keeper	30
17	200 people	Daily wage workers	6, 000
Total			7, 948 and 74 cents

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, Φ . Ψ . ρ . Ω . File No. 9.

As shown in the above table, the general workforce, position, and salary paid for workers tells us that capitalist form of production relation was taking over the feudal mode of

²³⁷As indicated in the salary paid for the workers of the Farm for the month of August 1948 E.C., he received a monthly salary of Eth. \$ 250 in the position of Managing Director, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 287, Φ . Ψ . ρ . Ω . File No. 7.

²³⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, Φ . Ψ . ρ . Ω . File No. 1.

²³⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, Φ . Ψ . ρ . Ω . File No. 3. See also Folder No., 29, File No., 16; and Folder No., 287, File No., 1.

production relation. Manual labour, for example, was supported by machine production. This was revealed in the fact that ox-plough agriculture was reinforced by tractors and tractor drawn farm implements that promoted efficiency of work. Cash was widely used. For example, the permanently employed workers were salaried and the daily workers (there were about 200 daily wage workers) received wages for their labour per day. Division of labour and specialization of work, two important features of the capitalist mode of production, were also seen in the development project. For example, for each and every grain and fruit type, departments were set up and men were assigned to a specific area of work depending on their competence. Diversification of production, another essential hallmark of the capitalist mode of production, was also evident in this farm. Different kinds of food grains (both indigenous and foreign), oil seeds, cash crops, fruits and vegetables were cultivated and planted and cattle were raised. Besides, as noted earlier, foreign advisors and experts were assigned to undertake feasibility studies and provide reports on how to avoid risks and maximize profits. A pay roll prepared for August 1960 even tells us that Jentelli Louis, a foreigner who received Eth. 400 birr per month, was appointed as Managing Director of the Farm.²⁴⁰

In order to help its employees, the Office constructed various structures, side by side with the establishment of the Farm, that were used for office and residence to the permanently employed employees as well as for guests. These houses were under construction in 1956/'57.²⁴¹ With regard to transportation, an all weather driveway from Nazrét to the Farm and an air strip were constructed that maximized efficiency of work, movement of

²⁴⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 347, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 3.

²⁴¹For example, the Managing Director visited the Farm on December 23, 1949 E.C., I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

people and agricultural produces from the Farm to market areas, mainly to Addis Ababa.²⁴²

One major challenge to the Tifsihitä Gännät Farm was malaria.²⁴³ The Office realized that, unless a clinic was established, the possibility of obtaining healthy workers, from among the permanently employed or daily wage workers, would have been a mere dream. Thus, on October 5, 1950, some five years before the establishment of the agricultural scheme, a contract to construct a clinic was entered into between the *Bétä Rist* Office and an Italian named Ferarri Niccola. To this end, the management office allocated Eth. 1, 477 birr and 50 cents. First, one health worker from St. Gabriel clinic in the town of Nazrét went to the area to treat patients on a weekly basis. It was not until 1957/'58 that the clinic set up at Tifsihitä Gännät Farm started giving service, the time when Ferarri Niccola was employed permanently in the clinic.²⁴⁴ Besides, on October 5, 1960, an agreement was entered into with St. Gabriel clinic so that a senior health officer would go there to follow up and treat patients on a weekly basis.²⁴⁵ According to a report prepared on April 20, 1960, by Ferrari Nicola, two daily workers died of malaria and 21 of them were seriously sick and were suffering from the disease. He further suggested that the prospect of getting healthy daily wage workers had become very desperate unless health workers and medicine were urgently sent to the area because workers contracted malaria very frequently.²⁴⁶

²⁴² *Addis Zāmān*, 21st Year, Nāhasé (August) 5, 1954 E.C., p. 2.

²⁴³ *Addis Zāmān*, Sāné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2. For the amount of money expended for buying medicine look I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 215, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 10 and 12.

²⁴⁴ For details on the terms of agreements see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 215, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 12.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

One major feature of the capitalist mode of production exhibited at the Tifsihitä Gännät Farm was that the land was worked and cultivated by modern farm machineries such as tractors and tractor-drawn implements. A fuel purchase request statement prepared on September 12, 1963 gives us an interesting information on the name of the farmer, location and size of Farm, kind of crops cultivated and the concomitant number of hectares of land reserved for each; quantity, type, and horse power of tractors deployed in the Farm; number of tractor drawn implements in the Farm; number of litres and kind of fuel required for the tractors; and a statement of measure that the Ministry of Agriculture would take if the Office used the fuel otherwise. The kinds of crops planned to be cultivated comprised *teff*, wheat and maize on 240 hectares, sorghum, barley, and pea on 240 hectares, nigger seed, lentil and sesame on 240, kidney bean, green bean and *Gulo* (castor bean) on 240, and varieties of vegetables on 240 hectares. Four tractors of the Fiat Caterpillar model and three tractors of the Fergusson model were deployed in this Farm. Besides, many tractor drawn implements such as *maräša* (plough for breaking the land, seven), *mäkäskäša* (disc harrows, seven), *mägolgoya* (cultivators, three), *mäzria* (planters, three), and *mäbuaṭäça* (spike tooth harrows, three) were deployed on this Farm.²⁴⁷

As we have noted above, the *Bétä Rist* bought tractors and other farm implements drawn by the tractors which were deployed on its farms. But, the fact that the Office established many modern farms to be cultivated by modern machinery, made it seldom imperative to rent tractors from the State. On July 27, 1960, for example, the Office rented tractors from the Ministry of Agriculture to be utilized in ploughing lands and for forest clearing

²⁴⁷Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Agriculture Archives, Folder No. 0 File No., 2088. See also annexes 24 and 25.

at Tifsihitā Gännät Farm. The rent agreement was concluded on April 26, 1960. The farms machinery were: 1) D-7 tractor (Bulldozer) and 2) D-7 heavy plough with 3 discs fitted to it.²⁴⁸

Paul Ries and Sons (Ethiopia) Ltd., and Fiat Sacafet Society (Ethiopia), two foreign owned import-export companies were major suppliers of farm machinery in Ethiopia. On March 10, 1966, for example, the Office bought three farm machinery (one MF 165 diesel tractor, one MF 3 furrow disc plough, and one MF 49 disc harrow) at Eth. 12, 600 birr.²⁴⁹ It also bought a 25CE Fiat Caterpillar tractor at Eth. 5, 230 birr from Fiat Sacafet Society (Ethiopia) Ltd. When 20% tax is deducted, it would be Eth. 4, 184 birr.²⁵⁰ At the time, the price of a tractor (Ferguson type) was from Eth. 9, 000 birr to 10, 700 birr.²⁵¹

Nevertheless, the Tifsihitā Gännät Farm was not totally worked by modern farm machineries. Oxen were also used in the cultivation of land, a situation in which we see a mixture of feudal and early capitalist mode of production relations.²⁵² The major food grains that were cultivated in this Farm include *teff* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), wheat, barley, rye, maize, sorghum (*S. vulgare*), chick-pea, lentil, pea, kidney bean, green bean, and groundnut. For example, in 1965, the Office got 400 quintals of *teff*; and 1, 300 quintals of maize from this Farm.²⁵³ According to a civil case document from 1962, 50 quintals of peanut seed was planted on 100 hectares of land. The seed was bought, on April 19, 1962, from an import-export company known as Radionir Ris, a quintal of

²⁴⁸For details on the ploughing contract and amount of land cleared and ploughed see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 215, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 2.

²⁴⁹For details on the agreement for the sale of these equipments, see W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 12.

²⁵⁰Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Agriculture Archives, Folder No., 0 File No., 2088.

²⁵¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 6.

²⁵²*Addis Zāmān*, Säné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2.

²⁵³*Addis Zāmān*, 24th Year, No. 90, 1957 E.C. p. 2.

decorticated peanut seed for Eth. 60 birr. The *Bétä Rist* Office sold 85 quintals of peanut seed to the company from which it first bought the peanut seed.²⁵⁴ Oil seeds such as nigger seed and sesame were also cultivated.

As noted before, Arboye Tibila was one of the areas where an experiment of coffee plantation was practised. A letter written in August 1959/'60 tells us that Eth. 8, 257 birr and 5 cents was allocated to buy 5, 505 seedlings of coffee from Wänj nursery site.²⁵⁵ In 1965/'66, there were about 30, 000 coffee trees on this Farm.²⁵⁶ In December 1962/'63, 17 kilograms of coffee obtained from this area and sold for Eth. 21 birr, a kilogram of coffee fetching only Eth. 1 birr and 23 cents. Again in 1964, 91 kilograms of coffee was obtained from Tifsihitā Gännät Farm.²⁵⁷

In addition to the food grains and cash crops, the Farm was one major fruit growing area in the country. Some of the fruits that were planted on this Farm include orange, banana, papaya, vine, lemon and peach. The Farm was also a major source of vegetables. For example, in 1965, it is reported that there were 30, 000 orange and 60, 000 banana trees at the Farm.²⁵⁸ It was above all one of the best banana growing farms of the Emperor. From June 1962 to August 1962, for example, 3, 381 *abaza* (bunch) of banana was transported to its shop in Addis Ababa.²⁵⁹ But, banana trees started giving fruits as of September 1959. The first banana seedlings were of the Madagascar type which had long trees but were not rewarding. Latter, banana seedlings from Aqordat and Asmära (that

²⁵⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 133, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 17, and 28.

²⁵⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁵⁶*Addis Zämān*, 24th Year, No. 90, 1957 E.C. p. 2.

²⁵⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁵⁸*Addis Zämān*, 24th Year, No. 90, 1957 E.C. p. 2.

²⁵⁹Daily workers who unloaded the banana from the truck and took it to the shop received Eth. 3 birr from the hands of *Wäizäro* Asäläfäč Ešäté, the cashier of the fruit shop; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 1.

were more productive than the Malagasy banana trees) were planted in great number. And it is impressive that up to 50 kilograms of banana fruit was obtained from an *abaza* (a bunch) of one banana tree.²⁶⁰ From this Farm 1, 866 kilograms or 318 *abaza* (bunch) of banana; 47 kilograms of tomato; 50 kilograms of green pepper; 1, 960 kilograms of varieties of fruits and vegetables; 890 kilograms of coffee; and 267 kilograms of *teff* was collected per year.²⁶¹

The orange at Tifsihitā Gännät Farm was rather bitter and an attempt was made to give it a better test through cross grafting with other improved sweet species of orange trees.²⁶² It is impressive that a single orange fruit weighing up to 250 grams; a single lemon tree giving 3 quintals per year; and a branch of a coffee tree carrying 500 grains were grown on this Farm. Besides, attempts to adapt sugarcane and tobacco were also made.²⁶³

Table 8: - Revenue obtained from the sale of food grain and charcoal collected from Tifsihitā Gännät Farm, 1962.

No	Grain or other	Quintal	Kilogram	Price per quintal Eth. Birr	Total revenue
1	<i>Teff</i>	263	58	23	6, 062.34
2	Chick-pea	45	51	12	546.12
3	Charcoal	131 sacks		4 for a sack of charcoal	524
Total					7, 132. 46

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁶⁰ *Addis Zāmān*, Sāné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2.

²⁶¹ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁶² *Addis Zāmān*, Sāné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2.

²⁶³ *Addis Zāmān*, 21st Year, Nāhasé (August) 5, 1954 E.C., p. 2.

In addition to the indigenous seeds and saplings obtained from different nursery sites, better seeds and seedlings were brought from abroad to be planted at the Tifsihitā Gännät Farm. According to a report dated April 8, 1962, 920 seedlings of orange and other fruits were imported. An informant told me that these fruit seedlings were brought from Israel, a country known for its best orange.²⁶⁴ As noted above, banana seedlings were brought from Madagascar. In Ethiopia, there were two major nursery sites-Wonji and Errär-which supplied fruit seedlings. Banana and lemon seedlings were bought from Errär nursery site and were planted at Tifsihitā Gännät Farm.²⁶⁵

In addition to fruit seedlings, selected green bean seeds were also imported. For example, in 1963, 10 quintals of green bean was bought at Eth. 350 birr to be planted on the Farm.²⁶⁶

Table 9: - Selected seeds imported in the 1950s.

No.	Name of the Seed	Quintal
1	Ground nut (White)	1.09
2	Sorghum (Red)	2.35
3	Wheat (White)	1
4	Maize (Red)	0.05
5	Maize (White)	4
	Total	8.49

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁶⁴Informant, *Ato Kābādā Fāsässā*. Also in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁶⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 287, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 7.

²⁶⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 4.

On April 23, 1961, a truck was bought from the Motor and Engineering Company of Ethiopia at Eth. 18, 000 birr.²⁶⁷ Fruits, vegetables, cash crops, and food grains were transported by this vehicle from the Farm to the town of Nazrét and stored in the *Bétä Rist* granary which the Office had rented for that purpose. Fruits and vegetables were directly transported to the city of Addis Ababa as these products are perishable unless sold within a short period of time. The products were then taken to the *Bétä Rist* branch office located along Cunningham Avenue near the Old Postal Office in what is now *atikilt tära* (vegetables market) where a shop was opened for the sale of fruits and vegetables coming from this Farm. The shop was established on February 7, 1961.²⁶⁸ To organize the shop Eth. 1, 144 birr was allocated, an amount used for buying the necessary materials such as curved irons which were used to hang banana and a timber shelf for placing the fruits and vegetables in order.²⁶⁹ The shop began operation on February 8, 1961.²⁷⁰ It was well organized with eight salespeople. On October 9, 1962, Eth. 3, 289 birr and 40 cents was paid as monthly salary for 8 salespeople.²⁷¹

When the Haile Selassie I Prize Trust was established on July 8, 1963, the Emperor endowed it with some of his property as a source of revenue. One of the properties

²⁶⁷The vehicle was Ford truck whose model was SL-C-8. The *Bétä Rist* Office paid the said sum in 4 installments; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 12, and 15. For the details of rules given to the driver, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 23. Regarding the dates of departure from and to the Farm, see annexe 39.

²⁶⁸This house was first rented out to a certain Habib who was forced to vacate it for having failed to pay rentals; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 46.

²⁶⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 38, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 1.

²⁷⁰*Ibid.*

²⁷¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 4, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 1.

donated was the Tifsihitä Gännät Farm. As regards the Fruit Shop, however, the Office rented it out to the Prize Trust starting from April 9, 1963.²⁷²

Other Farms, which were partially mechanized, were Urso, Errär, and Gota, located in Adal and Issa Gara Gurača *awraja* of the province of Harärgé. The selection of these areas for economic investment was also a very calculated move as these areas were located around rivers making irrigation agriculture possible.²⁷³

As noted earlier, agricultural development schemes were established on the basis of feasibility studies done by foreign experts and, during their operation, were inspected and followed up by these experts at different periods. Vassili Panas, for example, was an agricultural expert who was employed by the Office as of March 10, 1955 for Errär, Gota, Urso and Béka Farms. Béka was located in Çärçär *awraja* of the province of Harärgé. He was employed to provide expert knowledge on how to make it profitable and on how to expand the schemes. He gave expert suggestions regarding the plants, soils, and climate and also selected farmlands for investment.²⁷⁴ According to his report, prepared in November 1954, vegetables planted at Errär Farm were infected by a disease called cochlea. In order to make the farm more profitable, he proposed the following conditions to be fulfilled: a) giving the position of Managing Director to someone having adequate knowledge and years of proven experience in farm management; b) maintaining

²⁷²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 38, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 1. As for the kinds of properties donated to the Prize Trust, refer the revised charter of the H. S. I. Prize Trust (Addis Ababa, 1969), p. 28. The history of the Tifsihitä Gännät Farm is best summarized by the "Eye Witness" accounts of three reporters who personally visited the farm at different times who were very much impressed at what they saw there. *Ato Yämanä Bāyānā*, reporter of Yärär and Käräyu *awraja* of the province of Šāwa visited the Farm in 1960; *Yaqob Gäbrä Igzi'abhēr* in 1961/'62; and *Hailä Misqäl Wäldäyäs* in 1964/'65; *Addis Zāmān*, Säné (June) 20, 1952 E.C. p. 2; 21st Year, Nāhasé (August) 5, 1954 E.C., p. 2; and 24th Year, No. 90, 1957 E.C. p. 2.

²⁷³Refer the revenue-expenditure statement of the Emperor's *rist-gult* of Errär *wärāda* for the years from Mäskäräm (September) 1, 1953 to Miyazia (April) 30, 1953 E.C., I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 19.

²⁷⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 4.

the vegetables and fruits well and planting additional fruit seedlings; c) establishing nursery sites; e) developing open space between fruit trees by planting different kinds of vegetables and cereals; f) establishing cattle breeding farm; g) making pavements between the fruit trees so that workers could move in the Farm with out problems; h) providing the necessary farm tractors and tractor drawn implements and making pesticide chemicals ready to eradicate disease from the farm; i) establishing a clinic in order to get a healthy workforce and employing a health worker for that purpose; and j) planting fruit saplings suitable to the area.²⁷⁵ The expert believed that fulfilling the above conditions would make the plantation project more lucrative and would make the Farm a good example to be followed by other peoples. Thus, besides the benefit that the Office would get from the Farm, it was envisaged to make the plantation scheme exemplary to the area.

The Council of Ministers, in its resolution dated the 16th of June, 1958, decided to exempt taxes on gasoline used by tractors in agricultural activities. Accordingly, on November 11, 1963, the *Bétä Rist* Office asked 20, 000 litres of gasoline to be used for tractors that it deployed in mechanized farming in the areas mentioned above. On the basis of this request, the Ministry of Finance allowed 15, 000 litres of gasoline to be used for tilling 10 *gašas* of land where fruits, and different kinds of cereal crops were planted. On these Farms a total of five tractors of the Fiat Bull Dozer, Fergusson, and Hano Mag types, having horse powers ranging from 35 to 60, were deployed. Tractor drawn implements deployed on these Farms include 5 *maräša* (plough for breaking the land), 5 *mäkäskäša*

²⁷⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ታ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 14.

(disc harrows), 4 *mägolgoya* (cultivators), 4 *mäzria* (planters), and 4 *mäbuaṭäça* (spike tooth harrows).²⁷⁶

Errär Farm was known, among others, for the high quality of its fruits and vegetables and was a major source of revenue for the Emperor. In the years 1954/'55 and 1955/'56, the Office collected a total of Eth. 160, 859 birr and 78 cents from the sale of fruits and vegetables.²⁷⁷ A revenue expenditure analysis made for the years from September 11, 1960 to May 8, 1962 also tells us that Eth. 66, 414 birr and 50 cents was obtained from the sale of vegetables and fruits. From this we can understand that the district, among others, was a major fruit and vegetable growing area in Ethiopia at that time.²⁷⁸ For example the Office used to collect 6, 000 quintals of orange and 60 quintals of coffee per year from its Farms located in Adal and Issa Garaguraça and Çärçär *awrajas* of the province of Harärgé.²⁷⁹

Errär Farm also owned a hotel, which was established to take advantage of the existence of a Şabäl nearby. People who had contracted different kinds of diseases visited this Şabäl. During their stay, the patients and their families got accommodation in the hotel. These properties were, therefore, major sources of revenue to the Emperor.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Agriculture Archives, Folder No., 44, File No., 2088. See also annexe 24.

²⁷⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቁ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 11.

²⁷⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቁ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 9.

²⁷⁹Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Agriculture Archives Folder No., 44, File No., 2088. See also Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Finance Archives Letter No., 1703/39/54.

²⁸⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቁ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 14.

4.1.3. Experiments in Cattle Breeding

Cattle breeding was another sector of agriculture in which the *Bétä Rist* Office invested a sizeable amount of money. Archival evidence reveals that the Emperor owned cattle in the provinces which were raised and kept by tenants. Cattle breeding farms were established at Gullälé in Addis Ababa and Šola, in Holäta in the province of Šäwa, in Awasa, and at *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* in the province of Simén and Bägémdir.²⁸¹

As it is difficult to cover all the Farms, the *Abba Samuel-Gomängé* Farm is chosen as a case in point. This Farm was located in Gondär *Awraja*, some seven kilometers away from the town of Gondär, in Azäzo *Qäbälé* and was established c.1946. Basically it was a modern fruit, vegetable, and cattle breeding farm.²⁸²

In 1955, it produced fruits such as orange, mandarin, banana, papaya, grape, and peach. According to information obtained from the revenue and expenditure analysis of the 1960's, the production of orange was the most successful. Not only were oranges sold to the residents of the town of Gondär and its environs but it was also sent to Asmära and Addis Ababa. Other important root plants like potato and legumes such as chickpeas were also cultivated.²⁸³

²⁸¹In 1950 E.C., the *Bétä Rist* Office expended Eth. 400 birr for the establishment of Cattle Breeding Farm at Gullälé, the manager of which was Payr Franz who received a monthly salary of Eth. 600 birr; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 287, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 6. As for the Holäta Farm refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 251, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 6. At Šola, the Emperor established a sheep breeding Farm; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 2088. In the province of Käffa the Emperor owned 17 cows with their calves, 4 oxen, and 4 young bulls at Kaša *Bétä Rist*; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 5, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 5. In the province of Tigray, attempts were made to raise cattle in Alamaṭa; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 216, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 16.

²⁸²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 3.

²⁸³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 2.

When we turn to our main concern, the year 1960 was an important period in the history of *Abba* Samuel-Gomängé cattle breeding Farm. At this time, the Emperor planned to raise cattle for the production of milk and other dairy products to be sold to the residents of the town of Gondär and its surroundings. Its proximity to the town of Gondär and the presence of different institutions and foreign residents became good stimuli for commencing the program. To this effect the Emperor gave order to the Ministry of Agriculture to buy cattle to be sent to the *Abba* Samuel-Gomängé Farm. *Nägadras* Birhanä Sellassé Abbayäre, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and General Administrator of the *Bétä Rist* Office, took the above responsibility. To this end, eight heifers and two young bulls were bought to begin the program. The cattle were of *Holestin Fresien* type and were born in 1958-'59. Before they were sent to the *Abba* Samuel-Gomängé Farm, a veterinarian working for F.A.O., Dr. Pake, checked their health status. The examination proved that the cattle were free from pneumonia and were given vaccine for *Wotäté* (rinderpest). The cattle were also given identification numbers. Finally the Ministry of Agriculture handed them over to *Ato Zägäyā Säifu* on the 23rd of November, 1960.²⁸⁴ Unfortunately, one of the bulls died soon after its arrival and a few days later a heifer followed. A postmortem examination confirmed that the bull and the heifer were infected with rinderpest and pneumonia.²⁸⁵ To alleviate this initial challenge, and to expand the program, budget was allocated to buy local cattle which were to be crossbred with the *Fresien* cattle breed that were sent from the Ministry of Agriculture. As a result *Abba* Hana Jima (1895-1960), a Šäwan monk, father confessor, and confidant of Haile

²⁸⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 3.

²⁸⁵*Ibid.*

Sellassie, and keeper of the Emperor's *Privy Purse*, allocated Eth. 10, 000 birr to be used for fruit and horticultural, and to raise dairy cattle.²⁸⁶

In the Governorate General of Simén and Bägämdér, the sub-districts of Dämbia, Fogära, Libo, Aläfa, and Dära were famous for indigenous cattle.²⁸⁷ In 1960, *Däjjazmač* Kiflé Dadi, the Governor General of the province, sent Eth. 1,000 birr to *Fitawrari* Dämes Bärihun, Governor of Aläfa *wäräda*, for the purpose of buying native heifers of good quality. Accordingly, twelve heifers were bought at Eth. 990 birr (price ranges from Eth. 79 to 86 birr), and were sent to the *Abba* Samuel-Gomängé Farm.²⁸⁸ Similarly, eleven heifers were bought by *Fitawrari* Tädäsä Lämna, the Governor of Dära *wäräda*, at Eth. 960 birr. The journey from Dära to Gondär took six days.²⁸⁹ Again, *Däjjazmač* *Asfaw* Täsäma, a well known patriot and Governor of Fogära *wäräda*, bought eight heifers at Eth. 1, 000 birr.²⁹⁰ Thus, the cattle breeding development scheme was strengthened.

According to a revenue-expenditure statement prepared since 1955 and sent to the Head Office, in addition to fruits and vegetables, dairy products such as milk and butter were sold to the residents of Gondär and to institutions such as hotels (Itégé and Touring), schools, and hospital. Revenue was also obtained from the sale of cattle.²⁹¹ Salary for workers; payment for government in return for light, telephone, and telegraph services;

²⁸⁶This information is taken from the revenue-expenditure report prepared for the period, Ginbot (May) 24, 1952 to Hamlé (July) 1953 E.C., I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ.ቤ.* File No. 3. As for *Abba* Hana Jima see Christopher Clapham, *Haile Selassie's Government* (England: London, Longman, 1969), pp. 94-95.

²⁸⁷Tefera Tegene, "Change in Land-Use: Transformation from Cattle Herding to Rice Production and Irrigation among Fogära Plain Peasants, North Western Ethiopia," M.A thesis in Social Anthropology (Addis Ababa University, 2006), pp. 29-32.

²⁸⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ.ቤ.* File No. 3.

²⁸⁹*Ibid.*

²⁹⁰*Ibid.* As for *Däjjazmač* *Asfaw*'s patriotic deeds refer Wagaw Bogale, "A History of Fogära *Wäräda*, 1935-1991," M.A. theses in History (Addis Ababa University, 2009), pp. 39, 43, 49, and 54.

²⁹¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ.ቤ.* File No. 2.

and money allocated for buying pasture for cattle; and for different containers; for car and taxi rents; for reparation of old houses and for buying spare parts, stationary materials and seeds constitute the major expenditures for which the Office paid out from its treasury.²⁹²

Table 10: - Revenue-Expenditure Summary for Some Years.

Month	Year	Income	Expenditure	Profit
January	1953	604	131	473
March	1954	2, 217.80	914.74	1, 303.06
June	1959	3, 875.90	2, 610.55	1, 265.35
March	1960	2, 281.55	1, 374.55	907
March	1961	2, 416.33	1, 544.47	871.86
March	1962	3, 649.91	1, 738.95	1, 910.96
January	1963	3, 536.92	1, 457.40	2, 079.52
March	1964	3, 364.71	3, 028.95	335.76
October	1964	3, 086.87	2, 997.10	89.77

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 2, and 3.

In general, as shown in the above table, the revenue-expenditure summary makes it plain that the farm and the cattle breeding program were not very successful. Lack of cooperation and coordination among the different responsible offices greatly affected the management of the *Bétä Rist*. Delay to respond on time to the demands and complaints from the lower administrative units, and failure to intervene efficiently were repeatedly observed on the part of the Head Office and the Office of the Governor General. The inconsiderate nature of the managing directors, disagreement between the Municipal Office of the town of Gondär and the directors and inspectors of the *Bétä Rist* and the

²⁹² Refer to the revenue-expenditure summary in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 2 and 3.

unwillingness of the previous *Šum* in handing over the necessary documents, records, and models to the newly appointed overseer posed great challenges to the productivity of the farm. The above problems coupled with the prevalence of such deadly cattle diseases as rinderpest, liver fluke, and pneumonia seriously affected the success of the cattle breeding program.²⁹³ Finally, in 1964, the farm which measured one *gaša* was given as a gift to Princess Tänaññä Wärq, the Emperor's eldest daughter.²⁹⁴

4.2. Development of Real Estate

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the second area of investment in which the *Bétä Rist* was involved, was real estate development. The Office was, beyond any shadow of doubt, one of the pioneer institutions to develop interest in this economic sector. Between the years May 1949 and January 1971, the Office allocated Eth. 615, 697 birr and 74 cents for the development of real estate which was utilized in the construction of new houses and in the purchase, reparation and up-grading of old houses.²⁹⁵

Contracts for the reparation and up-grading of old houses and for the construction of new houses were given to developers in open tender. On September 22, 1965, for example, a committee made up of four people from the Head Office (in the most part, the General Administrator was involved) opened the envelope of bidders to maintain five villas located in the vicinity of Princess Šähay Memorial Hospital, now the Army's Hospital, to a contractor who presented the lowest rate. In most, if not in all cases, the contractors

²⁹³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

²⁹⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 3.

²⁹⁵Audit of expenditure account of the former king's *Bétä Rist*, Hamle (July) 16, 1969 E.C., I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 262, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 1.

were foreign nationals, mainly Italians.²⁹⁶ In the meantime, the Real Estate Department of the Office sought advice from the Ministry of Public Works and Communication on the amount of money that had to be allocated for the execution of works, the types of which were made known to it clearly.²⁹⁷ Here are some examples.

On February 3, 1958, for example, a contract for the renovation of a house was entered into between *Nägadras* Birhanä Selassä Abayäre on behalf of the *Bétä Rist* Office and G. Camutti Giovanni, the contractor. Giovanni renovated five villas located near the Old Air Port (in the vicinity of the Army Hospital). The amount of money that was allocated to make a complete renovation was Eth. 55, 545 birr. In this same area another repair-works contract of five villas was made with *Compagnie Ethiopienne de Constructions* (Construction Company of Ethiopia) at the lump sum of Eth. 55, 270 birr.²⁹⁸ We have also a similar account of house reparation contract made between the *Bétä Rist* and a contractor by the name Mario Buscé on behalf of Naviga Ṭana Association. For the execution of the repair works Eth. 58, 033 birr was allocated. After the withdrawal of the Italians, some of these houses were occupied by the British military officers (General Koteb, Chief (Head) of the British Missionary mission in Ethiopia, and Colonel Herbert, his deputy). The houses were located near Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital and the Netherlands Legation. Money to contractors was paid after the renovated houses were checked by an architect from the Ministry of Mines and State Domains and following his recommendation or certification statement given for executed works.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 267, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 28.

²⁹⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 291, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 33, and 34.

²⁹⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 166, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. not indicated. See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 152, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 7.

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*

Sizeable amount of money was also expended on the up-grading of the already built houses. As we have noted in chapter two, a good number of houses were bought from the Custodian of Enemy Property. One of these was *Palazzio Raiteri*, located in what was then called Adwa Square, adjacent to Ethiopia Hotel along Churchill Avenue. On June 30, 1961, a sum of Eth. 244, 870 birr and 20 cents was allocated to up-grade this building. Alexander P. Myriallis Co.Ltd., Building and Civil Engineering Contractors, was the construction company that executed the entire work. The type of building was a big one-story structure. Again, according to a statement of payment for executed works prepared by Zägäyā Säifu, the clerk of the *Bétä Rist* on September 11, 1962, Eth. 237, 000 birr was expended in the construction of a big building in this same site.³⁰⁰

In addition to reparation of old houses and up-grading of existing ones, money was allocated for the construction of new buildings.³⁰¹ On December, 26, 1961, for example, Eth. 61, 364 birr was expended in the construction of a new modern building in the vicinity of the Square of Abunä Pétrös. The contract was given to George J. Kafassis.³⁰² Again, Eth. 75, 000 birr was spent on the construction of new buildings near Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital.³⁰³

The next inquiry that needs to be raised is that how much money did the Emperor get from his houses? Before we attempt to give an answer to this question, it would be proper to provide an account of the location and types of houses from which rentals were collected on monthly basis. This is very crucial for it had a great impact on the amount of rent that was fixed for a particular house. The houses in Addis Ababa ranged from those

³⁰⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 152, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 2.

³⁰¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 152, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 5, and 6.

³⁰²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 291, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File Nos. 33, and 34.

³⁰³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 300, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 10.

made of wattle and daub and grass covered to those with iron sheets and to modern buildings of more than one floor as well as to villas. These houses stood on 24 plots of land in the different *wärādas* of the city and were designated as 1st, 2nd... and 24th *Bétä Rists*.³⁰⁴

The Emperor also owned houses in almost all of the provincial towns. He possessed houses, for example, in the town of Dire Dawa from which the Office collected Eth. 800 birr per month. In Adal and Issa Gara Gurača *awraja* of the province of Harärgé, at a place called Errär, the Emperor owned a hotel and palace since 1921/'22. In 1955/'56, Eth. 22, 694 birr and 15 cents, and in 1956/'57, Eth. 20, 586 birr and 43 cents was collected from the hotel.³⁰⁵ Sources also reveal that, the Emperor possessed houses in the towns of Mäqälé, Axum, Harär, Gondär, and Bahir Dar.³⁰⁶

In the town of Harär, for example, the Emperor used to collect rent of Eth. 2, 498 birr per month from 15 houses. The Emperor held houses even out side of Ethiopia. For instance in Djibouti, he used to collect 80, 000 Francs per month which is Eth. 1, 200 birr from his houses that spread over 15, 600 square meters of land.³⁰⁷

Nevertheless, the bulk of his houses were concentrated in the city of Addis Ababa. Now, let us try to examine the amount of income that the Emperor used to collect from his houses located in the city of Addis Ababa in the form of rentals. The selection of Addis

³⁰⁴In the 1930s E.C., the *Bétä Rist Šum* (Overseer) of the houses and lands of the Emperor in these 24 areas was Baša Dämissé Bašah; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 85, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 1.

³⁰⁵For details on the audit report of revenue and expenditure statement of the hotel, refer I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 15, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 11. See also annexe 38.

³⁰⁶As for the Emperor's houses in Mäqälé and Axum, refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 358, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 2. A house rent contract made on March 16, 1963, reveals that the Emperor also held houses in Gondär at a place situated near *Abba* Samuel; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 76, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ.ቤ. File No. 5. Regarding his property situated in the town of Bahir Dar, refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, File No., 6.

³⁰⁷*Addis Zämän*, 35th Year, No. 648, Thursday, Säné (June) 26, 1967 E.C.

Ababa is not without reason. One is that more emphasis at real estate development was given in Addis Ababa than in provincial towns. As a result, the Emperor used to collect a far greater amount of money from these houses per month than the amount he collected from all his houses located in provincial towns.

Information obtained from the early years of the *Därg* period reveal that around 1950, 77 percent of the residents of Addis Ababa owned no house of their own but rented the houses of the Emperor, other members of the royal family and the nobility for which they paid money in the form of rentals on monthly basis. Accordingly, the Emperor and other members of the royal family are said to have collected Eth. 40, 000 birr per month.³⁰⁸ As we shall see below, archival sources also reinforce the above information as having an element of truth in a more concrete way.

The *Bétä Rist* Office prepared a house rent contract that was strictly observed by both the lessor and the lessees. In addition to the concluding note, the contract has 13 articles or provisions. At the entry of the lease contract we see such information as the road, locality, and description of building, house number, number of apartments or houses, and number of rooms. The remaining articles speak about the time of rent payment and the measures that the Office would take, when the lessee failed to pay the amount on the due date which is clearly stated in the contract; conditions that needed to be observed when the lessees desired to vacate and vice versa; the responsibilities that the lessees needed to take with respect to the handling of the houses that they rented; conditions that needed to

³⁰⁸ *Addis Zāmān*, Säné (June), 22, 1967 E.C. p. 22. I have no way of counter checking this figure to establish whether it was faithfully copied from the files or exaggerated for the sake of propaganda in order to destroy the good image of Haile Selassie, his family and the nobility.

be observed when the lessees desired to make renovation by their own; and in general rights and responsibilities of the two parties.³⁰⁹

Based on the provisions set forth, the houses of the Emperor located in the different *wärädas* of the city of Addis Ababa were rented out to government institutions, private companies, an embassy, foreigners and Ethiopian nationals, and to tenants. On September 24, 1951, for example, an agreement was entered into between the Ethiopian Air Lines and the *Bétä Rist* Office for the rent of 5 villas located in what was then called Little Aqaqé, near Princes Şähay Memorial Hospital, each having 8 rooms, for Eth. 1, 000 birr per month. From September 1951 to 1957/58, Eth. 69, 000 birr was collected from these villas in the form of rentals.³¹⁰ Some houses were also rented out to the State Bank of Ethiopia, and to the personnel of the United States Technical Cooperation Service (Point Four). The State Bank of Ethiopia entered a lease agreement with the *Bétä Rist* Office on December 23, 1951 which expired on January 21, 1954. According to a letter written on November 11, 1953 from the State Bank of Ethiopia to the Head Office, the house was sublet to the United States Technical Cooperation Service for Ethiopia until January 21, 1954. In this connection, the State Bank of Ethiopia notified the Head Office that it did not want to renew the rent agreement and advised the Office to deal with the officials of the American Embassy so that a new lease agreement could be signed with them. The monthly rental that the State Bank of Ethiopia used to pay to the *Bétä Rist* treasury was Eth. 2, 600 birr. Regarding this matter, the Foreign Service of the United States of America wrote a letter on May 12, 1953 to the Managing Director of the *Bétä Rist*

³⁰⁹Regarding the house rent contract made with the Ethiopian Air Lines, for example, refer I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 267, File No., 33, and the one made with the Netherlands Legation, refer I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 267, File No., 9.

³¹⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 300, File No., 5. For the full information regarding the agreement of lease, see annexe 28.

expressing its interest to rent the house and the premises which were vacated by the State Bank of Ethiopia.³¹¹

As noted above, the Emperor's houses located in Addis Ababa were of different kinds and standards and were rented out to Ethiopians and to foreign nationals, government institutions, Non-Governmental Organizations, philanthropic institutions, companies of different sorts and even to an embassy.

Most of the houses located in the vicinity of the former Empress Mänän School (now Yäkatit 12 School) were made of wood, thatch roofed and were plastered with mud. Rentals that were collected from these houses were very low ranging from a maximum of Eth. 12 birr to a minimum of Eth. 4 birr per month. Houses of the traditional type were also located in 1st *Bétä Rist* located around Gänätä Le'ul Palace in Afniço Bär where the Head Office was located. The types of houses that were found in 8th *Bétä Rist* located in the vicinity of Arada were ground plus one, and stores covered with metal sheets. From these houses the Office used to collect a maximum of Eth. 513 birr per month. One of the private companies that rented houses of the Emperor located along the Patriots Avenue was the Ethiopian National Corporation. Since September 11, 1946, the corporation used to pay Eth. 1, 200 birr per month. Another area in Addis Ababa where the Emperor possessed houses was in the 9th *Bétä Rist* located around the Square of *Abunä Pétrós*. The Emperor's houses in this area were rented out to private companies owned by foreign nationals.³¹²

³¹¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 166, File No., not indicated.

³¹²Regarding the nature of the Emperor's houses situated around Empress Mänän (now Yäkatit 12) school, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 291, File No., 15. The Ethiopian National Corporation was a Share Company with a capital of 1, 000, 000 Maria Theresa Dollars, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 291, File

Yet, the house which was a major source of revenue was located in the 17th *Bétä Rist*. As noted before, this modern building was bought from the Custodian of Enemy Property and was called *Palazzo Reiter*, so named after its first Italian owners, *Fratelli Reiter* (the Reiter Brothers). The Custodian Office transferred the building to the *Bétä Rist* on October 3, 1952.³¹³ The building spread over 4, 320 square meters of land and was estimated to be Eth. 321, 042 birr. In 1955, for example, Eth. 4, 561 birr was collected from this building per month; and in 1958, Eth. 68, 088 birr; on average Eth. 5, 674 birr per month. The building incorporated above 50 rooms, which were rented for a minimum of Eth. 40 and a maximum rate of Eth. 300 birr. The lessees were Ethiopians and foreign nationals who rented rooms for shops, and for offices.³¹⁴

One of the foreign institutions that rented the houses of the Emperor was the Legation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. According to an agreement of lease of houses entered into on June 21, 1952, between *Nägadras Birhanä Selassé Abayäre*, General Administrator of the Office, and the Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the latter used to pay Eth. 1000 birr for 5 houses of ground plus one structures consisting of a total of 43 rooms located in the vicinity of *Aqaqé Qäranyo Mädahinétä Aläm*. The houses were leased out for a period of two years, the rentals of which was paid to the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* Office at the beginning of each new month against official receipt. Again, on June 8, 1953, almost a year after the first lease agreement was signed, a ground plus one building, which was sufficient for one family, was leased out for the First Secretary

No., 35. As for the kinds of houses and the concomitant rentals collected from the Emperor's houses located in *Afinço Bär*, refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 291, File No., 13.

³¹³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, File No., 48.

³¹⁴As regards rentals collected in 1948 E.C., refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 243, File No., 25, and for 1951, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 201, File No., 2. The man who transferred the building to the *Bétä Rist* Office was *Šalāqa Kosroff*; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, File No., 8. Regarding the amount of money that the Emperor got from house rent, see annexes 27, 35, 36, and 37.

of the Dutch Legation for one year at Eth. 350 birr per month. The building was located in Little Aqaqé.³¹⁵ The Legation paid rentals for the houses mentioned above until about 1975.³¹⁶

The Emperor's houses that were located in 13th and 14th *Bétä Rists* (Gullälé and Gäfärsa *wärädas*) were made the simple wattle and daub, and tahatch roofed structures. These houses were rented out to 25 tenants for Eth. 1 to 2 birr per month.³¹⁷

In general, from the information provided above, Haile Selassie used to collect the big sum of Eth. 100, 000 birr per year in the form of rentals from his houses located in the different *waradas* of the city of Addis Ababa.

³¹⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 267, File No., 9 See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 194, File No., 35. Regarding the full information on the house rent agreement, see annexe 26.

³¹⁶From Nähasé (August) 22, 1966 to Mäskäräm (September) 21, 1967 E.C., for example, the Legation paid Eth. 2, 000 birr to the *Bétä Rist* treasury, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 334, File No., 2.

³¹⁷From these houses Eth. 2, 568 birr was collected per year, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 133, File No., 26. And a house in Gullälé *wäräda* situated near the Ice Factory was rented for Eth. 200 birr per month and was used for bar; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, File No., 29.



Figure 2: Partial view of some still standing villas of the Emperor located in the vicinity of Princess Şāhay (now Țor Hailoč) Memorial Hospital (photograph by the researcher).

4.3. Investment in the Manufacturing Sector

The Emperor invested a significant amount of money in almost all small scale agro-processing, textile, plantation, and insurance share companies that were established before and after the period of Italian occupation. The following table shows the amount of money that was invested in some corporations between the years 1954 to 1964.

Table 11: - Amount of money invested in each share company by the *Bétä Rist*.

No	Name of Share Companies	Amount invested (Eth. birr)	Financial Year
1	Käffa Coffee Plantation Corporation	30, 000	January 6, 1954
2	Sabean Utility Corporation	30, 700	After 1963/'64
3	Bottling Company of Ethiopia	50, 000	July 26, 1956
4	Indo-Ethiopian Textiles	100, 000	1956/'57
5	Coca Cola Company	100, 000	February 2, 1960
6	Čäffa Farm Concession	15, 000	October 2, 1959
7	Ceralia Foods	15, 000	December 31, 1958
8	Qalité Foods	80, 850	October 12, 1961
	Total	321, 550	

Source: As for capital invested in the Käffa Coffee Plantation Corporation, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, File No., 13; in Indo-Ethiopian Textiles, look at I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 88, File No., 39; in Ceralia Foods and Čäffa Farm Concession, refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, File No., 21.

The several statements of dividends sent to the *Bétä Rist* Office reveal that the Emperor also invested in other companies. For example, he got Eth. 30 birr and Eth. 33 birr and 33 cents as dividend from the Cotton and Fiber Companies of Ethiopia respectively in the financial year ended 1974. Again in 1953, Eth. 52, 000 birr was obtained from the St. George Brewery, and Eth. 5, 000 birr from the Imperial Insurance Company in 1973.³¹⁸

³¹⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File No., 5. See also annexes 31, 32, and 33.

Table 12: - Number of shares that the Emperor held in some companies as registered in the name of the *Bétä Rist* Office.

No	Name of Share Companies	Number of Shares	Year
1	Käffa Coffee Plantation Corporation	300	January 6, 1954
2	Sabean Utility Corporation	307	After 1963/'64
3	Bottling Company of Ethiopia	1, 575	1975
4	Indo-Ethiopian Textiles	1, 460	1954/'55
5	Kaliti Foods	1, 617	October 12, 1961
6	Imperial Insurance Company	1, 000	1952/'53, 1961/'62

Source: As for the number of shares that the Emperor held in the Käffa Coffee Plantation Corporation, look at I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, File No., 13; in that of the Cotton Company of Ethiopia, Indo-Ethiopian Textiles, Sabean Utility Corporation, and Imperial Insurance Company is indicated in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No., 12. As for the number of shares in the Bottling Company of Ethiopia, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File No., 5, and also in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, File No., 8; and in Kaliti Foods, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, File No., 21. Besides, refer I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, File No., 8 for the number of shares in the Sabean Utility Corporation and Imperial Insurance Company. See also annexes 29, 30, and 34.

Table 13: - Dividends from different Companies for some selected years.

No.	Name of S.C.	No. Shares	Financial Year	Dividend (Eth. Birr)
1	Indo Ethiopian Textile	-	Sept., 11 1963	15, 700
2	Bottling Company of Ethiopia	700	December 9, 1969	3, 500
3	Same	1, 575	December 10, 1975	15, 700
4	Coca Cola	-	1970/'71	18, 900
5	Same	-	1973/'74	9, 450
6	Indo Ethiopian Textile	-	1975/'76, 1976/'77 and 1977/'78	48, 000
7	Indo Ethiopian Textile		1945 E.C	41, 222.46
8	Ceralia Foods		1952 E.C	10, 057.85
9	Coca Cola		1960 E.C	15, 750
10	St.George Beer		1952/'53	52, 000.
11	Imperial Insurance	500	1972/'73	2, 500
12	Çàffa Farm Concession	-	1959/'60	-
13	Indo-Ethiopian Textiles	-	1971/'72	9, 000
14	Coca Cola		1968/'69	15, 750

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File Nos., 1, 2, 3, and 5. See also in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No., 12.

As shown in the above table, the number of shares registered in the name of the *Bétä Rist* increased from time to time. This is clearly seen in the Bottling Company of Ethiopia in which the Emperor held 700 shares in 1970. In 1976, well over a year after he was overthrown, this figure went up to 1, 575. As the number of shares increased, the dividends obviously went up. In the above case, for example, for the year that ended on December 9, 1969, while the number of shares was 700, dividend was calculated at the

rate of Eth. 5 birr per share. By 1976, the number of shares increased by more than half and dividend was calculated at the rate of Eth. 10 birr per share.³¹⁹

New shares were issued by extraordinary general meetings of the shareholders that were then formally notified to individual share holders. For example, on May 15, 1972, an extraordinary meeting of share holders of the Imperial Insurance Company of Ethiopia passed a resolution in favour of issuing 2, 500 shares at the par value of Eth. 100 birr per share. Accordingly, as the Emperor was a holder of 500 shares, he was given a preferential right to subscribe for (to agree to purchase for security) up to 125 shares of the new issue. Subscription (purchase of shares) to the new issue was opened on 14th June, 1972, and was closed on the 14th of July, 1972. Whenever the *Bétä Rist* desired to subscribe to the new issue, it wrote an application letter to the secretary of the Company. Thus, it was by using the preferred rights of the above kinds in the new issue that the Office increased its shares and expanded its involvement.³²⁰ For example, according to a letter written on January 6, 1954, the Emperor was given an option to buy 300 shares in the Käffa Coffee Plantation Share Company at Eth. 30, 000 birr, which is Eth. 100 birr for each share. The Emperor accepted the offer and Eth. 30, 000 birr was paid. On January 6, 1954, *Nägadras* Birhanä Selassé Abayiré, who was now made board member of the Käffa Coffee Plantation Corporation, was ordered by the Ministry of the Pen to personally appear and pay the said amount in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at 9 A.M.³²¹

³¹⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, File No., 8.

³²⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File No., 1.

³²¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 59, File No., 13.

Nevertheless, the number of shares did not always increase with the progress of the years. For example, on April 21, 1953, the *Bétä Rist* Office held 1,000 registered and dully paid up shares in the Imperial Insurance Company of Ethiopia.³²² In 1971, after about 18 years, this figure decreased by half. This indicates that there existed sale of shares (or transfer by other means), an important indicator of the capitalist marketing system.

Now a very brief account of the history of some companies to which the Emperor was a share holder is in order.

Cerealia Foods was established by two Italians named Colonal Pe and Dita Silos during the period of Italian occupation. It was a macaroni factory located in Kaliti village. After the Italians were ousted from Ethiopia, the Company came under the Custodian of Enemy Property. On May 8, 1948, the Custodian of Enemy Property sold the company to an association whose members were Ethiopian nationals at Eth. 604, 210 birr and 15 cents.³²³ The objectives of the company were; a) to buy grain mill, b) buying and selling food grains, and c) baking and selling macaroni, biscuits, and bread to the residents of the city of Addis Ababa. Its life span was decided to end after 43 years in Pagume 1991. The Association held Eth. 803, 850 birr shares capital dully registered and paid. At the time of its foundation, it owned a total of 16,077 shares each sold for Eth. 50 birr. On October 12, 1961, the Company was given a new charter and its name was changed from Ceralia to Kaliti Foods.³²⁴

³²²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, File No., 8.

³²³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No., 5

³²⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, File No., 21

Table 14: - Share holders, number of shares and capital invested in Kaliti Foods for the year 1961.

No.	Name of the Share Holder	No. of shares	Amount paid (Eth. Birr)
1	Empress Mänän	8, 378	418, 900
2	Crown Prince Asfa Wässän	1, 816	90, 800
3	State Domain	1,716	85, 800
4	The <i>Bétä Rist</i> Office	1, 617	80, 850
5	<i>Ras</i> Mäsfin Siläš	579	28, 950
6	The Monastery of Däbrä Libanos	454	22, 700
7	Princess Tänaññawärq Haile Selassie	374	18, 700
8	John Asfaw	363	18, 150
9	H.E. General Mär'ed Mängäša	363	18, 150
10	<i>Yäjägnoc Mahbär</i> (The Ethiopian Patriots Association)	417	20, 850
	Total	16, 077	803, 850

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 331, File No., 8

As clearly shown in the above table, Haile Selassie and his wife and his two children were the biggest share holders of the Company (12, 185) which is 76 percent of the total. The company existed until March 30, 1974.

Indo-Ethiopian Textiles Corporation was established in 1956/'57 in a small town then outside Addis Ababa, now very much within the metropolitan city called Qaliti. It had branch offices in Asmära and Dire Dawa, and one associated company, the Ethiopian Life Insurance Company.³²⁵

³²⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File Nos., 5, and 1.

The Imperial Insurance Company of Ethiopia was established in 1950/'51 with share capital fully paid up (Eth. 1, 000, 000 birr). Its head office was located in *Mäsqäl* Square and the chairman on June 22, 1972 was *Ato* Menassie Lemma.³²⁶

In a letter written on July 26, 1956, from the Emperor's Private Treasury to the *Bétä Rist* Office, *Nägadras* Birhanä Selassé Abayäre and *Ato* Menassie Lemma were ordered to establish a share company called the Bottling Company of Ethiopia with a total capital of Eth. 500, 000 birr. Out of this, the *Bétä Rist* Office allocated Eth. 100, 000 birr which was 1/5th of the total capital.³²⁷

According to information obtained from its inauguration ceremony held on October 1, 1966, the Sabean Metal Products S.C. was a commercial venture established on August 7, 1964 by Ethiopian and Japanese investors with initial capital of Eth. 2, 500, 000 birr. Later its capital rose to Eth. 4, 000, 000 birr. Half of the capital was held by Sabean Utility Corporation, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, and by the Development Bank of Ethiopia. The other half was held by the following Japanese share holders: Nippon Kokan Kabushiki Kaisha, Marubeni- Iida Co. Ltd., Fuji Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha Co. Ltd., and Osaka Shipbuilding Co. Ltd. The head office of the company was located on the second floor of the Chamber of Commerce building near the Square of Mexico. The construction of the buildings was started in May 1965, and the factory machinery was installed in November 1965. The factory started operation on April 12, 1966 with two galvanizing lines each having 1, 250 tones per month. The gauges of galvanized steel sheets (both corrugated and flat) produced in this factory ranged from 24

³²⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File No., 1.

³²⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 8, File No., 21, Letter No., 1676/48.

to 38. In addition to this, the factory produced steel pipes and tubes. In this company the *Bétä Rist* owned 307 shares each bought at Eth. 100 birr.³²⁸

Generally, in an attempt to enlarge his property, the monarch played pioneering and exemplary roles mainly in partially mechanized farming, in the development of real estates and in the manufacturing sector. His agricultural engagements involve the cultivation of food grains, cash crops (mainly coffee), cattle breeding and horticulture. The *Bétä Rist* was one of the major suppliers of food grains and fruits in the country in general and for the residents of the city of Addis Ababa in particular. In the field of real estates, Haile Selassie owned different kinds and types of houses in almost all provincial towns and in the city of Addis Ababa from which he earned significant amount of money. But many of his houses were located in the different *wärädas* of Addis Ababa. The *Bétä Rist* also invested significant amount of money in the various small scale industrial plants established before and after the period of occupation. The Emperor and other members of the royal family formed the largest share holders from which they earned substantial amount of money.

At the beginning of this chapter we have remarked that some of the Emperor's lands were cultivated by tenants. In most cases, tenants cultivated lands on a sharecropping basis, the major type being *irbo* (the tenants gave a fourth of their produce to the Emperor). In the next chapter we shall consider landlord-tenant relationship mainly under the framework of security of tenure and the protection of their rights as tenants.

³²⁸ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File Nos., 21, and 2. See also the pamphlet of the Inauguration Ceremony of Akaki Factory for Galvanized Steel Sheets, October 1, 1966.

Chapter Five: - The Tenants of the King

The social and economic formation that gave birth to the classes of lord and serf or tenant, two distinct classes, is feudalism. A British scholar by the name Maurice Dobb, cited in Negussay Ayele, defines feudalism as follows:

[Feudalism] will be virtually identical with what we generally mean by serfdom, an obligation laid on the producer by force and independently of his own volition to fulfill certain economic demands of an overlord, whether these demands take the form of services to be performed or of dues to be paid in money or in kind...of work or of gifts to the lord's larder. This coercive force may be that of military strength possessed by the feudal superior, or of custom backed by some kind of juridical procedure, or the force of law.³²⁹

Under this system, the land tenure or land holding system, which varied both in time and space, gave rise to the socio-economic and political relationships and the productive force of the toiling serf or tenant, who was obliged to pay heavy dues of different kinds. He provided forced, extra, and unpaid labor services to his overlords.

Before we look into the discussion of what it means to be a serf or tenant in Ethiopia and in other countries, it is proper to give at least a general definition of the term. According

³²⁹Negussay Ayele, "Is there Feudalism in Ethiopia?" "Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism," (Addis Ababa, March 1976), p. 3. Christopher Clapham defines it as: "a system of government based on an agrarian economy rich enough to support a permanent and fairly well differentiated government structure capable of maintaining control over a wide area," Christopher Clapham, "Feudalism, Modernization, and the Ethiopian Monarchy," "Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism" (Addis Ababa University: March 1976), p. 1.

to the Macmillan English dictionary for advanced learners, a serf is defined as “someone who lived and worked on land belonging to another person and who could not leave without that person’s permission,” and a tenant as “someone who rents a flat, house, office, piece of land etc, from the person who owns it.”³³⁰ Social and economic relationships of the above kinds were prevalent in Europe during the Middle Ages.

For Gäbrä Wäld Engda Wärq *Çisäñña* (tenant) is someone who can “evaporate” any time: “ጢስ ማለት በኖ የሚጠፋ ነው። ከዋናው ባለርስት እየተዋዋለ የሚቀመጥ የሚበዛውም የእርስትነት መብት የሌለው ስለሆነ ቤት ሰርቶ በሚያጨሰው ጭስ ይጠራል።”³³¹

Smoke is something that disappears into the air. For most tenants owned no *rist* rights but settled in agreement with the *balä-rist* proper, they are named after the smoke that came out of their house.

Two important phrases in the above definition that best describe the condition of the tenant of southern Ethiopia are first “one that disappears in the form of vapour”, an indicator of the tenants’ insecurity of tenure and at the same time their freedom of movement to other areas depending on impelling circumstances; and second “owned no *rist* rights”, a phrase that clearly spelt out what it means to be a tenant. Gäbrä Wäld informs us of three types of tenants. The first type is the one who bought land either from a *balabat* or *balä rist mälkäñña*. Depending on agreements, the tenant could have paid *mar* (honey), *çäw* (salt), or rendered labour services to the *balabat*, but had the right to sell or exchange the land. Secondly, if a tenant bought land from a *mälkäñña* under

³³⁰ *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, (Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2007), pp. 1354, and 1541.

³³¹ Gäbrä Wäld Engda Wärq, *Yä Itiyopiya Märet Ina Gibir Sim [The Ethiopian Land and Taxation System]*, (Addis Ababa: Tinsa’é Zä Guba’é Printers, 1948 E.C.), pp. 35-36.

madäria arrangement, apart from paying the tribute as per the agreement, he would not be evicted from his land. But, with the arrival of a new *mälkäñña*, the tenant could be evicted, or could be obliged to buy the land from the new *mälkäñña* again. The third type is one who bought no land from a *balä rist*, but lived and cultivated the land on contractual basis. This type of tenant was subject to eviction.

In the same vein, Dästa Täklä Wäld, in his authoritative Ge'ez dictionary, defines *çisäñña* or *ṭisäñña* (serf or tenant) as follows:

ጠ.ስ የሚያጨስ ፤ ባለጨስ በሰው መሬት ላይ ቤት ስርቶ የሚኖር ጨስ ለጊዜው ታይቶ በኋላ እንዲታጣ ጨስኛም መሬትን ለቆ ይኼዳልና በዚህ ስም ተጠራ።³³²

One who smokes smoke, owner of a [house]; one who builds a house on other person's land; and as smoke is seen for a time and vanishes after a while, a çisäñña or ṭisäñña is thus so named after it for he would vacate the land and go.

This directly concerns to the tenant of southern Ethiopia after the incorporation by Menilek towards the end of the 19th century. In another authoritative Ge'ez Amharic dictionary by Kidanä Wäld Kiflé, *gäbbar*, in fact not *çisäñña*, a generic name for a whole range of people who paid tax to the state, is defined as;

ገበሬ ሰራተኛ በግድ የሚሰራ ጉልበቱን ገንዘቡን ለሹም የሚያፈስ ሹማምንት እንደወደዱ የሚያደርጉት ባለርስት ባሪያ።³³³

³³²Dästa Täklä Wäld, *Addis Yä Amariñña Mäzäbä Qalat [New Amharic Dictionary]*, (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1962 E.C.), p. 624.

³³³Kidanä Wäld Kiflé, *Mäṣihafä Säwasäw Wä Gis Wä Mäzäbä Qalat Hadis [New Ge'ez Dictionary]*, (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1948 E.C.), p. 297.

A farmer, a worker one who works by force, one who spills his money and labour for appointed officials whom they treat as they wish, a *rist* holder, a slave.

In this latter definition we find some interesting terms to be analyzed at some length. When we look at the term *gäbbar*, it rather denotes the whole spectrum of society, including Haile Selassie, who paid *gibbir* (tax) to the government. The other important phrase is በግድ የሚሰራ (one who works by force); a pointer to the several extra, unpaid, and forced labour (*corvée* labour) services that the peasants or tenants rendered to their overlords. However, it did not involve geographical disparity though its nature and intensity varied from place to place. The phrase “ሹማምንት እንደወደዱ የሚያደርጉት,” (one whom officials treated as they wished) is interesting in that it clearly demonstrates that apart from obeying and doing what his overlord wanted him to do, the *gäbbar* could not decide on many issues central to his life. There was a marked difference between what it means to be a *gäbbar* and a slave; *gäbbars* were, for example, exploited while slaves were exploited and at the same time bought and sold like other material objects. Unlike slaves, *gäbbars* had the freedom to move to other areas without necessarily seeking the prior permission of their overlords; in some areas, *gäbbars* even owned land of their own as *rist*. This is done so as to show how oppressive and exploitative the system was to the *gäbbars*. Yet, the most important term in the above definition is ባለርስት (*rist* holder), a term used to refer clearly to the northern peasants. It must be added that, there was some form of tenancy in the north that resembled the one in southern Ethiopia. It represented the social and economic relationships between religious minorities and occupational

castes as these groups of people held no land of their own.³³⁴ So, we can define a tenant as a peasant who owned no land of his own; he was dispossessed under different circumstances (territorial expansion, beginning and expansion of mechanized and partially mechanized commercial farming) or destined not to possess land because he belonged to a religious minority or occupational caste.

Keeping in mind the points we made above, let us now devote few lines to the fundamental similarities and differences that existed in landlord-tenant relationships in Europe and in Ethiopia. In Western Europe, the class of tenant is made up of free-holders (free tenant) and serfs. Like the *gäbbars* of northern Ethiopia, freeholders enjoyed certain economic privileges in that they enjoyed the free use of certain parts of the land for which they paid fixed rents to the lord. But, unlike their European counterparts, the *gäbbars* of northern Ethiopia paid varied forms of feudal dues and services to the *balä-gult*, and not a fixed rent. Obviously, the situation in southern Ethiopia was more burdensome. The second social privilege that freeholders enjoyed is that like the tenants of southern Ethiopia, they could remain on the manor (farm or estate) or leave it if they saw it fit. The serfs on the other hand were neither slaves nor freemen. They were not slaves for they were not owned by the lord and thus could not be sold. Therefore, like the peasants or tenants of Ethiopia, they were attached to the soil rather than to the lord though they were expected to render free labour services to the lord. Unlike its Ethiopian counterpart, a serf in Western Europe could not be deprived of his right to live on the manor or estate or land. At the same time, he could not leave it without the consent of the lord. In northern

³³⁴ "Nowhere was the right of these communities to agricultural or settlement land recognized. The lands on which they resided were theirs only for as long as the larger society allowed them to live and work there", Merid Wolde Aregay, "Tecnology in Medieval Ethiopia," "Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism" (Addis Ababa University: March 1976), p. 6.

Ethiopia, failure to fulfil feudal obligations and committing grave crimes against the state or the crown would result in eviction, and in southern Ethiopia the landlord could evict tenants as he wished. Moreover, a southern tenant, as we noted earlier, could leave the land any time without the prior permission of his overlord. While serfs in Western Europe could not appeal to the king's court, an Ethiopian tenant could appeal to courts established at all levels even if it was difficult for a tenant to have his cases considered easily even at *wäräda* and *awraja* level courts let alone at the king's court. In short, the Ethiopian *gäbbar* did not have all the restrictions imposed on the European serf and thus was a free-man, but tributary.³³⁵

The general nature of Ethiopian tenancy has attracted the attention of different scholars. One commonality observed in the findings of previous studies is that tenancy was more common and onerous in the south than in the north; and it was after the late 19th century expansion of the Ethiopian Empire State that the bulk of the southern peasant farmer was reduced to the status of tenancy.³³⁶ It must be emphasized that there was little reason to believe that the Imperial Ethiopian Government provided practical legal provisions to improve the conditions of tenants in Ethiopia.³³⁷

³³⁵For information on the European serf, refer to Carlton J. H. Hayes (Eds.), *World History*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), Third Revised Edition, pp. 300-310. "The Ethiopian *gabar* was not a serf; in the European sense of the term in that he owned land which he transmitted directly to his children. There was no law that prevented him from moving", Merid Walda Aregay, "Land Tenure and Agricultural Productivity, 1500-1850," Paper Presented on the Third Annual Seminar of the Department of History (Bahir Dar: April 17-22, 1985), p. 212. See also Aleme Eshete, "General Examination on Ethiopian Feudalism", "Conference on Ethiopian Feudalism" (Addis Ababa University: March 1976), pp. 4, 17, 19, 20-23.

³³⁶John H. Cohen, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution* (the Netherlands, Van Gorcum and Comp., B. V. -Assen, 1975), p. 50. John Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Nottingham: The Russell Press, 1978), pp. 23-27. See also Bizuwork Zewdie, "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills with Particular Reference to Arsi" M.A. thesis, (Addis Ababa University, June, 1992), pp. 4-22.

³³⁷Regarding the different attempts made by the Imperial Ethiopian Government to improve the conditions of tenants by introducing tenancy bills targeted towards regulating landlord-tenant relationships that would

Discussion of the historical processes that gave rise to widespread reduction of peasant farmers into the status of tenants in the south and south western parts of the country, its intensity when analyzed from two crudely delimited geographical regions (North and South), and the prerequisites necessary to undertake any land reform policy in the country are, however, beyond the limits of this study. This chapter rather focuses on how the *Bétä Rist* regulated landlord-tenant relationships in the post-Italian period. This could be done by analyzing and examining the personal and institutional concerns that were taken to protect their rights as a tenant, and improve their conditions in light of government initiatives made to improve the conditions of tenants by taking into account the following basic organizing concepts: types of tenants, forms of rentals, security of tenure, and tenancy agreements.

To begin with, almost all scholars agree on the utter exploitative nature of landlord-tenant relationships. But, such statement needs qualification when analyzed in light of how tenancy rights were handled by the property management institution of Emperor Haile Selassie. The tenants were either share or rent tenants. But, when we come to the second point, the picture is rather different. Most writers state that sharecropping was either *siso* (one third) or *ekul* (50/50). Tenants with *irbo* (one fourth) *arash* arrangements were referred to rarely.³³⁸ However, empirical evidence reveals that some of the Emperor's lands in the provinces were cultivated by tenants who gave a fourth of their produce.³³⁹ However, this

secure them from high rents, forced, extra and free labour services, threats and arbitrary eviction see Bizuwork, pp. 76-120. See also Ketebo, p. 171.

³³⁸“In general rent was between one-third to one-half of the harvest...,” Desalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (Uppsala, 1984), p. 25. “The principal form of rent arrangement seems to be *siso arash*,” Cohen, p. 53. “There were tenants who pay half of their produce.” H.S. Mann, *Land Tenure in Chore (Shewa); A Pilot Study* (Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie I University in Association with Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 31. See also Ketebo, p. 166.

³³⁹See for example I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 25.

was not always true. In rare cases, whenever the amount of revenue collected from tenants decreased from previous years, orders were given to overseers that tenants should be given an option between cultivating the lands of the Emperor on *Ikul* (half) sharecropping basis or eviction on failure to comply with the new order.³⁴⁰

Tenants of the *Bétä Rist* were not supplied with inputs. Sometimes they were supplied with seed but they gave it back in the next harvest time.³⁴¹

Over the issue of security of tenure, scholars contend that tenants were victims of sudden eviction as they were at the mercy of landlords. An exception in this regard is Dessalegn Rahmato who writes that there were no indiscriminate and recurrent evictions because such things, he goes on to argue, could cause dissatisfaction and social unrest. On how the landlords were capitalizing on eviction, Dessalegn wrote: "The threat of eviction, rather than the act itself, was the potent weapon in the hands of the landlords."³⁴² Who were the agents of eviction and under what circumstances the tenants were threatened with eviction, we shall see by drawing heavily on archival information.

Finally, although the initiatives that the Imperial Ethiopian Government took to improve landlord-tenant relationships bore no fruit,³⁴³ there were different practical measures that

³⁴⁰The order was given to *Ato Gäbrä Mariam Šibiru*, overseer of *Sälalé Bétä Rist* by the Managing Director, *Nägadras* (latter *Bilatien Géta*) *Birhanä Selassé Abayire*, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 19, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር.*, File No., 48.

³⁴¹A letter written on June 26, 1943, from the *Bétä Rist* to the overseer of *Wälmära* is informative of such understandings: It was addressed to *Ato Kasa Mängistu*, the overseer of *Wälmära Bétä Rist*. In response to the request of tenants, the Emperor ordered that 18 *daula* (a *daula* measuring on average one quintal) of seed (the kind of grain is not clearly specified) should be given to each of them which was to be returned in the coming year with no interest; I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 88, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር.*, File No., 32.

³⁴²Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies; Uppsala, 1984), p. 25. Ketebo stands in stark contrast with Dessalegn when he says: "a slip of the tongue might lead to eviction," ketebo, p. 168.

³⁴³J.S.D. Lawrence, *Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia* (F. A. O., Addis Ababa, 29th August, 1963), p. 1. See also Bizuwork Zewdie, "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills with Particular Reference to Arssi," M.A. thesis (Addis Ababa University, June, 1992), pp. 76-120, and Cohen, p. 55.

were taken both by the Emperor personally and institutionally by the management office which aimed to address the problems and grievances of tenants living and laboring on his lands.

In the process of examining the issue in question on the basis of the above organizing concepts, we will attempt the following fundamental questions:

- ▶ Were tenants who were living on the lands of the Emperor totally voiceless in protecting their tenancy rights?
- ▶ How did the management office deal with, and react to, the several complaints and appeals of tenants who were subjected to abuse?
- ▶ Were there formal binding agreements and contracts entered into between the management office and tenants? If so, in what ways did the contracts and agreements help them to ensure security of tenure?
- ▶ How exploitative were sharecropping arrangements as compared with what previous studies have confirmed?
- ▶ What were the fundamental agents of tenant ill-treatment and their features? How can we evaluate the relationships between such agents and the *Bétä Rist*?
- ▶ What was the attitude of peasants in being tenants of the *Bétä Rist*?
- ▶ How can we assess the several personal (i.e., the Emperor in person) and institutional interventions made towards improving the conditions of tenants in light of government initiatives taken in this respect?

Before we move to the discussion of the socio-economic and judicial relationships that existed between tenants and the management system, let us look briefly at the types, not

to say kinds, of royal tenants. Though we see no clear line of distinction between them as a class, the royal tenants ranked in two types: urban and rural. For the discussion of urban tenancy, we will focus on those tenants who settled on the lands of the Emperor in Addis Ababa. The selection of Addis Ababa is not without reason. Because the Emperor owned huge amount of land in 24 neighbourhoods, the bulk of royal tenants lived in Addis Ababa especially in the vicinities of the Gänätä Le'ul Palace (now Sidest Kilo compus), Gulälé and Gäfärssa, and Princes Şähay Memorial Hospital (now the Army's Hospital).

Generally speaking, we see no marked difference between the two as a class. Both were tenants in the sense that they held no land of their own. But from the point of view of economic relations, tenants in the urban areas did not pay land rent like their counterpart in the rural areas. They rather paid an insignificant amount of house rent directly to the treasury of the Office per month. However, the houses might have been built by the tenants themselves on the lands of the Emperor. As we have explained in chapter three, most of the houses were wattle and daub and thatch roofed simple structures. Tenant ill-treatment such as heavy dues, threats of eviction, forced, extra, unpaid labour services which were evident in the rural areas by overseers backed by *awraja* and *wäräda* level administrators were more or less absent in urban areas. This is so largely because tenants could easily take their cases to the Head Office. Besides, the economic relationship was based simply on the collection of a negligible amount of house rent. The properties of the Emperor in Addis Ababa were clearly known and the amount of money collected from each was fixed and was paid in cash, not in kind. Unlike in the rural areas, in urban areas the system was simple in that for each and every property, salaried guards were

appointed.³⁴⁴ Before 1948, one person was assigned to collect house rent by travelling from place to place. After 1948, however, a formal system of house rent contract was introduced and a tenant paid the fixed amount at the treasury office per month as per the agreement. This brought about security of tenure. It was only when tenants failed to pay the fixed rent and when the Office wanted the houses for its own use that tenants were forced to vacate the house. When such measures were taken, lessees in general were given sufficient amount of time to arrange their future as per the the rent agreement. But it must be emphasized that, in the true sense of the term, not all people and institutions that rented the houses of the Emperor were tenants. The Emperor owned modern buildings and villas mostly rented out to institutions and companies as well as to foreign residents. Obviously, tenants could not afford the amount fixed for such houses. As clearly put in chapter three, rentals collected from tenants ranged from Eth. 2 to 10 birr per month. On the whole, unlike rural tenants, urban tenants were more secured, well protected, enjoyed certain privileges, and were even granted land as *rist*. As a result, apart from being classified as a tenant, they did not suffer all the ill-treatments that were meted out to the rural tenant.

Now let us consider the socio-economic and judicial relationships that prevailed between the management office and tenants of all types by providing pertinent examples from among the appeal and complaint letters of tenants.

To the best of my investigation, as we shall see one by one, the *Bétā Rist* Office was too sensitive to the several complaints and appeals of tenants. All too often, complaints arose as a result of mistreatments from *Šums* (overseers) and indeed against the interest of the

³⁴⁴These guards were called in Amharic *bota ṭābaqiwoč* literally guards of a plot of land.

Emperor and the Head Office. Whenever the tenants felt that they were subjected to maltreatment by the overseers, and when their appeals were rejected by *awraja* and *wäräda* level administrators, they wrote letters both to the Emperor and to the Head Office at Addis Ababa. Reactions given from the Head Office were based on information gathered from three groups: tenants, overseers and provincial and *awraja* level administrators.

The following appeal letter written on July 23, 1944 to the Head Office by tenants who were living in Käffa *wäräda* is of particular importance in demonstrating the multifarious nature of the abuses that *Girazmač* Mihraté Tirfé, the overseer at the time the appeal letter was written, subjected them to. The letter also demonstrates that the response was quick. The tenants accused Mihraté of receiving money under threats of eviction; collecting revenue without giving them official receipt for what they paid with the intention of using the revenue for himself which, according to them, he did; receiving money under the cover of maintaining the peace and security of the area; forcing them to provide him with food grains that were not cultivated in the area which the tenants paid him money in lieu of the food grains; and making tenants cover the costs of his living by force. On August 16, 1944, the Head Office wrote a letter to the governor of the *wäräda* stating that the actions of the overseer was criminal thus using an expression that showed its sincere interest in defending the rights and interests of tenants.³⁴⁵

As we have tried to explain in Chapter 3, people who were employed in the Head Office and overseers in the provinces, for the most part, were loyal to the tasks entrusted upon them. But this was not always true as some proved to be corrupt particularly in the

³⁴⁵I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 25.

collection of revenue, settlement of accounts and in the handling of tenants. When the Head Office faced these kinds of problems, it tried to solve them with the collaboration of provincial and *awraja* level governors. Yet, the best check and balance force that helped the Head Office to ensure how much the overseers were loyal to discharge faithfully the tasks entrusted upon them were the several complaints and appeal letters of tenants addressed to it. The tenants were, therefore, very crucial parts of the property management system.³⁴⁶

The concern of the management system to the causes of tenants was also seen in connection with eviction. In a land lease contract made on September 8, 1949, the lessee was strictly prohibited from evicting tenants in the following way: ከመሬቱ ላይ ያሉ ጢሰኞች [?] ለመትከልና ለመንቀል አይችሉም።³⁴⁷ The text, literally translated, could read: “They cannot uproot and plant tenants living on the land.”

Whether the tenants knew the presence of such proactive concerns on the part of the *Bétä Rist*, we do not know for sure. For practical purposes, however, it would have been good if they were informed of the presence of such concerns by giving them a copy of the lease contract.

The Emperor’s real concern for tenant interests also finds affirmation from tenants themselves. In 1951, the overseer of Raya and Azäbo *awraja* of the province of Tigray

³⁴⁶For example, on Ṭir 14, 1957 E.C., *Ato Täklä Mariam Dästa*, overseer of the *Maräqo Bétä Rist*, was asked to personally appear at the Head Office to explain why he refused to give tenants official receipt for the rent (*irbo*) that they paid to the *Bétä Rist*; I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 60, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 2.

³⁴⁷The lands so leased out for a period of two years were located in *Leq Maräfia* (2 *gašas*), and *Goräbëlla* (1 *gaša*) *qäbälés* of *Ankobär wäräda* of the province of *Šäwa*. For these 3 *gašas* of land the lessee undertook to pay 115 *daula* of barley, 25 *daula* of bean, and Eth. 343 birr per year. The contract has 11 articles. The protective statement is provided in article 7. I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 12.

was *Agafari*Täsfay. In an appeal letter written on October 26, 1951 to the Secretary of the *awraja*, the overseer was accused of making threats of eviction. A very interesting part of the appeal letter that highlights the Emperor's generosity with respect to his concern reads: "...በዚህ ግርማዊ ንጉሠ ነገሥታችን እንኳንስ ያንድ አገልጋይቸውን ርስት ሊወስዱ ከቶውንም አክለው ይሰጣሉ።"³⁴⁸ The text, literally translated, could read: "Let alone taking the *rist* of his bond servant, His Majesty the king of kings would give additional [*rist*]."

Here is a very interesting example that affirmed this matter very clearly. On July 21, 1951, the Head Office instructed the governor of Käffa *awraja* to the effect that ill-treatments of tenants who were living on the *ristä gult* of the Emperor by *wäräda* level administrators (an intervention which was none of their businesses) had to be stopped because eviction as a result of ill-treatments would mean total loss of revenue that was to be collected from tenants. A very telling part from the letter reads: "...በዚህ ምክንያት ጭሰኞቹ ሲበተኑ መሬቱ በጭራሽ ጠፍ ሆኖ ግብሩን የማይችል ስለሚሆን..."³⁴⁹ The text, literally translated, could read: "When the tenants would go away as a result of this [eviction], the land would again be uncultivated and [revenue from it] would be unable to cover even the tax..."

As explained elsewhere in this study, the Emperor's *Bétä Rist* followed very formal ways in its dealings with both individuals and institutions. Contracts and agreements of different kinds; purchase and sale of properties; financial and administrative systems were all written, dully signed and sealed; and were legally binding before the law. When it comes to tenancy, though it did not happen with the same degree of incidence as stated above, there existed a good system of correspondence between the Head Office and *Bétä*

³⁴⁸I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 2088.

³⁴⁹I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 32.

Rist Offices established in the provinces with respect to lease contracts, assessment procedures, collection of *irbo*, eviction, and forced, extra, and unpaid labour services as well as security of tenure or holdings. Here are some examples.

On October 29, 1954, the Head Office gave written rules and regulations to the overseers of Sälalé *awraja* on how to undertake assessment of tax that was to be collected from tenants; collection of *irbo* and other dues; duties and responsibilities of overseers as well as tenants; and liabilities that would be imposed when overseers and tenants failed to conform to such rules and regulations. Accordingly, the following orders were given:

1. The land would be assessed depending on its extent that an individual tenant held against official receipt that was to be given at the time of assessment.
2. The assessment body was made up of two resident elders, the *Çiqasum*, and the overseer. When assigned to assess, they formally swore the following oath of trustworthiness: “በዚህም በምገምተው ስብል ወዳጅ ዘመዴ ነው በማለት አላዳለም በዚህም ጉዳይ መታያ ጉቦ አልቀበልም ይህንን ባደርግ እግዚያብሔር በነፍስ በስጋዬ አይለመነኝ የህል ዘር ይንሳኝ።” The text, literally translated, could read: “In this crop which I am assessing, I shall not be partial for reasons that [he/she] is my relative or my [friend], and I shall not receive bribe. If I do this, let God reject my [prayers] both in my soul and flesh, and gives me no food /grain at all.
3. The date of the threshing of grains was decided by overseers. In this very date, the tenant must first surrender the amount as per the assessment to the store keeper and the secretary against official receipt before he transported his own share. On preparing receipt, the secretary must mention the reference number of the first assessment. If the amount is not as per the first assessment, the store

keeper should make the tenant pay the reminder in that very date by force. Failure to do so would make him liable to pay himself. The overseers had to always follow up its implementation.

4. The assessment committee should warn tenants of the risk of failure to pay revenue on time, which seldom resulted in eviction.
5. The time table set to collect food grains was from Ṭiqimt (October) to Mägabit (March) 30; revenue from vegetables and *yä hudad färé* from Miyazia (April) 1 to Miyazia (April) 30, and revenue from grass sale from Ginbot (May) 1 to Säné (June 30). And respective overseers were required to settle their accounts on Hamlé (July) 5 by appearing at the treasury office of the Head Office at Addis Ababa. Overseers and other officials who failed to discharge the tasks entrusted upon them according to the stipulated provisions would be dismissed from their position.³⁵⁰

Keeping in mind the unfair rules and regulations that the tenants undertook to comply with (such as grain assessment on the harvest side, fixing the date of the threshing by *Bétä Rist* officials, and transporting shares of the *Bétä Rist* to grain stores and then loading the grain on vehicles that transported it to Addis Ababa, tenants were not, in deed, forced to transport the grain despite the *awraja's* proximity to Addis Ababa), proactive measures of the above kinds were on the whole advantageous both for the Head office and for the tenants. Given the high level of religiosity, swearing in the name of God counted much in mitigating the kinds of grievances meted out to tenants. Again, the financial system was strict and would protect tenants from arbitrary exploitations.

³⁵⁰I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 19, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File No., 48.

Besides, the tenants were told the causes of eviction in advance and thus instances of arbitrary eviction were prohibited. For the management office, such formal systems would bring standardization that would increase the amount of revenue collected from each tenant. The financial system would also narrow the chance of embezzlement by overseers and other officials. Making tenants know the duties and responsibilities that they must conform to in advance would also mitigate problems that would arise from gaps that were created in the regulation of landlord-tenant relationships. This would, in turn, improve relationships between the Head Office and tenants.

Empirical evidence shows that tenants themselves undertook, at their own freewill, to strictly follow rules and regulations of this kind. For example, 40 tenants who were living on the *rista-gults* of the Emperor located in Qäwisa, Woino, Gorobasa, Dolé, and Hoçoça *qäbälés* of Säälälé *awraja* that measured 4 *gašas*; and 30 tenants who were living in Haro *qäbälé* of this same *awraja* agreed to adhere to rules and regulations regarding the collection and transportation of revenues and the resultant liabilities that would arise from failure to discharge faithfully the terms of agreements with their fingerprints.³⁵¹

As stated before, most tenant ill-treatments were created by overseers. On July 24, 1956, for example, the tenants of Kaša in Gawota *wäräda* of the province of Käffa wrote a letter of complaint to the Head Office against Tadälä Qoričo, the overseer. The letter conveys twelve grievances of which forced labour is mentioned about six times. The remaining lists speak on heavy tolls, extra payments, mistreatment and threats of eviction. The different ways by which the tenants were maltreated and its agency; the

³⁵¹I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 327, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 46.

determination of tenants to voice their grievances; the sensitivity that the Head Office exhibited in dealing with the problems of tenants; and the kind of coordinated efforts made between the Head Office and *awraja* level governors in considering the appeals of tenants is very interesting. For a better understanding of the extent to which the tenants were maltreated, we present the appeal letters of tenants, and the reactions given from the *awraja* and from the Head Office one after the other. First, the complaints of tenants are in order.

1. From 1954 to 1956, they were forced to clear a large amount of forest land to be utilized both by the *Bétä Rist* and by that of the *awraja* governor; and were forced to pick coffee seeds to the *Bétä Rist*.
2. In 1956, in addition to *irbo* and *asrat* (tithe), they paid 51 *daula* and 8 *guna* (perhaps coffee) by force. Besides, he imprisoned them for 15 days in his house if they failed to pay *irbo* for the year 1956 on reason of bad harvest season after which they were forced to sell their oxen. They purchased 20 *daula* of coffee from Géra, and paid *irbo*.
3. They were forced to pave a driveway.
4. In 1956, he dismissed the indigenous *Çiqaşum* and became a tyrant.
5. When a certain man was found dead adjacent to Kaša *Bétä Rist*, and a police force of the *awraja* came to pass through the area looking for the suspect, they were forced to pay Eth. 300 birr on the ground that unless this is given to the police they would be subjected to *Afärsata* (traditional way of detecting an offender). However, they asserted, Tadälä took the money for himself.
6. He ordered them to put *Qäfo* (locally made bee-hive) on a tree and they did it. Unfortunately, however, they found no honey in it. While this was the reality, Tadälä

forced them to pay 10 *daula* of honey which they transported as far as Jimma. Besides, he made them pay him Eth. 150 birr as pocket money.

7. During the administration of justice, he was seen armed with pistol and that the button of the pistol case was let loose; and during the hearings of cases he spoke to them with threatening words.
8. He made them guard his homestead for three years during which they suffered a lot from the burning sun in daytime and from the cold at night for which they were paid no wages.
9. As a proof of his maltreatments, they emphasized, 55 tenants left the area to resettle elsewhere, and many more were ready to leave. In addition to the above major complaints, the tenants underscored that the amount that he gave to the treasury of the Head Office was only half of the income that he collected from them by force.

They stated that, they had taken their grievances to *Fitawraré Wärqalāmahu* Faris, governor of Käffa *awraja*. However, *Wärqalāmahu* threatened them with flogging, and tore to pieces their letter. Having lost all hope of getting justice in their own province, therefore, they brought their complaints to the Head Office at Addis Ababa. As a demonstration of their firm stand over this matter, the tenants notified the Head Office that they would provide strong evidence, and, if need be, they could supply witnesses if the overseer denied the charges. Finally, they asked the Head Office for the dismissal and replacement of the overseer with someone who would genuinely manage the property of the monarch and protect their rights.

In a response letter written on August 1, 1956, by *Tadälä Qoričo* to the Head Office, we learn that he was appointed overseer to Kaša in 1952. Since then, he insisted, the revenue

collected from this area increased and, therefore, completely denied the accusation of the tenants. According to him, the cause of their charge was neither forced labour nor extra payment and other forms of ill-treatments as indicated in the complaint letter but the following: “አንድ ሰው በድብቅ ይጠቀም የነበረው ሃብቱ ሲገለጥበት የሚያስተዳድረውን የበላዩን መክሰና መወንጀል አይነተኛ ስራው መሆኑ በግልጽ የታወቀ ነው።” The text, literally translated, could read: “It is the main task of a person to accuse and charge his boss when his secret dealings are exposed.”

However, the overseer did not deny the fact that he was accused of ill-treatments of tenants of exactly the above kind in the *awraja* court after which the matter was referred to the *wäräda* court for investigation. There, he defended his position on the grounds that he should not be accused of the same case at two different courts simultaneously before the settlement of the matter in the *awraja* court. He further defended that while there were 1, 500 tenants living in the *rist-gult* of Haile Selassie at Kaša, he was accused only by three tenants who could not represent the rest of the tenant community. Thus, he challenged, it should be after all the tenants officially appointed these three people as their representative that he should be asked to defend his case.

According to a letter written on September 6, 1956 by three tenants who claimed to be representatives of the 1, 500 tenants, they were disappointed at the release of Tadälä Qoričo. They insisted that he must have been asked face to face in the presence of the tenants at the Head Office. In this connection, the three people expressed their agreement on the decision of the Head Office which highlights the cases of the tenants to be investigated by the *awraja* court. But they expressed their fears on an ever brutal handling from Tadälä back home.

On October 11, 1956, the appeal of the tenants was investigated by a Committee of four people as per the order previously given from the Head Office in the presence of the two parties. The meeting was chaired by the governor of Käffa *awraja*, *Qäññazmač* Asfaw Abäjä. The letter of the accusers and the response of the accused were read, and the following suggestions were made and sent to the Head Office.

1. As for the cattle and money that the overseer allegedly took, the act was defined as a criminal act and decision was reached to the effect that the tenants could sue the overseer in the court.
2. The Committee rejected the tenants' idea of paying coffee for the year 1956 in accordance with the assessment of the previous year for revenue collected from a given land would vary from one year to another. Thus, they suggested that an Assessment Committee composed of four elders in the adjacent area and four elders from among the tenants be formed and assess the coffee on the spot (before the coffee was picked) in the presence of the overseer and the vice governor of the *wäräda* so that tenants would pay the fixed amount. At the same time they rejected the position of the overseer of taking all the coffee picked from *Wof Araš* (forest coffee). The Committee underscored that while it was undeniable that there was *Wof Araš* (forest coffee) coffee in the forest, the coffee trees would have never given great number of seeds if the forest had not been cleared by the tenants with much labour. Therefore, evicting the tenants and blaming them for taking such cases to the *awraja* court was perceived to be unfair and amounted to saying let them live grieved in this respect as before. Had the overseer taken very seriously the tasks assigned to him, the Committee suggested, he would have developed the several lands covered with forest

in this area leasing it out to interested people. Thus, they suggested that the coffee should be assessed by the Assessment Committee indicated above and the tenants would take their share accordingly.

3. As regards forced labour and the resultant attempt of eviction for having failed to render labour, they suggested that the tenants should not be forced to give forced labour except the *asrat* and *irbo* as per the assessment by seven elders which was the tradition before the appointment of Tadälä Qoričo. Besides, they discovered the existence of an agreement made between the tenants and the overseer to the effect that the tenants would render labour in lieu of *irbo*, a position held by the overseer as false for he failed to provide a written agreement of such kind, a situation that the tenants disproved, too. This was decided to protect tenants from being evicted by the overseer arbitrarily.
4. As for payment of honey, the Committee decided that tenants would pay according to previous agreement that they entered into with the overseer.
5. Regarding the keeping of the cattle of the Emperor, the tenants did not resent it as these cattle were given to develop the area. However, forcing them to look after the cattle of the overseer in the name of the Emperor was found to be unfair, something that should be avoided in the future.
6. Regarding the Eth. 200 birr that the overseer received from the tenants under the pretext of transporting honey to Addis Ababa while he received the same amount of money from the treasury of the Head Office for the same purpose, the Committee referred the matter to the Head Office for confirmation.

7. Finally, the Committee recommended that the Head Office should issue rules that would help regulate the relationship between the tenants and the overseer.

On October 18, 1956, the governor of Käffa *awraja* sent a letter to the Head Office which conveyed these recommendations. On November 7, 1956, a Committee of three people (from among the workers of the Head Office) was formed to see the recommendation. It endorsed all the suggestions, and embarrassed the overseer by making clear that he had received the amount indicated in number 6 above under the same expenditure title, money that he also received from tenants. He was reprimanded and threatened with dismissal if he repeated the same kind of fraudulent actions and ill-treatments. Sad to say, the overseer was not made to reimburse the tenants but was ordered to reimburse the treasury of the Head Office.³⁵²

From the above account we see that the intervention of the Head Office to handle and regulate problems pertaining to landlord-tenant relationships is calculated, timely, and protective rather than condemnatory as far as the interest of the tenants was concerned. Protection was not, however, automatic. Eviction caused by ill-treatment would result in low revenue for the already liberated coffee would be covered with weed and forest again. Thus, it would be too advantageous to rebuke, embarrass, and if necessary dismiss one overseer than missing the entire tenant community without whose labour the Office would lose significant amount of money.

It is remarkable that the voices of the peasants were heard and a decision was given in their favour because the era is perceived by intellectuals over the last decades as being

³⁵²I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 59, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 26.

insensitive to the plights of tenants. In this particular situation, the Office protected and saved the tenants from the injustices and ill-treatments of the overseer and from the corrupt *wäräda* and *awraja* officials. But, it is worthy of note that, had it not been for the much acclaimed readiness of the Emperor to listen to grievances which the tenants might have heard from the general populace, they would not have taken their grievances as far as the Head Office sustaining all the stresses of what it meant to be spending a day in Addis Ababa even for rich men let alone for poor tenants coming from remote areas. In this they were not mistaken. Finally, they attained their objectives.

As we can understand from the several appeal letters of tenants most, if not all, the problems pertaining to landlord-tenant relationships were, therefore, created by *Šums* (overseers), and not by the management office. A very interesting example of tenant ill-treatment that specifically led to the dismissal from responsibility and eviction took place in Sälalé *awraja* of the province of Šäwa. According to a response letter to tenant complaint written on March 12, 1958 by the Head Office to *Ato* Hailä Gäbriel Zärgaw, *Šum* for Sälalé *awraja*, we learn that a tenant accused the *Šum* of arbitrary dismissal and threat of eviction. The positive response of the Head Office to the said complaint is very interesting:

... ስለዚህ ሰራተኛ የሆነውን ሰው ጥፋት ሲገኝበት በኮሚሲዮን ታይቶ የተሰጠው ውሳኔ ለኛ ከደረሰ በላይ አስፈላጊው ይፈጸም ነበር እንጅ በራስዎ ስልጣን ለመሻር ለመሾም አይችሉም። ሁለተኛ ሰራተኛውን ለመበደል ያረሰውን ቅብቅብ መንቀል ተገቢ ባለመሆኑ አመልካቹ በሰራው ላይ ተመልሶ እንዲሰራ አድርገው ቀለቡን ከቀረበት ወር ጀምሮ እንዲያገኝ ማሳውም

እንዲመለስለት እያሳሰብን በራስዎ ፈቃድ ላሰሩት ጎተራ ጠባቂ ቀለብ የማይታሰብለት መሆኑን በጥብቅ እናስታውቃለን።³⁵³

Therefore, when ever a worker is found to be guilty of mistakes, the matter must have been considered by a committee and decision passed must have been reached to us after which the necessary measure must have been taken. Apart from this, you have no authority to appoint and dismiss by your own. Secondly, for it is improper to evict the worker from his land which he already tilled with the intention of grieving him, we strongly remind you that we will not consider qäläb [salary] for the one whom you made to keep Gotära [Grain Store] and the following: reinstate the applicant to his previous work; let him get his qäläb [salary] since the month his qäläb was suspended, and let his land be given him back.

So as to prevent possible risks of claiming an area by tenants as their *rist*, and to avoid arbitrary eviction, formal written agreements were entered into between the Head Office and people who were living on the *rist* lands of the Emperor. In 1958, for example, 22 people entered into an agreement with the Office to live on the land of the Emperor located near Princess Şähay Memorial hospital as tenants. A representative of the 22 contracts reads:

ሚያዚያ 9 ቀን 1950 ዓ.ም እኔ ለራሳችሁ ብርከቶ ከቤተ ርስት ጽ/ ቤት ቀርቤ የሚከተለውን ውል ተዋውያለሁ። ፪ኛ የቤተ ርስት ከወይዘሮ አሰገደች ከበደ ከተረከበው መሬት ቦታ ላይ ቤት ስርቸ ስለምኖር በዚሁ የቤተ ርስት በሆነው ቦታ ላይ ቤተ ርስት በሚያስተዳድረኝ አይነት

³⁵³The complainant was *Gotära Ṭäbaqé* (Keeper of Grain Store) of *Dägäm Gändä Siyu Bétä Rist*, Säälälé, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 251, ቀ. ታ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 18.

በጢሰኝነት ከመተዳደር በስተቀር ርስቴ ነው በማለት በርስትነት የምከራከረው ነገር የለም ቦታው የቤተ ርስት መሆኑን አምኖ ልቀቅም ባሉኝ ጊዜ ከመልቀቅ በስተቀር ርስቴ ነው በማለት የማልከራከር መሆኔን ወድጆ ይህ ፊርማዬ በህግ ፊት የበቃ ማስረጃ እንዲሆን ወድጆ መፈረሜን አረጋግጣለሁ። በዚህም ዋሴ አቶ መርጋ ወልደዬስ ነው። እኔም መርጋ ወልደዬስ ከዚህ በላይ እንደተጻፈው ቃል ለአቶ ለራሳቸው ብርከቶ ዋስ መሆኔን በፊርማዬ አረጋግጣለሁ።³⁵⁴

I, Lärägo Birkuto, undertook in 1958 the following contract by appearing at the Bétä Rist Office. Secondly, for I am living on the land that the Bétä Rist Office received from Wäizäro Asägädäč Käbädä and built a house there, apart from being administered as a tenant, I shall not litigate by claiming the land as my rist; and that I believe the land is that of the Bétä Rist and I undertake to vacate the land when asked to do so. For this, I confirm and put my signature unforced to be valid and sufficient evidence before the law. I also confirm with my signature that my surety is Ato Märga Wäldäyäs. I Märga Wäldäyäs confirm with my signature to be surety to Lärägo Birkuto according to the words written above. Finger prints of the tenant and the surety.

When viewed from the advantages of tenants, an agreement of such kind is self-defeating as the agreement did not guarantee security of tenure. Thus, they were unable to complain eviction as a problem. But, for the *Bétä Rist* Office, the signing of contracts of the above kinds with the tenants would help to avoid the risk of being accused of arbitrary eviction.

The possible risk of eviction and the protection of the rights and interests of tenants were compromised in a number of instances. For example, on November 25, 1958 the *Bétä Rist* Office of Sälalé and Märhä Bété sent out a circular ordering overseers appointed to the different parts of the *awraja* to collect Eth. 50 cents from each tenant who put *Qäfo*

³⁵⁴ I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 112, ቁ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 11.

(traditional bee-hive) on a tree with the intention of producing honey. They were also ordered to collect by force Eth. 1 birr from tenants who refused to pay the first estimate which the tenants complained was harsh. The reaction of the Head Office to the complaints of tenants was very mild in that it was not intended to evict the tenants as such measures would result in forcing them to move to other areas which amounted to be complete loss of the revenue that was to be collected from the area. Such win-win game that the Office was playing is best expressed in the following document:

ስለዚህ ከጠሰኞች በቀጭ 50 ሳንቲም እንዲከፍሉ የሁዳድ ፈሪም በቆላም መሬት ሶስት ሶስት ብር እንዲከፍሉ ሲያደርጉ ምናልባት ድሃው ጥቅሙ አነስተኛ ሆኖ መክፈል ሲያቅተው መሬቱን እየለቀቀ እንዳይሄድና ጠፍ እንዳይሆን ሁኔታው ተጠንቶ ኃሳብዎን እንዲገልጹልን አስታውቃለሁ።”³⁵⁵

Therefore, let it be known to you that when you made each tenant pay Eth. 50 cents per qäfo; Eth. 3 birr yä hudad färi,³⁵⁶ and Eth. 3 birr for qola (semi-desert) lands; and if in case the revenue of the poor may be meagre, they may not be able to pay all this. Thus, let the matter be studied and let you explain to us your opinion because if they vacate the land it becomes again uncultivated.

In chapter three, we have discussed the kinds of corrective measures that the Head Office took whenever overseers that were appointed in the provinces committed different kinds of administrative abuses. One such problem that impelled the Office to take corrective measure was unsympathetic handlings of tenants. In a letter written on January 29, 1960, from the Head Office to *Girazmač* Gäsässä Mängäša, overseer of Illubabur, the latter was reprimanded, and his salary suspended for having failed to obey orders coming from his

³⁵⁵I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 327, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 48.

³⁵⁶This was the amount of money fixed by an assessment committee that tenants pay in lieu of rent when the land became uncultivated for being arid and when the area is discovered to be hotbed of malaria.

superiors; financial fraud and for having forced tenants to render unpaid extra labour. As clearly stated in the letter, while the *Šum* received Eth. 2, 000 birr from the Office that was to be paid to tenants who developed the land, he forced them to clear the forest for free.³⁵⁷

On several instances, as we mentioned before, eviction of tenants for no valid reason was strictly and repeatedly prohibited by the management office. And as far as tenants paid *irbo* and price of grass, they were not evicted arbitrarily even if overseers sought to do so with the intention of giving the land to other people. For example, a letter written on April 16, 1960 from the Head Office to the overseer of Sälalé explains this very clearly: “በቤተ ርስት መሬት ላይ ያለ ጢሰኛ ርቦውንና የሳሩን ዋጋ ከከፈለ በምን ምክኒያት እንዲነቀሉ እንወቅ ካልሆነ ግን በመሬቱ ላይ ያለ ጢሰኛ እያለ ከውጭ ለመጣ ጢሰኛ መስጠት አግባብ ስላልሆነ እንዳይነኩ።”³⁵⁸ The text, literally translated, could read: “Let us know why tenants settled on the land of the *Bétä Rist* are evicted if they paid *Irbo* and the price of grass. Otherwise while there are tenants on the land, it is illegal to give the land to tenants coming from outside. Thus, do not touch them.”

As we can see clearly in the response letter, the Head office was forced to write the above order at least for three reasons: for having failed to follow procedures of decision making; making decisions beyond ones authority, and tenant ill-treatment expressed in this situation in the form of arbitrary eviction and dismissal thus its sensitivity and concern to the rights of tenants.

³⁵⁷I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 251, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ . ር., File No., 13.

³⁵⁸I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ . ር., File No., 19. Against such reality and other examples I provided, Ketebo’s bias is reflected when he says: “The conditions of the tenants in the Emperor’s own beta-rist, particularly in Arbagugu was not much dissimilar,” Ketebo, p.127.

Relation between the Head Office and tenants were not always amicable, however. In the most part, tenants tried to assert their tenancy rights through writing complaint and appeal letters from which, as we mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, they received positive responses. Rarely, however, did they stage rebellions. They usually protected by refusing to pay *irbo* to overseers appointed in the provinces. We have the following instance of tenant rebellion in the province of Wälläga. In 1956, the tenants of Anfilo Dulé were against the overseer appointed to that area and refused to give him of 38 *quinṭar* (one *Kubaya*, a unit of measurement that roughly measures half a kilogram, on average measures 6 *quinṭar*) coffee which was transferred to the next financial year as arrears.³⁵⁹

Sometimes tenant protests were fuelled by disgruntled local *balabats*. In a letter written on September 16, 1960 from the Head Office to the governor of Ṭiyo *wäräda* located in the province of Arsi, we learn that tenants in Čäka refused to pay *irbo* to *Ato* Tadäsä Wändimu, the overseer of the area. The reason was land measurement. Sometime before the rebellion, the land located in the *balabatnät* of *Balambaras* Hamda Buta was measured after which the *Bétä Rist* Office took 141 *gašas* of extra land from Hamda Buta. When the overseer went to Moyä, the centre of Ṭiyo *wäräda*, and its surroundings to collect dues from tenants, the relatives of Hamda refused to pay *irbo* and enticed other tenants to rise against the overseer. On his way back to Moyä, with the intention of appealing the matter to the *wäräda*, Tadäsä was ambushed by Hamda's sons; he narrowly saved his life.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 3, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File No., 15.

³⁶⁰I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 315, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File No., 20.

Most of the times, as noted before, decisions made by the Head Office to the several complaints of tenants were positive. Nevertheless, not all the appeals and complaints of tenants received positive response from the Head Office or from the Emperor. On September 10, 1968, for example, 40 tenants who were living on the land of the Emperor located near Princess Şähay Memorial hospital wrote a heartbreaking appeal letter to the Emperor. From the appeal letter we understand that they were the tenants of *Ras Täsäma Nadäw* transferred to his son and grand daughter *Däjazmač Käbädä Täsäma* and *Wäizaro Asägädäč Käbädä* respectively. The latter sold the land to the Emperor around 1950. The tenants claimed that in the times of the above three landlords, they faced no problem and their property was estimated to be above Eth. 250, 000 birr. The tenants now complained that *Nägadräs Birhanä Silasse Abayiré* threatened to evict them. He despised them because they were poor who could not afford the amount fixed to the land. Despite the fact that they asked to buy the land first he decided to sell to other people. However, in a response letter written on November 22, 1968, their appeal was rejected as the said land was already given in 1963 to the Imperial Savings and Housing Ownership Corporation as per a prior order given from the Ministry of the Pen. These people were also identified as people whom the *Bétä Rist* did not settle as tenants.³⁶¹ In this same area, however, other tenants were allowed to use their right of pre-emption (right of purchasing before others) against full settlement of the price fixed; and so they got the transfer of the land as their *rist*.³⁶² But, failure to use such kinds of rights would result in eviction as the land

³⁶¹The *Bétä Rist* Office claimed that the number of tenants who were permitted to live on the Emperor's lands were only 5. Others settled without its knowledge and permission something that the complainants themselves affirmed thus rejection of their rights of pre-emption correct; I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 112, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File Nos., 11; Folder No. 11, File No. 35.

³⁶²Tenants whose right of pre-emption was respected numbered 16. They were allowed to buy 4, 130 square meters of land; each square meter at Eth. 5 birr; I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 112, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 11.

was to be sold out to interested individuals who could pay the fixed amount. To those tenants who agreed to buy the land, the Office set time line for the payment by installment. Sometimes, unable to pay the fixed price, the tenants were allowed to sell the land to third parties at a relatively higher price than the amount fixed by the Office.³⁶³ This was an advantage for the tenants.

From the above two accounts we can glean at least two important points. First and most important is that the tenants were not evicted arbitrarily unless the land was used otherwise. Thus, tenant appeals in the first case are inappropriate. Secondly, tenants were given priority when lands were decided to be sold provided that they agreed to settle the price fixed for the land as clearly reflected in the second case. The tenants also enjoyed double privilege as they were given priority to buy the land and if they could not afford it, they were given a second chance to sell the land to interested people the price of which was, in most instances, higher than that fixed by the Head Office. Thus, rejection of their appeals and complaints and the concomitant eviction was not a question of economic status as tenants in the first case maintained to be so, but it was a result of failure to use opportunities of the kinds we mentioned above. It is also interesting to observe that pre-capitalist notions of tenancy still had a powerful hold on people's mind. Otherwise, the land being the personal possession of the landlord, there was no reason why they should have challenged him.

Sometimes, imperial orders were given in furtherance of security of tenure. On October 20, 1961, for example, a special order was passed from the Emperor, announcing through the Ministry of the Pen, to the effect that all people who settled in the vicinity of the

³⁶³ *Ibid.* See also File No. 10 in this folder.

Gänätä Le'ul Palace in tenancy or in any other arrangement were entitled to transfer the land into their full possession- i.e., as *rist* holding.³⁶⁴

Tenants in rural areas did not accept land lease agreements. For example, on April 13, 1969, one *gaša* of *Sämon* land located at Arädim Urubé *qäbälé* of Guba Qorča *wäräda* of Çärçär *awraja* in the province of Harärgé was leased out to a certain Ibro Musa at Eth. 500 birr for a period of four years. The Emperor inherited this land from *Wäizäro* Tisämé Abayirga. In this land there were about 20 tenants who were paying *irbo* to the Emperor. Ten days after this land lease contract was concluded, the tenants wrote an appeal letter to the Head Office. According to this letter, though ordered to handle the tenants properly, he is reported to have forced them to pay a huge amount of money in addition to the *irbo* that was to be paid by other tenants. As a result, they demanded his removal and the land be again leased out to a certain Zäwdé Kidanäwäld whom they believed to be a protector of their rights and interests. They also noted that if Ibro continued as their master, they would move to Daro Labo *qäbälé*.³⁶⁵ Unfortunately we have no information about the kind of decision that the Head Office made to alleviate the problems of tenants in this particular case.

We have also a similar account of tenant ill-treatment by overseers in the province of Illubabur. From an appeal letter dated October 10, 1973, we understand that the tenants of Gabé Kombäl, an area located in Bäçö *wäräda* of Goré *awraja*, accused the Record Officer of Mätu of heavy taxation, and threat in eviction. The Office leased out the land, which formerly was tilled by the tenants, to the record keeper in the office after which

³⁶⁴I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 181, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 22. See also Folder No. 340, File No., 23, and Folder No. 85, File No. 1. Regarding application letters referring this special order refer to I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 112, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 17; also in Folder No. 84, File No., 18.

³⁶⁵I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 46.

they were asked to pay four times greater than the amount that they used to pay to the Office. On having failed to pay the said amount, the tenants were threatened with prohibition of all the surviving privileges that they enjoyed before the lease was enacted: grazing their cattle, collection of fire wood, and at worst with eviction. Unable to bear such heavy burdens, the tenants travelled all the way to Addis Ababa to present their grievances to the Head Office.³⁶⁶

We have also a similar case of tenant ill-treatment in the province of Šawa. The land lease contract was made on August 16, 1969 for a period of 5 years. According to an appeal letter written on October November 7, 1973 to the Head Office, tenants in Tulu Bido *qäbälé*, an area located in Goro sub-district, Wäliso *wäräda* in Čäbo and Guraghe *awraja*, rented 36 *gašas* of land for Eth. 2, 000 birr per year, but were forced by the overseer to pay Eth. 3, 400 birr as opposed to the lease agreement. Besides, they were forced to cultivate, harvest food grains, and built his houses. While the tenants implicated the overseer of forced, extra, and unpaid labour services, he reported that the tenants helped him two times unforced. The way the overseer expressed the absence of forced labour is spellbinding: ራስ እየሳምሁ ጠላ ጠምቄ እንጀራ ጋግሬ ሳይገደዱ ሁለት ጊዜ ረድተውኛል።³⁶⁷

The text, literally translated, could read: “Kissing their heads, and providing *Tälla* [local beer], and baking *Injära* [leavened bread], they assisted me two times, but unforced.”

According to my investigation, apart from paying *irbo*, tenants were not forced to render extra labour. Instances of forced labour, when exhibited, were not, therefore, institutional rather personal often associated with, as we have explained before, overseers appointed in

³⁶⁶In this appeal letter, the tenants demanded one of two options: paying rent as before or the land to be leased out for them, I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File No., 19.

³⁶⁷I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File Nos., 28, 29, and 36.

the provinces without the knowledge of the Head Office. At harvest time, they were in fact made to transport the share of the Emperor to the respective stores prepared for keeping the grain until it was either sold out in the local market or transported by vehicles of the Emperor to Addis Ababa where the main grain store stood. Thus, despite the proximity of some provinces to the city of Addis Ababa, tenants were not forced to transport grain to the main store.³⁶⁸

The appeal letter of the tenants of Tulu Bido *qäbälé*, an area located in Agämjay sub-district of Goro *wäräda* situated in Çäbo and Guragé *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, written to the Head Office on December 24, 1973 is worth mentioning for its detail on the history of the land and for the root of the problem and the positive attitude that the tenants developed towards the *Bétä Rist*. As clearly stated in the appeal letter, the tenants claimed use right since the pre-Adwa period. When the land was measured during the tenure of *Fitawraré* Habtä Giyorgis, it was estimated to be 75 *gašas*. For the two *gašas Qisina* land, granted to the Churches of Mošä Täklä Haymanot and Goro Giyorgis, the tenants claimed that, their ancestors fought at the Battle of Adwa. From *Wäizäro* Šäwašähay Iyasu, they bought 38 *gašas*. The land where they settled in tenancy measured 30 *gašas*. And in 1952, this land was leased out to a certain Bädo Kibrät together with the *balabatnät*. According to the appeals of the tenants, the above arrangement marked the beginning of their suffering as the lessee, the tenants insisted, exploited them with heavy hands for ten years which left them in abject poverty. Again, rejecting our demands to take the land in lease as before, the tenants said, in 1970, the land was sub-leased out to

³⁶⁸In a letter of order written on Mägabit (March) 3, 1946 E.C. from the Head Office to the *Bétä Rist* of Sälalé, Däkäbora, we learn that the Head Office sent vehicle to transport the grain collected from tenants. The overseer was also ordered to prepare a driveway that would permit the vehicle up to the grain store. The driveway was presumably worked out by tenants.

Däjazmač Bäqälä Bāyänä. Their stay with this new overlord was characterized by backbreaking forced labour as they were made to construct roads, cultivate his farmlands, and weed and harvest the crops. They were also forced to fence his farmlands and homestead until the time the above appeal letter was written to the Head Office.³⁶⁹ A very interesting part of the appeal letter that highlights the personal context of the beginning of harsh exploitation is that insensitivity started with the transfer of the *balabatnät* of the area from the Emperor to their first master in 1952, and when the land was leased out for this same person and latter in 1970 to an even harsher overlord. Equally interesting is the nostalgic demand by the tenants of the return of the *balabatnät* to the monarch at their cost, a circumstance that clearly demonstrates how the *Bétä Rist* Office was very much concerned about the rights and interests of tenants. The heavy handed characters of these new overlords caused the tenants to recall the time when they were under the benign *balabatnät* of the Emperor which emphasized how conditions were far better in those days.

The protectionist stance of the management office and the proactive measures it took is formally and clearly stated in the several land lease contracts made with contractors. In April 1974, for example, one *gaša* of land located in Ula *qäbälé* of Dändi *wäräda* in Jibat and Méça *awraja* of the province of Šäwa was leased out to a certain Lägäsä Wäldä Giyorgis for a period of two years effective as of September 11, 1974 at Eth. 600 birr per year. A very telling part of this lease contract that clearly demonstrates the Office's concern for the rights and interests of tenants reads: "...በመሬቱ ላይ ያሉ ጠሰኞች ቢኖሩ ተከራዮች

³⁶⁹The tenants, who numbered twenty, claimed that the land was first occupied by their ancestors a century before by clearing the forest and hunting the wild beasts; and claimed that they were the 6th generation from the first occupants who died of contagious disease and malaria. Now they demanded their right of pre-emption to be respected as the land is said to have been earmarked for selling; I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቁ. ታ. ሥ. ቤ. ር., File No., 29.

መሬቱን ተኮናትረነዋል በማለት ያለደምብ ሊበድሏቸው አይፈቀድላቸውም... ።”³⁷⁰ The text, literally translated, could read: “If there are tenants on the land, the lessees are not permitted to abuse them against the rule simply for having taken the land in contract”.

Here is also a very interesting testimony that confirmed how the Emperor was sympathetic to the appeals of tenants. The *Bétä Rist* Office bought (the time is not specified) 20 *gašas* of land in the governorate general of Gämu Gofa. The land was received, on behalf of the Office, by General Asfaw Wädä Giyorgis. General Asfaw was also given Eth. 10, 000 birr to develop the land. But, the tenants of Wog Hamär and Mäskéto regarded the actions of General Asfaw as eviction because they claimed that the land was their own holding the previous thirty years. This was land developed by their forefathers by clearing the forest. *Abunä* (archbishop) Sawiros who met the tenants informed the situation to the Ministry of the Pen on behalf of them as they were unable to go to Addis to appeal by themselves. The reaction of the Emperor was quick and positive because, thanks to the timely intervention of the archbishop, he decided to restore their lands.³⁷¹ When we broaden the discussion beyond our interest here, the above account strongly demonstrates how close the link between church and state was. But the activities of General Asfaw could be assumed to be a very detrimental move intended to evict the tenants from their land, without the knowledge of the Office. The problem was virtually created by General Asfaw because he presumably sought the Emperor’s favour. Had it not been the timely intervention of the archbishop, and sensitivity on the part of the Emperor, the tenants would have lost their land through eviction.

³⁷⁰I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 10.

³⁷¹I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 3, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 1.

As one moves from the centre to the provinces, protections given to tenants dramatically declined. This was particularly true up to the last two years before the old regime was overthrown by the popular revolution of 1974. With the rocking of the centre by revolutionary forces, arbitrariness, ill-treatments, and anarchy took the stage. In an appeal letter written on June 25, 1974 to the Head Office, the tenants of Jido Kombäl, an area located in *Ṭära wäräda* of Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, accused the *Šum* of the province of Arsi, Ešäté Yigzaw, of carrying out eviction of peasants too sell the land. While we had priority to buy the land, the tenants insisted, *Ato* Ešäté gave the land which was in their hands to a certain *Šambäl* Ali Amädé. Again, while they presented Eth. 1, 800 birr, an amount estimated to be the price of the land, they were threatened with eviction unless they bribed him first by giving him Eth. 500 birr, an amount fixed by the overseer.³⁷²

Sometimes, local *balabats* and provincial overseers came together to make an intrigue aimed at evicting tenants. For example, in an appeal letter written on July 9, 1974 to the Head Office, the tenants of Adaš, an area located within Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, complained that an intrigue was made between the above bodies to sell the land while the tenants were denied of the right to buy the land where they and their ancestors lived as *Bétä Rist* tenants for a long period of time. The sad story with this threat of eviction is that the local *balabat* rejected their application of purchasing the land

³⁷²Sad to say, one of the tenants named Yimam Bäšo was imprisoned and forced to sign eviction and did it; I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 186, *ፋ. ሂ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር.*, File No., 55.

on the ground that the land was sold to a woman who, the tenants maintained, had died before the period of Italian occupation.³⁷³

As we have noted before, instances of arbitrary evictions were almost absent. However, there were some situations that impelled the management office to take such measures. Despite the fact that overseers appointed at different levels held no authority to evict tenants, when this happened and when asked by the Head Office to reason out for doing so, we see sublet of lands to a third body without the knowledge of the management office became one major reason that led to the eviction of tenants.³⁷⁴

As the extant literature affirmed, in the true sense of the term, the old regime never made tenancy security legislations and none of the attempts made to improve the conditions of tenants by drafting tenancy bills were promulgated.³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, things were not totally bad in this regard. Regarding the personal concerns that the Emperor made towards tenants, Lawrence wrote:

In furtherance of this aim [security of tenure], that every Ethiopian should own his own land; His Imperial Majesty has himself set an example by announcing that tenants on some of his lands may acquire ownership of their holdings; the aim is also being implemented by grants of land under various proclamations to landless persons....³⁷⁶

³⁷³In the appeal letter the tenants insisted that, if the woman was alive as the *balabat* claimed, she should be summoned to give her words. Otherwise, they should be allowed to purchase the land. I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 186, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 50.

³⁷⁴A tenant was evicted as a result seblet of land on *siso* (one third) and *Ikul* (50-50) share cropping arrangements for a period of 3 years while the main form of share cropping arrangement, as investigated in this study, was *irbo* (one forth).

³⁷⁵For details on three tenancy bills sent to parliament in 1963, 1970 and 1972, and the debates in favor and against the draft laws in the floor of parliament and its results see Bizuwork, pp. 92-120. See also Cohen, p. 55.

³⁷⁶J.S.D. Lawrence was Rural Institution officer in F.A.O. and author of *Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 1963), p. 4.

Lawrence's report on the personal initiatives that the Emperor took to ensure security of tenure is reflected in the archives in a more solid manner. In the city of Addis Ababa, there were tenants who settled on some lands of the Emperor located, among others, in the vicinities of Gänätä Le'ul Palace, Gulälé Gäfärsa, Old Air Port, and Princess Şähay Memorial hospital. Relations between the tenants and the Head Office were very smooth as the tenants were only expected to pay an insignificant amount of rent for the houses, and land tax for the government was paid in the name of the Emperor. As we have noted before, their rights of pre-emption were respected at the time the lands on which they lived were decided to be sold at reasonable prices.

In general, tenant ill-treatments that endangered tenancy rights manifested themselves in the form of heavy taxations, forced, extra, and unpaid labour services of varied kinds, threats of evictions, threats of physical violence, imprisonment, and different forms of fraudulent actions. All these were strictly prohibited both by the Emperor and the *Bétä Rist* Head Office. Besides, agents of such ill-treatments, when discovered, were castigated, punished, and were even dismissed from their jobs.

To ensure security of tenure, the tenants entered into formal written agreements and contracts with the Head Office. Whenever such contracts were concluded, as we have explained before, protective statements were intentionally inserted. The tenants were also given extended periods of lease that would enable them to invest on the land so as to maximize production. The Office also maintained security of tenure through the provision of rules and regulations pertaining to crop assessment, collection of dues and its transportations, financial control systems, and the resultant liabilities imposed upon both parties. Moreover, proactive measures were also taken to protect tenancy rights by

writing orders to provincial governors and overseers. At times special orders were even given to the effect that tenants who lived on some lands of the Emperor were entitled to transfer the lands as their *rist*.

On the whole, tenant ill-treatments that jeopardized tenancy rights were not institutional but personal and were strictly prohibited. To the best of my investigation, there never was a time when tenant ill-treatments of the above kinds were encouraged or appreciated both by the Emperor and by the Head Office. Sensitivity and concern for the protection of tenancy rights geared towards maintaining security of tenure, also gained confirmation from tenants themselves.

Nevertheless, such concerns that were made for the protection of tenancy rights were not automatic. They were rather designed to secure two crucial benefits. One is that, from the economic point of view, protection of the rights of tenants meant securing constant and ever increasing revenue to the Emperor. Secondly, from the administrative point of view, the complaints and appeals of the tenants helped the management office to indirectly cross-check how far the overseers appointed in the provinces were discharging faithfully the tasks entrusted upon them.

The personal and institutional concerns that the Emperor made in improving the conditions of the general public including tenants is also revealed in connection with the history of land grants and land sales undertaken by the management office as we shall consider in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: - Land Grant and Land Sale

6.1. Land Grant

As we have mentioned elsewhere in this study, Emperor Haile Selassie held huge amounts of land, both in urban areas and in the provinces.³⁷⁷ As noted in chapter one, around 1959/'60, the Emperor granted many of his lands to his four children: Crown Prince Asfa Wässän, Princess Tänañña Wärq, Prince Mäkonnän, and Prince Sahlä Selassie.³⁷⁸ Following this arrangement, the Emperor decided to close the *Bétä Rist* Office in 1962. Nevertheless, subsequent inventories revealed that the Emperor still owned vast tracts of land and other properties that necessitated the management office to continue its function. Next to his children, the Emperor made generous grants to people belonging to the whole spectrum of society.

Some scholars who have conducted studies on the land tenure policy of Imperial Ethiopia in the post-Italian period contend that Imperial land grants were made to meet more political ends than to bridge economic inequalities.³⁷⁹ Such a position cannot be easily rejected because the toiling rural masses of the country hardly benefited from such land

³⁷⁷In Addis Ababa alone the Emperor held 1, 576, 469 square meters of lands, I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 311, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር.*, File No., 2. He also owned 15, 888 square meters of land in Djibouti, I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 11, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር.*, File No., 35.

³⁷⁸The Emperor granted around 4, 000 *gašas* of land to his children located in different provinces (Šäwa, Arsi, Käffä, Balé, Illubabur, Wälläga, and Tigray). For details on the amount and location of lands given to his children see I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 250, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር.*, File No., 20. For example, the Emperor granted 17 *gašas* of land to Prince Sahlä Selassie located in Morät and Qimbibét *wärädas* of Däbrä Birhan *awraja* alone, I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340, *ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር.*, File No., 16.

³⁷⁹According to Cohen, for example, government land grants were based on political, and not on developmental, considerations. John H. Cohen, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution* (the Netherlands, Van Gorcum and Comp., B. V. -Assen, 1975), p. 59. See also Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1984), p. 20.

grants. It is no wonder that land, which was the warp and woof of the Ethiopian political economy and the major asset upon which every kind of relationship was built might have been used to enhance the Emperor's political as well as economic grip. Thus, any generous land grant to the public often obligated the receiver to reciprocate to the grantor in some way. Kindness was to be repaid with loyalty by making public pronouncement. Thus, grants of land, be it government or personal, were by no means automatic. They presumed, above all, loyalty.

In addition, the documents reveal several factors that lay behind land grants. The documents that speak about grants made by the Emperor, and implemented by the Ministry of the Pen, shows that land was given to the military as well as to civil servants, to public institutions, private associations, welfare institutions, and also to the poor and above all, as we have explained in the preceding chapter, to tenants. This does not mean, however, that such initiatives were free from political considerations. But, genuine social concerns also lay behind some of these land grants.

How did people or institutions get land? First, application letters were addressed to the Office of the Chamberlain which conveyed details on the kinds of services that they rendered to the country or details on the kinds of problems that they endured as well as the amount of land that they sought to receive as *rist*. When such applications were favourably accepted by the sovereign, order would be given to the Ministry of the Pen. The Ministry in its turn would write a letter of order to the *Bétā Rist* Head Office to the effect that the said applicants were entitled to be given land, the amount and location of which were explicitly stated. Respective officials of the Head Office would transfer the land to the grantees. Then, the Office would write a letter to the Municipality Office of

Addis Ababa so that it would transfer the said lands to applicants together with title deeds as a confirmation of ownership.³⁸⁰

In this chapter, we shall not consider land grants and other donations made to welfare and religious institutions and for health care as well as for the promotion of higher education as these things will be analysed in the next chapter. For now, we will rather focus on those land grants made to civil servants, military officers, war veterans, private public institutions, and ordinary peoples.

Some of the land grants were in fact made based on political considerations while some others were made from a philanthropic point of view to improve the conditions of ordinary poor people and to encourage local investment. Still other grants were made to secure the loyalty of employees of the *Bétä Rist*. Last but not least, we have instances of land grants made to recognize devoted services to the Crown when such services came to an end due to old age.

The personal royal grants were made within the framework of the legislations and policy statements issued by the government regarding land after 1942. These legislations were the following: the Hamlé 16, 1934 E.C (July 23, 1942) Order; the Hamlé 16, 1936 E.C. (July 23, 1944) Order; and the Tiqimt 23, 1945 E.C. (November 2, 1952) Order. According to the first Order all *madäria* holders who engaged in patriotic activity during the period of Italian occupation (patriots and refugees) and those who passed through similar experiences and never collaborated with the enemy but held no *madäria* land before, were entitled to receive a grant of 40 hectares of land. The Hamle 16, 1936 E.C.

³⁸⁰For a better grasp of the procedures, refer I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 28 and the files therein.

Order extended the grant by including the armed forces, the police, and civil servants. The Tiqimt 23, 1945 E.C. Order further extended the privilege to “landless and unemployed Ethiopian nationals.”³⁸¹ So, it is within the context of the reforms of the above kinds that the Imperial Ethiopian Government introduced at the national level that land grants made by the Emperor from his own lands will be analyzed. Because, as we shall see after a moment, people who were subject to grants of land from the Emperor’s private holding were more or less similar to those who were entitled to receive lands from state domain.

6.1.1. Land Grants Made to Members of the Army

One of the direct beneficiaries of land grants made both by the government and by the Emperor were patriots, war veterans and other military people.³⁸² The birth of the town of Abomisa located in Märté *wäräda* of Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi best exemplified one of those generous land grants made by the Emperor. In 1955, the Emperor granted 300 *gasas* of land which was under the administration of the *Bétä Rist* of the *awraja* to 1, 001 military officers and commanders, in fact war veterans, who put up stout resistance against, and did not collaborate with, the enemy during the five years of Italian occupation. Before these military people went to Abomisa, an informant told me that *Abo Mosa Arba Dima*, which means “an area which is sufficient enough to support forty Oromo families” as the name was so named after the local *balabats*, now Abomisa was covered with dense forest and was an excellent habitat for a variety of wild beasts including lions and leopards. First, the new comers were granted 9 *gasas* where the

³⁸¹Cohen, p. 60.

³⁸²Cohen, p. 59. See also Dessalegn, p. 20

people went to receive the land put up tents. Then they began forest clearings and started agriculture.³⁸³

We have also a similar account of land grant made in the city of Addis Ababa. In 1974, for example, the Emperor bought 48, 000 square meters of land located in Ura'el *qäbälé* of Bolé *wäräda*, at Eth. 81, 000 birr, a square meter at Eth. 4 birr and 50 cents from his four children which they inherited from their mother, Empress Mänän. The story of the Emperor buying the land which originally was the holding of his wife later given to their children is very intriguing. The sole purpose of this purchase was, however, more important than the above story. On June 5, 1974, the Emperor generously granted this land to 54 military men.³⁸⁴ In the sunset years of the imperial era, and at a time when the throne was being squarely rocked by revolutionary forces, the Emperor demonstrated such high degree of sensitivity to the problems of peoples.

6.1.2. Land Grants to Tenants and to Destitutes.

As we have said earlier, the old regime never made tenancy security legislations and none of the attempts made to improve the conditions of tenants by introducing tenancy bills were promulgated.³⁸⁵ Nevertheless, things were not totally desperate in this regard. The Emperor took practical steps geared towards improving the conditions of tenants in some areas. J.S. Lawrence has observed this when he writes:

³⁸³ *Ato Kābādā Fāsāsā* whom I interviewed was the overseer of the *Bētā Rist* Office for Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi who parcelled out the land and gave to them.

³⁸⁴ As clearly stated in the list of their names there were ordinary soldiers, commanders of ten, fifty, one hundred, *Šambäls*, *Šambäl Bašas*, and *Šaläqas*, I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 340 File No. 14.

³⁸⁵ For details on three tenancy bills sent to parliament in 1963, 1970 and 1972, and the debates in favor and against the draft laws in the floor of parliament and its results see Bizuwork, pp. 92-120. See also Cohen, p. 55.

In furtherance of this aim [security of tenure] that every Ethiopian should own his own land His Imperial Majesty has himself set an example by announcing that tenants on some of his lands may acquire ownership of their holdings the aim is also being implemented by grants of land under various proclamations to landless persons....³⁸⁶

Lawrence's observation on the pioneering endeavours that the Emperor made to ensure security of tenure is also reflected in the archives in a more solid manner. In the city of Addis Ababa, there were tenants who settled on some lands of the Emperor located, among others, in the vicinity of Gänätä Le'ul Palace, Gulälé Gäfärsa district; Old Air Port area, and in the vicinity of Princess Şähay memorial hospital. As we have said before, their rights of pre-emption were respected at the time the lands where they settled were decided to be sold at reasonable prices. Besides, Imperial Orders were issued in furtherance of security of tenure. On October 20, 1961, for example, a special order was given from the Emperor, executed by the Ministry of the Pen, to the effect that all people who settled in the vicinity of the Gänätä Le'ul Palace, in tenancy or in any other arrangement, were entitled to transfer the land where they settled into *rist* holding.³⁸⁷

The Emperor also granted urban lands to individual tenants. For example, on December 18, 1965, the Ministry of the Pen ordered the Head Office to the effect that 500 square meters of land, located near Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital, should be handed over to

³⁸⁶J.S.D. Lawrence was Rural Institution Officer in F.A.O. and author of *Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia*, (Addis Ababa: 1963), p. 4. Regarding the land grants that Ras Imru made, Kapuscinski says: "Nobody knows why or under what circumstance, but suddenly Prince Imru began to smell of reform, and without asking the Emperor's permission he gave some of his lands to the peasants," Kapuscinski, p. 32.

³⁸⁷I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 181, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 22. See also Folder No. 340, File No., 23, and Folder No. 85, File No. 1. Regarding application letters referring this special order look I.E.S., W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 112, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ. ር. ር., File No., 17; also in Folder No. 84, File No., 18.

a tenant by the name Ayälä Käbädä. *Wäizäro* Bafäna Wäldä Mikael also received land located in this same area where she was a tenant.³⁸⁸

Land grants were also made to ordinary poor people. By an instruction given on January 26, 1945 by the Ministry of the Pen to *Nägadräs* Ti'umä Lisan Kasa, General Manager of the *Bétä Rist*, one *Ṭirunäš Tädla*, a very poor woman, who came from Tigray was granted land for life that had been inherited by Haile Selassie from *Nigus* Wäldä Giyorgis, the amount and location of which is not specified.³⁸⁹ Haile Selassie had inherited lands from one *Wäizäro* Mintiwab Dästa. On December 6, 1962, the Ministry of the ordered the Head Office to the effect that all her former retinues (whose number is not mentioned) be given each a quarter of a *gaša* located in *Çäleya wäräda* of Jibat and *Méça awraja* of the province of Šäwa.³⁹⁰ Mämré Qiṭaw Bäyänä, a very poor man, was one of the beneficiaries of the Emperor's land grants. The application letter of the poor is shocking but effectual. The way this man expressed the desperate situation of his life is really heartbreaking: "...ልጆቸን የማሳድግበት አጣሁ..." The text, literally translated, could read: "I have nothing with which to raise my children." In the most part, the reactions of the Emperor to such supplications were positive. Qiṭaw was granted a *gaša* of land located at Abomisa *qäbbälé* in *Jäju warada* of the province of Arsi.³⁹¹

³⁸⁸I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 28, File No. 9. See also Folder No. 340, File No. 23.

³⁸⁹I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 18, File No. 34.

³⁹⁰I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 286, File No. 6.

³⁹¹I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 90, File No. 30.

6.1.3. Land Grants to *Bétü Rist* Head Office Employees, Civil-Servants, the Nobility, and Members of the Royal Family.

As we have explained in chapter two in detail, all Head Office workers and almost all overseers appointed in the provinces were salaried. In addition to this, they were given urban and *madäria* lands. Traditionally, people were given *madäria* lands in lieu of salary or pension. The objectives of such land grants were, however, clear in that the monarch did it to secure loyalty. In 1973, 18 Head Office workers were given 21 *gašas* of *madäria* lands which the sovereign had inherited from *Wäizäro* Tisämé Abayirga, each received on average a *gaša*, located in the provinces of Šäwa, Illubabur, and Harärgé. The official statement for the grant reveals that the gift was made “for their services and loyalty.”³⁹² Sources also revealed that Head Office workers were given occasional bonuses and gifts.³⁹³ However, the more the privilege, the greater the responsibility, and hence, from Head Office workers who were given much, much was expected: they were expected to carry out the tasks entrusted upon them with diligence and dedication. The Emperor was successful in this with some exceptions.

One of the places in Addis Ababa where the monarch owned huge amount of land was the neighborhood located north of Princess Šähay Memorial Hospital. This land, the cadastral number of which was 4828, measured 401, 400 square meters, and was bought from the inheritors of *Fitwrari* Burayu (bought before 1939 E.C.) and from *Wäizäro*

³⁹²These lands were located in Mänagäša, and Maräqo *awrajas* of the province of Šäwa; Habro and Wobära *awrajas* of the province of Harärgé; Buno Bädälé *awraja* of the province of Illubabur; and Kämбата *awraja* of the province of Sidamo, I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 88, File No. 39.

³⁹³On Țir (January) 23, 1950 E.C., for example, Eth. 300 birr was given to *Ato* Zägäyā Saifu, clerk of the *Bétü Rist* Head Office, to support his wedding expenses, as per the order given from the Ministry of the Pen, I.E.S. W.M.T.M.R.C. Folder No., 287, File No. 2. *Ato* Käbädä Fäsäsä also told me that he received occasional gifts and bonus from the Emperor.

Asägädäč Käbädä, grand-daughter of *Ras Täsäma Nadäw*, in 1950.³⁹⁴ In 1968, out of the total amount of land, the Office decided to sell 50, 000 square meters. When we subtract 50, 000 from the total, we will have 351, 400 square meters of land. Out of this, the Emperor generously granted it to people generally referred to as *balä wuläta* (loyal servants of the state). Some of the direct beneficiaries of such grants were the workers of the Head Office. In one land grant document alone, the Emperor granted 262, 920 square meters of land in this area. In this land grant document, 32 peoples and one welfare institution, one public association, and a radio station were included. Out of the 32 persons, 15 were identified Head Office workers.

Table 15: - Names of grantees and amount of land received from Haile Selassie.

No.	Name of the Grantees	Amount of land Given
1	15 <i>Bétä Rist</i> Head Office Employees	13, 600 Sq. Meters
2	9 people	16, 840 Sq. Meters
3	Imperial Savings and Home Ownership Public Association	100, 000 Sq. Meters
4	Märha Iwuran (Association of the Blind)	30, 000 Sq. Meters
5	Dr. Hamlen (Austrian National)	1, 000 Sq. Meters
6	Paulos Ñoño	500 sq. Meters
7	Princess Mahşäntä Haptä Mariam	5, 000 Sq. Meters
8	Princess Sara Gizaw	33, 576 Sq. Meters
9	Radio Station of the Emperor's Private Cabinet	48, 261 Sq. Meters
10	Dr. Minasé Hailé	3, 500 Sq. Meters
11	Dr. Seyium Harägot	3, 800 Sq. Meters
12	<i>Lej Mär'ed Bäyänä</i>	2, 843 Sq. Meters
13	Lieutenant General Käbädä Gäbré	4, 000 Sq. Meters
14	Richard Pankhrust	3, 041 Sq. Meters

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 5, File No. 3. See also annexes 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, and 49.

³⁹⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File Nos., 8, and 11. See also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, File No., 35.

As we can understand from the above table, the grant includes different spectrum of society: members of the royal family (represented by Princesses Maḥṣāntä Habtä Mariam and Sara Gizaw), high ranking military officers (General Kābädä Gäbré), traditional ruling aristocrats (*Lej Mär'ed Bāyänä*), foreign nationals (Dr. Hamlen and Pankhrust), civil-servants (represented by Paulos Ñoño), ordinary peoples (9 other peoples), *Bétä Rist* Head Office workers, welfare institutions (Mārha Iwuran), and private public association (Imperial Savings and Home Ownership Public Association). Understandably, the amount of land granted greatly varied across social classes. In this particular case, for example, the amount of land granted to persons of the royal family far exceeded that granted to people of humble origin. This is best exemplified in the amount of land given to Princesses Maḥṣāntä Habtä Mariam and Sara Gizaw, and to *Ato* Paulos Ñoño respectively. High ranking military officers came next. As shown above, foreign nationals were also favoured. Yet, the most generous land grant went to private public associations, the Emperor's radio station and welfare trusts respectively.³⁹⁵ The land which was generously granted to Richard Pankhurst was first given temporarily to his mother, Silvia Pankhrust, and was located in the vicinity of the Old Air Port. On December 16, 1966, Birhanä Selassié, the General Administrator, was ordered by the Ministry of the Pen to hand over the land and the house built thereon to Richard Pankhrust as *rist*.³⁹⁶

⁴¹⁴In a letter of order written on Nāhasé (August) 2, 1952 E.C, from the Ministry of the Pen to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, 100, 000 square meters of land, located in the vicinity of the Old Air Port near Canada Embassy, was granted to the Imperial Savings and Home Ownership Public Association, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 28. Archival documents revealed that the Emperor also granted lands to his grand children. For example, 82 *gašas* of land and two *Mälkäññät*, located at Bāčo Busa in Čäbo and Guraghe *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, was granted to the children of Princess Tānaññä Wärq. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No. 1.

³⁹⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File Nos. 18.

One of the 15 Head Office workers who received favour in the sight of the sovereign was Zägäyā Säifu, son of *Agafari* Säyfu Bänäbäru. As we have noted in chapter three, *Agafari* Säyfu was the first counsel of the Private Domain Office of the Emperor when it was reorganized in 1941/'42. Säyfu played a crucial role in obtaining above 300 *gašas* of land located in Maräqo from people who were using the land illegally. In 1948, he went to the area to ensure transfer of ownership but was killed by the losers of the case. At the time he died, he was the father of seven children including Zägäyā Säifu who was later employed as assistant clerk in the Head Office. This was followed by land grants to all his children in recognition of the death of their father. Therefore, Zägäyā was granted 1, 100, and the other six each 400 square meters of lands located near Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital (now Ṭor Hailoç Hospital).³⁹⁷

6.2. Land Sale

The oldest known documents take back land sales to the 18th century.³⁹⁸ But it can be assumed that the practice of selling land must go further back into the past. Nevertheless, the commoditization of land seems to have reached its apogee in the 20th century. This is particularly true to the post Italian period, and more specifically to the 1960s and '70s. Under this sub-theme, therefore, an attempt will be made to examine this point further in connection with the workings of the *Bétä Rist*. To this end, we will focus on those land

³⁹⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 28, File Nos. 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Zägäyā Säifu whom I interviewed also told me the whole account of the death of his father and related issues with a feeling of deep sadness even todayt.

³⁹⁸Donald Crummey, "Gondarine Rim Land Sales: An Introductory Description and Analysis," *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* Session B (United States of America, Chicago, April 13-16 1978), pp. 469-'72.

transactions that were evident in the city of Addis Ababa, and in the provinces of Šäwa and Arsi.

The land sale documents deposited in the Wäldä Mäsqäl Archives revealed that the *Bétä Rist* was a well-organized record keeping institution in the country in general and in the history of property management institutions in particular. The documents are formal, clearly and systematically stated, and are legally binding before the law. Such land sale documents universally applied to all buyers include the following basic elements:

- ▶ Logo of the office which reads; “Imperial Ethiopian Government, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I *Bétä Rist*, Contract on the Sale of Land.”
- ▶ Reference number and date.
- ▶ Names of vendor and buyer; location of land decided to be sold; rank of land (mostly rated from 1st to 5th); amount of land as measured in square meters and the concomitant price fixed thereat.
- ▶ Name and signatures of the buyer and a witness who observed the land transaction; and name and signature as well as stamp of the vendor institution, and
- ▶ Names, ages, jobs, location of villages, and signatures of three witnesses.

Emperor Haile Selassie earned substantial amount of money from the sale of lands located both in the provinces and in the city of Addis Ababa. According to one archival document, as we shall see in more detail below, the the Emperor earned Eth. 2, 000, 000 birr from the sale of 1,000 *gašas* of land located in Maräqo *wäräda* of Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa.³⁹⁹

As we have discussed earlier, in Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie possessed a huge amount of land located, among others, in the districts of Gullälé Gäfärssa, Little Aqaqä, Princess

³⁹⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 36, File No. 33. Regarding the formal format of land sale, see annexe 50.

Şahay Memorial Hospital, and in the surroundings of the Embassies of Canada and that of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. According to one document, dated January 22, 1973, the monarch owned 1, 576, 649 square meters of land.

Table 16: - Amount of land in Addis Ababa that the Emperor held at four places.

No.	<i>Qäbälé</i>	Cadastral No.	Amount in Square Meters
1	Holland Legation and its surroundings	8421	143, 403
2	Little Aqaqé where the Radio Station of the Imperial Bodyguard stood	-	48, 261
3	Lidäta <i>wäräda</i> where the Glass Factory stood	-	1, 500
4	Near the Square of Abunä Péṭros	9133	2, 757
5	Gullälé Gäfärssa	-	1, 380, 728
Total			1, 576, 649

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 311, File No. 2.

As we have noted in the first part of this chapter, the Emperor made generous land grants to a whole spectrum of society from his lands located near Princess Şahay Memorial Hospital. In the 1950s and 1960s, the extra lands from these land grants and other lands located in the different parts of the city were sold out.

It should be pointed out that land sales went through various procedures. When an area of land was singled out for sale, an Assessment Committee would be formed from among the workers of the Head Office. The major tasks of this committee were to a) study the general situation of the land, for example, its size, b) group them in accordance with their value, and c) fix reasonable price on the lands as measured in square meters. On having finished the above tasks, the Assessment Committee would submit its report to the

General Administrator who, in turn, would submit it to the Emperor. In the most part, after the proposal was accepted by the General Administrator, the remaining task was more of a formality than critical examination of the matter in question. Then the sovereign automatically would give order to the Ministry of the Pen to write a letter of order to the Head Office. The decision would be communicated to the public officially through notices of land sale. To this end, the Office would allocate money to be utilized for measuring the land and for the parcelling out of the lands to be consigned to buyers. On having settled the full account, the *Bétä Rist* Office would write a letter to the concerned office to the effect that buyers were entitled to be given title deeds as confirmations of the transfer of the land after their names.⁴⁰⁰ Now, let us discuss the actual land sale practices by providing examples.

As we have noted earlier, Haile Selassie owned lands at 20th *Bétä Rist* located in the vicinity of Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital. Most of this land was given to “loyal servants” of the Crown and to people belonging to different social groups before 1968. What was left from these generous land grants was sold out to interested individuals. The parcelling of the land was started on July 1, 1968 as per a prior order given from the Ministry of the Pen on December 18, 1967. On January 26, 1968, an Assessment Committee composed of three Head Office workers was formed to study the general situation of the land and fix the price of lands to be sold out to people. The land that was decided to be sold measured 50, 000 square meters. Depending on the value of the land, the Assessment Committee set prices ranging from maximum Eth. 5 birr to minimum Eth. 2 birr per square meter, which the Managing Director accepted. From the sale of

⁴⁰⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 300, File No. 5. Regarding the amount of land that was located in the neighbourhood of Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital, see annexe 53.

this land the Emperor earned above Eth. 175, 000 birr.⁴⁰¹ This practice of land sale is also substantiated in a letter of thanks addressed to the Head Office from the chairman of an *Idir* (Traditional Self-Help Association) that bought 1, 250 square meters of land at Eth. 2, 500 birr, one square meter sold out for Eth. 2 birr.⁴⁰²

Another area in Addis Ababa where the Emperor sold land was located in Gäfärssa and Gullälé *wärādas* as well as in Qäraniyo *qäbälé*. In these areas, land sales were started in 1961 and continued to 1973. In these three quarters, 239, 721 square meters of land was sold out from which the Office got Eth. 144, 765 birr. The lands were given ranks from 1 (premium) to 5. Depending on the degree of its use, a square meter of land was sold from a minimum of Eth. 10 cents to a maximum of Eth. 2 birr.⁴⁰³ As we explained in chapter three, lands that were sold out in Gullälé *wärāda* had originally been bought in 1956 from an Armenian named Hailu Yaqob Baghdasarian at Eth. 180, 000 birr.⁴⁰⁴ In addition to this, the Office got Eth. 3, 211, 200 birr from the sale of 401, 400 square meters of land located near the Embassy of the Netherlands.⁴⁰⁵

In Arada *qäbälé* of *Däjäč Wubé Säfär*, the Emperor held 32, 675 square meters of land that the Emperor inherited from *Wäizäro Tisämé Abayirga*. Some time around 1965 this

⁴⁰¹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰²For details on the location, amount, and brief history of the Emperor's lands see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, File No. 35. Details on the amount of land granted to people and institutions are given in I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No. 4. Regarding the amount of money obtained from the sale of land see folder No. 112, File No. 11. We have also accounts of land sale in Täklä Haymanot *wärāda*, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 227, File Nos. 22.

⁴⁰³For particular details on the years when lands were sold, amount of land people bought, price of land per square meter; location of land sold, and amount of money the office earned, see I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 110, File Nos. 1-77.

⁴⁰⁴From this area a square meter of land was sold for Eth. 10 cents, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 94, File No. 22. The full records by which the land was transferred from Hailu Yaqb to the *Bétä Rist* Office is deposited at I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 5, File No. 15. Records of land sales in this area are also deposited at I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 28, File No. 8. Regarding lands sold in Qäraniyo *qäbälé* refer to I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File No. 40.

⁴⁰⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File Nos. 42, 44, and 51.

land was decided to be sold to 76 tenants, a square meter of land for Eth. 10 birr. From this land Haile Selassie earned Eth. 326, 756 birr and 7 cents.⁴⁰⁶

As we can understand from the aforesaid account, the price of lands drastically decreased as one moves from the city center to the suburbs. This is precisely observed by Bahru when he said: "...price of Arada land was the highest, an index of its central location."⁴⁰⁷

As noted above, in Arada a square meter of land was sold for Eth. 10 birr; in the vicinity of Princess Şähay Memorial Hospital price ranges from Eth. 2 to 5 birr, and in Gulällé and Gäfärssa *wärädas*, a square meter of land was sold for a minimum of Eth. 10 cents and a maximum of 2 birr.

The province of Arsi experienced one of the largest and most intensified land transactions in Ethiopia in the post Italian period. Land sale in the province of Arsi started in 1954. According to receipt vouchers prepared for the year 1954, the Office earned Eth. 6, 038 birr from land sale.⁴⁰⁸ Areas with a major pull effect in this respect were those located on the right and left sides of the Awaš River. For example, 274 *gašas* of land located in Märți *wäräda* of Arba Gugu *awraja* were sold for Eth. 242, 315 birr, a *gaša* of land being sold on the average for Eth. 884 birr. The lands were sold out to high ranking government officials and to aristocrats. The reason for such attraction is obvious in that the Awaš valley, among others, is one of the most irrigable rivers in Ethiopia that supplies continuous and sufficient amount of water to make irrigation agriculture possible throughout the year. Moreover, its proximity to the city of Addis Ababa attracted the attention of buyers as most were from the capital. The presence of an all weather road is

⁴⁰⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 29, File No. 19.

⁴⁰⁷Bahru Zawde, "Early Safars of Addis Ababa, Patterns of Evolution" *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa* (Addis Ababa, November 24-25, 1986), p. 47.

⁴⁰⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 194, File No. 14.

also another stimulus for buyers, a situation that enabled them to inspect and supervise their farms easily.

In connection with the above land sale, the *Därg* accused the *Bétä Rist* Office of illegal land sale from government lands. According to a 1975 report, the Emperor owned 81 *gašas* of land in the valley of the Awaš registered in the name of the *Bétä Rist*. This being the truth, the report tells us, government lands located along the drainage basin of the Awaš River which were covered with dense forest were sold out to officials and aristocrats and that pastoralists who lived there for a long period of time were forced to vacate the area by force without compensation. Similar stories of land sales were also seen in *Jäju wäräda* of this same *awraja*.

Table 17: - Names of some government officials who bought land from the *Bétä Rist*, its amount as measured in *gaša*, and amount paid.

No	Name of Officials	Amount of land	Amount Paid (Eth. Birr)
1	<i>Şähafé Ti'izaz</i> Aklilu Habtä Wäld	10	10, 000
2	<i>Ato Akalä Wäraq</i> Habtä Wäld	10	10, 000
3	Lieutenant General <i>Diräsé</i> Dubalä	30	6, 000
4	<i>Ato Getačäw</i> Gäbrä Yohannis	8	6, 000
5	<i>Ato Abitäw</i> Gäbrä Yasus	4	4, 000
6	<i>Bitwädäd</i> Zäwde Gäbrä Hiwot	10	Not specified
7	<i>Däjazmač</i> Sälonon Abräham	5	Not specified
8	<i>Fitawraré</i> Kidanä Mariam	6	Not specified

Source: *Addis Zämän*, Thursday, Hidar (November) 19, 1967 E.C, p. 1, and 7.

As clearly shown in the above table a *gaša* of land was sold out for Eth. 1, 000 birr (refer to nos. 1, 2, and 5); Eth. 750 birr (refer to no. 4); and for Eth. 200 birr (refer to no. 3). The

above information is reinforced by archival documents as well. According to a receipt voucher prepared by the main treasury office which was given to a buyer on January 15, 1974, one square meter of land located at Worénso Däno *qäbälé*, Märté *wäräda* of Arba Gugu *awraja* was sold out for Eth. 1, 000 birr.⁴⁰⁹ This variation in the price of land was perhaps resulted in either on the potential of the area or the will of the Emperor which in itself might have been conditioned in either service rendered to the Crown or in political and military calculations as well as in how much people were close to the Emperor.

The *Bétä Rist* also sold much land in the province of Šäwa. Two of the eleven *awrajas* from where the Office sold out a huge amount of land were Haiqoč and Butajira, and Čäbo and Guraghe. The practice was started in the 1940s and continued down to the 1970s. According to one application letter dated April 13, 1957, the *Bétä Rist* put on sale 240 *gašas* of land located in Maräqo *wäräda*.⁴¹⁰ However, it was on March 31, 1965 that an official order was given through the Ministry of the Pen to the effect that the Emperor's *rist* lands located in Maräqo *wäräda* were put aside for sale.⁴¹¹ Moreover, between 1972 and 1975, the Office sold 67 *gašas* of land located in Maräqo *wäräda* at Wonté, Wonté Räpé, Räpé, Qoro, Räpé Qoro, Ťora, Ťora Mädäd, Jido Kombäl, Abuluqa, Loqé, Loqé Räpé, Çufana, Lelato, Mädäd, Wärägésó *qäbäles* alone. As clearly indicated in the official land sale document, people who bought lands in these *qäbäles* numbered 243: 94 *aläqa*, and 149 *minzir*.⁴¹² In Wonté and Bodété *qäbäles* alone the Emperor earned Eth. 67, 000 birr.⁴¹³ On aggregate, 1,000 *gašas* of land were sold out in Maräqo *wäräda*

⁴⁰⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 334, File Nos. 14 and 15.

⁴¹⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 181, File No. 18.

⁴¹¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 6.

⁴¹²The details of these land transactions are deposited at I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 21, File Nos. 1-94. See also Folder No. 186, File No. 5.

⁴¹³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, File No. 2.

of Haiqoç and Butajira *awraja* from which the Office collected more than Eth. 2, 000, 000 birr.⁴¹⁴

Sometimes, the Office and the Ministry of Agriculture came into disagreements over land ownership. One of the places that brought the two into a misunderstanding was located at Abärnossa *qäbälé* in Adamé Tulu *wäräda* of Haiqoç and Butajira *awraja*. In this area the *Bétä Rist* Office won 550 *gašas* of land which was sold out to interested individuals in the 1960s.⁴¹⁵

Another area of the province of Šäwa where land was sold out was Tulu Bido, an area located in Goro *mikitil wäräda* (sub-district), Wolqité *wäräda* of Çäbo and Guraghe *awraja*. In this *awraja* the Emperor owned about 130 *gašas* of land. The land was decided to be sold in January 1974.⁴¹⁶ How much money the *Bétä Rist* earned and the price of land fixed per *gaša* in this area, we do not know. But, from the information that we have provided above, and given the potential of the area as a whole, we may say that the Emperor might have earned a significant amount of money from the sale of these lands.

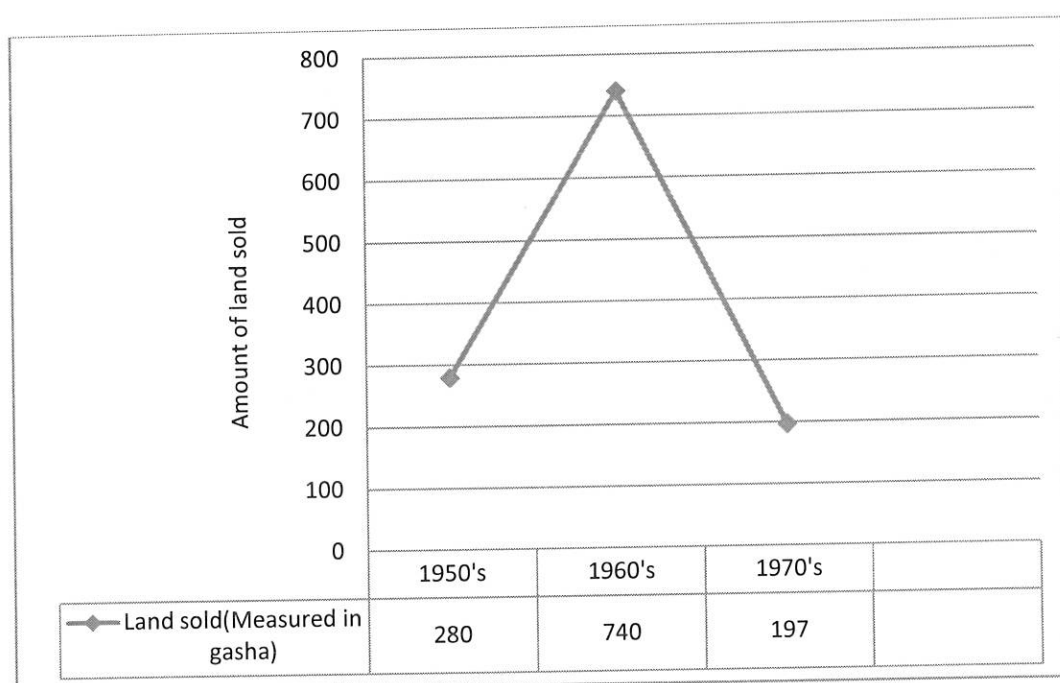
⁴¹⁴This information is obtained from a complaint letter written on Magabit (March) 3, 1967 E.C. by *Ato Tadasä Wändimu*, overseer for the *Bétä Rist* Office of Maräqo employed in 1946 E.C. who served in the Office for about 24 years, to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 36, File No. 33.

⁴¹⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 53.

⁴¹⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File No. 28. In 1940 E.C. the *Bétä Rist* Office sold land located in Çärçär *wäräda* of Raya and Azäbo *awraja* of the province of Tigray, Folder No., 216, File No. 2. According to information culled from the *Derg* period, his children also sold lands in the provinces. For example, the Emperor and other members of the royal family owned 12, 000 *gašas* of land in the province of Harärgé. Out of this, the Emperor owned 1, 144 *gašas*; Prince Mäkönnän, the Duke of Harär, 7, 372 *gašas*; Princess Tänaññä Wärq 1, 548; Crown Prince Asfa Wässän 1, 525; Empress Mänän 98; and Prince Sahla Selassie 74 *gašsa*. Prince Mäkönnän sold 6, 960 *gašas* of land located in Boté *wäräda* of Habro *awraja* and earned Eth. 602, 699 birr and 50 cents, a *gaša* of land being sold on average for Eth. 87 birr; *Addis Zämän*, Hidar (November) 29, 1967 E.C, p. 1.

One final point that we have to raise before we leave this part is that the 1960s witnessed, as explained before, the highest land sale activities undertaken both in urban and rural areas. The following graph summarizes the intensity of land sale that were undertaken in Haiqoç and Butajira, and Çäbo and Guragé *awrajas* of the provinces of Šäwa and in Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi.

The Trend in Land Sales



Source: Compiled from the information given above.

6.2.1. Land Sale Related Problems

The management office faced several challenges pertaining to land sale practices. This was particularly true to land sale activities undertaken in the provinces. In Addis Ababa, there were no major problems and thus the tasks were accomplished more or less peacefully. The major challenges were a) problems created at the time land was to be transferred to buyers. This is by far the most recurrent problem that we see down to the

first two years since the old regime was overthrown by the popular revolution, and has internal and external dimensions, too; b) rebellions from local communities, and c) intrigues made between some corrupt overseers, local *balabatas*, and *awraja* level government officials. The following examples would clarify this matter better.

According to a letter of complaint written on October 19, 1971 by the counsel of the *Bétä Rist* Office of Haiqoç and Butajira *awraja* to the Head Office, the people of Jido Kombäl *qäbälé* staged a rebellion and offered a great challenge on the transfer of land to buyers. As explained in detail in the appeal letter, the major rebellion broke out in 1970. The leader of the rebellion was *Ato Warso Tuké*. The Office aptly predicted the outbreak of the rebellion. This is evident from the fact that *Ato Warso* and his accomplices were first bribed with 5 *gašas* of land so as to prevent problems and possible outbreak of a rebellion. But, unsatisfied with what they were given, and as expected, they fomented rebellion. The main features of the rebellion were:

- ▶ Prohibited people from receiving lands which they bought from the Office by saying: “the *Bétä Rist* possessed no land in this area, it is ours.”
- ▶ Intrigued with *awraja* level governors and officials with the intention of owning the lands for them.
- ▶ Threatened the *wäräda* judges of whipping for they gave verdict in favour of the Emperor.
- ▶ Persuaded the local community to rise against the *Bétä Rist*’s move of land sale, bought weapons and armed the people.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, File No. 13.

As we can understand again from the appeal letter, the revolt was suppressed for a time; and the offenders were sued for their actions in the *awraja* court, proved criminal and were punished with imprisonment and money. Latter, they were set free with instruction not to commit similar problems in the future. Not long before, however, the rebellion broke out again. Warso and several others resumed what they did before: disturbed buyers; and declared the land their own holding. At this time, buyers appealed to the overseer. Then the case was investigated in the *awraja* police and their activity was discovered. As a result, two of the offenders, who were captured, were served three months in prison. An order was also given to hunt down four men who disappeared. As for those people who were set free on bail during the first rebellion, their sureties were told to bring them before court. But, they were unable to bring them out. Because of this, the guarantors were made to pay a fine of Eth. 200 birr because they undertook to pay in the likely case that the culprits would not appear personally at court to defend their positions. The overseer also made clear that the ringleaders of the rebellion won the support of a certain *Fitawrari Asratä Gétanäh*; dish out the 5 *gašas* that they received from the *Bétä Rist* to people who came to their side. To add insult to injury, the *awraja* level judges showed their readiness to back the instigators. As a result of this, buyers became unable to obtain the land after they they settled the full account and paid tax to the government, and the problem continued unsolved for about two years.⁴¹⁸

Problems of giving land to buyers as per the stipulated provisions which were clearly stated in the land sale contract abound and are reflected several times in the archives. This was particularly true in the last five years before the collapse of the old regime. For

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

example, some people bought land located in the vicinity of the Holland Legation (between the Legation and the Church of Qäaraniyo Mädahinétä Aläm) in 1974. This was the time when the tottering old regime was on the brink of collapse. Thus, it was overthrown before the land was totally handed over to buyers. As a result, we see buyers applying for the return of the money that they paid in advance to the treasury office.⁴¹⁹ This clearly illustrates the impact of the revolution on land transactions. With the military takeover of power, the Office was prohibited from further selling and transfer of land. The *Bétä Rist* on its part tried its best to solve such kinds of recurrent problems by returning the money that they paid in advance. Refunds were also done when people, who paid advance money for a given land in a given area, discovered that the land was infertile.⁴²⁰ In this particular situation, however, the problem was partly created by buyers because they should have checked the land before they paid the advance money. At times, problems were created when buyers failed to settle accounts in accordance with the time line set to do so.⁴²¹ However, some of the problems pertaining to land transfer to buyers continued unresolved for a period of six years.⁴²² In most cases, the applicants presented two options: return of the money that they paid in advance, and if this became impossible they asked land as a substitute from other areas. Sometimes, the Office delayed the transfer of the lands in the hope of selling at higher prices to other individuals which indirectly highlights the tendency of asking extra amount against what the official land sale contract pronounced. The land sale document was legally binding and would bring responsibility to the office. So, the only way to secure the land back was making

⁴¹⁹See for example I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File No. 29.

⁴²⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File No. 31. See also in Folder No. 186, File No. 43.

⁴²¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 112, File No. 11.

⁴²²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 28.

people feel bored with excessive delay with the intention of forcing them to the refunding of the advance money they first paid. This was particularly done by corrupt overseers. An overseer so implicated several times with acts of corruption was Ešäté Yigzaw, overseer of the *Bétä Rist* Office of the province of Arsi. On February 15, 1971, an order from the Ministry of the Pen was given to the effect that the amount of land that was located at Ṭora *qäbälé*, in Lanfro *mikitil wäräda* (sub district), Silṭé *wäräda* of Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja* of the province of Šäwa, be measured after which the *Bétä Rist* Office would sale the extra land to interested individuals. Under the cover of this official order, however, Ešäté sold the lands to people he chose. He did this with the collaboration of the local *balabats* and *wäräda* governors.⁴²³ Sometimes he forced buyers to move to other areas against the land sale contract and against their interests under the pretext that the land for which buyers applied first was insufficient to give to all people who paid advance payment.⁴²⁴

Even after the military assumed power, the *Bétä Rist* Office was accused of failure to neither surrender the land for which people paid in advance nor refund the advance payment to buyers. Some people even threatened the Office to take the case to court; and when they asked the return of the advance payment, they included interest and costs of lawyers.⁴²⁵ Such delay in the transfer of lands to buyers was damaging especially for those people who borrowed money from banks. They had to pay interest to banks for years while the land for which they paid advance money was not transferred promptly.⁴²⁶

⁴²³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 46.

⁴²⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 33.

⁴²⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File Nos. 28, 29, 37, and 40.

⁴²⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File Nos. 39, and 45.

An example of an appeal letter written on June 16, 1973 that summarises the problems conveyed in the many letters to the *Bétä Rist*, and that vividly illustrates the problems we have mentioned above reads:

በ 1960 ዓ.ም የቤተ ርስት መሬት የሆነ ለህዝብ የሚሸጥ አለ ተብሎ በተነገረኝ መሰረት ስፍራውን 3 ጊዜ ያህል ተመላልሽ ካየሁ በኋላ በሐይቆችና በታጅራ ቀበሌው ላንፍሮ የሆነ የሚገኝበት ልዩ ቦዲቱ ሂረጵ በአቶ ታደሰ ወንድሙ ይጠበቅ የነበረው ቦታ 5 ጋሻ መሬት ለመግዛት ተዋውቶ ነሐሴ 16 ቀን 1961 ዓ.ም አንድ ሺህ ብር (1, 000) ቀብድ ከፍቶ ነበር። ከዚያን ጊዜ ወዲህ ይኸው ስድስት ዓመት አልፏል። በነዚህ ዓመታት ውስጥ በመቁና አዲስ አበባ መስሯ ቤታችሁ ካምስት ጊዜ የበለጠ ተመላልሻለሁ መሬቱን ግን አልተቀበልሁም። የከፈልኩበት ፋክቱር ቁጥር 028307 ነው። ዛሬ የማመለክተው መሬቱን ለመግዛት እችል እንደሆነ እንድንገዛ ያለዚያ የከፈልኩት አንድ ሺህ ብር እንዲመለስልኝ ነው።⁴²⁷

According to information told to me about land that was to be sold in 1960 E.C., and after I see the land about three times, I undertook in 1961 E.C. to buy 5 gašas of land located at Bodétu Hiräpo in Lanfiro qäbälé of Haiqoç and Butajira awraja, and paid on August 16, 1961 E.C., Eth 1, 000 birr advance payment after which 6 years lapsed. My receipt number is 028307. In these years, I shuttled between your offices in Mäqé and Addis Ababa more than 5 times. Yet, I did not receive the land. What I am applying now is that if possible let me buy the land if not let the 1, 000 advance money I paid be returned to me.

⁴²⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 43. Some times, buyers were asked arrears for the land they bought which the *Bétä Rist* Office must have paid to the government. I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 55, File No. 8. For other land sale related problems look Folder No., 186, File Nos. 52, 53, 56, 58, 65, 66, 67, 68, and 72. See also Folder No. 265, File No. 4.

Whenever problems of the above kinds arose, the *Bétä Rist* tried to tackle them into two ways. Buyers were given one of two options: refund of the advance payment or taking substitutes from other areas. A representative of the several response letters of the above kinds written on October 1, 1973 by Täšomä Wagaw reads:

በሸዋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት ሐይቆችና ቡታጅራ አውራጃ ከሚገኘው የቤተ ርስት መሬት ለመግዛት ጠይቀው ቀብድ መክፈልዎ የሚታወስ ነው። በጥያቄዎ መሰረት የጠየቁትን መሬት እንዲያገኙ ለማድረግ ስላልተቻለ በከፈሉት ገንዘብ ልክ እንደመሬቱ መደብ እንዲረከቡ ስለተወሰነ ይኸን የማይፈቅዱ ቢሆን ለርስዎ የተደለደለውን መሬት በመሸጥ የከፈሉት ገንዘብ እንዲመለስልዎ ከሁለቱ የትኛውን እንደሚፈቅዱ ምርጫዎን አዘጋጅተው እንዲቀርቡልን እናሳስባለን።⁴²⁸

It is to be recalled that you have asked to buy land from the Bétä Rist located in Haiqoç and Butajira awraja and paid qäbd [advance payment], and that it is difficult to give the land for which you have asked as per your request, and that it is decided that you would receive lands equivalent to the land for which you have asked that fits the amount you have paid. When you are unwilling in this, the advance payment would be refundable after the land reserved for you will be sold. Thus, we inform you to make us know your choice from among the two options.

Incidentally, the above letter was addressed to the person whom we have already met above. The important point in this letter is that the *Bétä Rist* accepted its problems. But, when its efficiency is evaluated, it is more like the saying “justice delayed, justice denied.” Because the complainant paid the advance money in 1968 and the Office responded towards the end of 1973. In the intervening years, the person suffered a lot

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

without meeting his objective. By the same token, many people were destined to encounter such problems.

In general, the intervention of the *Bétä Rist* Head Office to address problems of the above kinds was too late. When it happened, it is identified to be unfair as people were not entitled to receive the lands for which they applied first and paid advance money; and when money was decided to be refunded, they had to wait until lands would be sold from other areas that were to be given to them as a substitute.⁴²⁹ Delay to surrender lands in anticipation of bribe; tendency to sale the land twice to other individuals with higher prices after receiving advance money first from other peoples; attempts to give land to buyers against their choice, fraud in the form of receiving money before showing the land to buyers first; trying to persuade buyers to receive lands that were less fertile than the lands for which they applied and paid advance money finally; and too much delay in refunding of advance payment are identified as the major weaknesses of the management office. This does not mean, however, that the Office was totally insensitive when such problems were created. Many practical measures were indeed taken to tackle and mitigate inconveniences pertaining to land sale. To add insult to injury, however, the 1974 popular revolution posed a major challenge in the transfer of lands to buyers as most of the

⁴²⁹Some times people who paid advance money became reluctant to take the land for which they applied first despite the Office urged them to receive the land. According to an appeal letter written on Mägabit (March) 12, 1966 E.C to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office from buyers who paid advance money for lands located in Mäqé *qäbälé* of Haiqoč and Butajira *awraja*, the main problem was delay on the part of the Office to hand over the lands. In this particular case, the applicants numbered 7 and paid Eth. 44, 000 birr in advance for 43 *gašas* of land, at the rate of a *gaša* for Eth. 2, 000 birr. The applicants resented the office to which, between Ginbot (May) 1965 E.C and Yäkatit (February) 1966 E.C, they wrote complaint letters five times but to no avail; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File No. 48. Sometimes, the Office showed a given land to buyers at the time they paid the advance money. At the time of hand over they were asked to take lands from other areas whose potentials were not like the lands that they first choose, but stony, infertile, and arid desert. For which reason, they asked the return of the advance payment, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 186, File Nos. 63, 53, 70, 73, and 78.

problems continued unsolved down to the first two years after the old order was overthrown.

In the first part of the next chapter, we have tried to examine the amount of land that the Emperor granted to whole strata of society. The next chapter is exclusively devoted to the amount and kinds of properties that the Emperor generously donated to philanthropic activities and for the promotion of public health and higher educational institutions in the country.

Chapter Seven: Philanthropy

In the preceding two chapters an attempt was made to consider land grants from the Emperor to different groups of society and his concern in dealing with the problems of tenants. An equally crucial component of the life and career of the Emperor that deserves special treatment is his sensitivity for the care and rehabilitation of the aged, orphaned, children and other people with disabilities, the destitute, and social outcasts without necessarily neglecting the concern and sensitivity that he demonstrated in improving the conditions of the general public in light of the history of the *Béta Rist* Office. But, before we look into the details of the continuous moral and material support that the Emperor gave to improve the conditions of the above groups of people I found it necessary to pose the following questions: what were the reasons that impelled the monarch to extend support to the aged, orphaned, people with disabilities, the destitute and social outcasts? Were the concerns and sensitivities that the Emperor showed purely philanthropic or convey latent ends for example to achieve far-reaching political objectives? Regarding the last question, as we shall see after a while, the fact is that the Emperor was truly philanthropic. However, concern and sensitivity to society would naturally produce a sense of indebtedness, appreciation, approval, and loyalty in the mind of the general public in general and in the hearts of those who received direct support from the Emperor in particular. Applicants for support used expressions that highlighted the sovereign's philanthropic gestures such as "Father and Mother of the Poor", a pointer to what he did in the care and rehabilitation of the orphaned, "Hope for the Infirm", a pointer to his constant support to the aged, "The Cure of Ethiopia", a pointer to what he did in the area of health care for the needy and to people who had leprosy, "The Light of Ethiopia", a

pointer to what the Emperor did in the care and rehabilitation of the blind. We can at least propose three factors that bent the attitude of the Emperor along altruistic lines. Let us start with the social factor. It is common for people demonstrate practical social concerns towards destitute people and those having health disorders. These virtues have long been embedded in the cultures of the Ethiopian peoples. This is true largely due to the fact that the Ethiopian society is structured along strong family and clan lines that demanded members to help each other when they faced different challenges. As a result, helping each other and particularly the needy has long been cherished among Ethiopians as a mark of behaviour. Such an attitude towards the destitute, and people with disabilities has been emphasized in the belief systems of the Ethiopian peoples as well. If we take the two major religions - Islam and Christianity- compassion towards such groups of society is expressly put in Holy Scriptures as proof of genuine Islamic and Christian living. For example, alms-giving to the needy is one of the five principles of Islam. Christian holy scriptures are also replete with accounts of philanthropic activities that followers are expected to take part in. A member of the Ethiopian society, brought up under strict indoctrination of the Gospel that speaks the most about virtues of genuine Christian living it is no wonder that the monarch believed that he had to help the needy.

The family, as one crucial social institution, played a major role in shaping the minds of its members. Informants unanimously told me that his father, *Ras Mäkonnän*, was a benevolent person who greatly influenced the attitude of his son along humanitarian lines. *Ras Mäkonnän* used to nourish the destitute of the town of Harär, a sensitivity that continued in greater urgency by his son. From 1913 to 1935, for example, under the direction of Täfäri, *Migibä Rihuban* (Food for the Starved) was prepared in the Church of

Adäre Ṭiqo (Harär town) and was given out each day to some 300 destitute. A similar table referred to as *Ma'edä Silassie* (Table of Trinity) was also prepared from 1924 to 1935 inside the premise of the Gännätä Le'ul Palace and was given out each day to destitute people of the city of Addis Ababa.⁴³⁰

The other factor that planted attitudes of welfare activities in the mind and heart of the Emperor is his exposure to the external world. This is particularly true to the period of Italian occupation when he spent these years in England in exile. In his stay, the self-exiled monarch and the royal family experienced the kind of welfare activities that the royal families of Great Britain made which greatly influenced them in making a more strengthened welfare activity back home.⁴³¹

When we turn to the main inquiry of this chapter, we find Haile Selassie as one who laid down the first layers of welfare activities in Ethiopia. He was a prominent and defining example of philanthropy in the country and a vital current diffusing and stimulating hopes, strength, life, bright future, and joy to the aged, orphaned, and people with disabilities, social outcasts, and the destitute. His tender sensitivity to the Ethiopian people in general and to the above sections of society in particular leaped over ethnic, religious, linguistic, geographical, and cultural barriers. He took personal initiatives to establish several social and welfare institutions which were financed, in part or fully, by income generated from his personal properties such as lands or estates, houses, and from

⁴³⁰Informants: Gétačäw Mahtämä Selassie, *Ato Abära Moltot*, *Qäññazmač Sahlé Ayu*, *Ato Zägäyä Säifu*, *Ato Kābädä Fäsässä*. Regarding the two special tables prepared under the direction of Täfäri see Abära Jumbäre, *Yä Qädamawe Haile Selassie Bägo Adragot Dirijit Mämäsirät (The Establishment of the Haile Selassie I Welfare Trust)* (Addis Ababa: Birhan ena Sälam Qädamawe Haile Selassie Press. 1952 E.C.), p. 30.

⁴³¹Wondimteka Shiferaw, "Sabata Merha Ewuran School for the Blind", B.A thesis in History (Addis Ababa University: 1983), pp. 11-12. See also Sissay Berhane, "A History of Rehabilitation for the Blind in Ethiopia Since 1941", M.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University: 2006), pp. 56-57.

other commercial concerns. In addition to government support mostly given in the form of grants-in-aid, the Emperor formed the principal financial aide behind institutions that rendered social services of different kinds in the country.

The Emperor was a model for others to emulate and was a major doner to many social projects and his generosity encouraged others to be more involved in improving the conditions of the destitute. Such exemplary works, as we shall see in detail in connection with the history of some social and welfare institutions, inspired other members of the royal family to invest their time and property, too.

For example, the Ethiopian Women Welfare Institution about which we do not know much was established in 1927 E.C. by Princes Şähay Haile Selassie. Princes Tänañña Wärq was its president, and Empress Mänän its patron. During the war of 1935/'36 the Foundation rendered support to the patriots in the form of providing ration, medicine, and served as an intelligence centre of the Ethiopian patriots concerning the position of the adversary. After the occupation was over, the Foundation established an orphanage school known as Tinsaé Birhan in 1942. According to information obtained from 1961, 56 students up brought in this child care centre joined higher institutions; 28 of them led married life; and 70 of them were employed in the civil service. In the meantime, there were 104 students attending school.⁴³² Empress Mänän also used to support some destitute orphaned children before she passed away in 1962. After her death, these destitute children were given financial support from the *asrat* (tithe) reserve of the *Bétä Rist*.⁴³³

⁴³² *Addis Zämän*, 21st Year, No. 184, 1953 E.C.

⁴³³ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቀ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 17.

Another member of the royal family who took part in social activity was Crown Prince Asfa Wässän. In the 1950s, he donated 10, 000 square metres of land located in the town of Dässé for the establishment of a public school.⁴³⁴ In addition to this, he and his wife Princess Mädfäriaš Wärq Abäbä donated a house to the Haile Selassie I Foundation which is estimated to be Eth. 30, 000 birr. Five *gašas* of land located in Gindä Bärät district of Jibat and Mécça *awraja* of the province of Šäwa was also generously granted to the Foundation from Empress Mänän.⁴³⁵

Among the aristocracy, *Ras* Mäsfīn Siläš made generous land grants and other donations for the expansion of modern education. On December 8, 1962, he granted 38 *gašas* of land to the Managing Director of the Schools in the Governorate General of Käffa situated 36 kilometres away from the town of Jimma in the northern direction together with the title deed and a document that confirmed the transfer of the property. Moreover, the *ras* granted 25, 000 square metres of land located in the town of Gimbi for the construction of school.⁴³⁶

Outside of the above strata of society, there were rich people who made different donations to support the activities of welfare institutions and for the establishment of social institutions. *Wäizäro* Ašädä Täklé, for example, donated 62, 823 square meters of land located at a place in Addis Ababa called Nifas Silk to Princess Šähay Memorial Hospital and Eth. 30, 000 birr to St. Paul Hospital.⁴³⁷ Another woman who made

⁴³⁴ *Yä Ityopiya Dimše* (Voice of Ethiopia), 8th Year, No. 109, Thursday, Mägabit (March) 5, 1955 E.C.

⁴³⁵ *Addis Zämän*: Ginbot (May) 25, 1953 E.C.

⁴³⁶ *Addis Zaman*: 22nd Year, No. 543, Tahisas (December) 2, 1955 E.C. Regarding the land grants that *Ras* Imru made to peasants, refer to Kapuscinski, P. 32.

⁴³⁷ Ašädä was born in 1885 E.C. in Tägulat. In 1905 E.C., she was married to Muse Minas Harbegian, may be an Armenian national, and lived together for 40 years. She passed away on Hamlé (June) 12, 1945 E.C.

generous donations to welfare institutions was *Wälätä* Iyäsus Gäbrä Kristos. Originally she was a Turkish national who came to Ethiopia at the age of twenty, became naturalized and married to a certain *Fitawrari* Gäbrä Kristos Täfäri and begot two children by him. After she lost her husband and her two children, she spent the rest of her life helping the destitute. Before she passed away on April 22, 1964, she donated all her property located in Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Harär, and in Ad'a *wäräda*, which was estimated to be Eth. 110, 000 birr, to support the blind school.⁴³⁸

Now let us look into the social facet of the Emperor's career by providing pertinent examples on the amount and kind of donations that he rendered to establish and finance different social and humanitarian institutions mainly in the context of the history of the *Bétä Rist*. Our journey in this chapter spans the periods from 1921 to 1975 as we shall examine his career in this direction both as Täfäri, the heir, and Haile Selassie, the Emperor.

The first set of philanthropic activities, as we have noted above, were laid down on June 7, 1921 when *Ras* Täfäri, heir to the Ethiopian throne, established *Bétä Sälihom* also known as *Bétä Nädayan*, a Home for the Aged at the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos. This was presumably the earliest welfare institution that the country saw under his auspices. The selection of June 7 is not without reason. Six years before he founded this home, viz., on June 7, 1915, *Däjazmač* Täfäri escaped miraculously the peril of death from a capsized boat at Lake Alämaya (now Haromaya). Thus, in memory of it as a very important date of thanks giving to God, the heir established the home to support destitute

and buried at the St. George Church, Addis Ababa, Arada; *Addis Zaman*: 23rd Year, No. 899, Tahisas (December) 7, 1957 E.C.

⁴³⁸The properties so donated to the school included gold, money in cash, lands and houses; *Addis Zaman*: Ginbot (May 14), 1957 E.C.

aged people. *Abba Hana Jima* (1895-1960), a monk, father confessor, confidant of the Emperor, and keeper of the Emperor's privy purse (money used for the monarch's private expenses), and *Abba Wäldä Yohannis* played important roles in its establishment. *Abba Hana* was particularly its administrator from the very beginning.⁴³⁹

Täfäri's speech at the inaugural ceremony of the Home reveals that the heir was very much concerned in improving the conditions of the destitute, and his heart was filled with welfare activities from the very beginning even before he became an Emperor:

እኔ የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት አልጋ ወራሽ ተፈሪ መኮንን በእግዚአብሔር ስም የወደቁትን ነዳያን በተቻለኝ ነገር ለመርዳት የተከለሃይማኖትን ገዳም ከገዳማቱ ሁሉ እጅግ የቀና የሰፋ ነውና ይህን ነዳያን እንዲረዱበት ቤት መስራትና መርዳት ያሳሰበኝና ያተጋኝ ምክንያት በደብረሊባኖስ ባባቶች በተከለሃይማኖት ቦታ የጻዲቁን ተስፋ እየሰማ ለሚመጣ እኩሉም በደዌ ምክንያት ለጠበል እኩሉም ለምናኔ ምክንያት እዚያው ለመኖር መጥቶ ይጠጋበት ቤት እያጣ ተጨንቆ የሚኖረው ብዙ ነው እያሉ ቦታውን የሚያወቁት ሰወች ስለነገሩኝ ተስፋ የሌላቸውን ሁሉ በመርዳት ባልፈጽመው በተቻለኝና በተወሰነ ነገር ለመርዳት አስቤ ይህን የመጠሪያ ቤት አቋቁሚያለሁ።⁴⁴⁰

According to the above speech, the things that aroused his interest to establish the Home was the problems that destitute aged people, who went there seeking either cure or to permanently live there as a monk or nun faced, information which he got from people who saw their heart-breaking conditions. The Home ran also a clinic and a chapel

⁴³⁹ Abära, p. 63. Abära Jumbäre was Vice Managing Director of the Haile Selassie I Foundation. At the inaugural ceremony of the Foundation he recalled that the Emperor started humanitarian activities forty years back while he was heir to the throne and when he established a Home for the Aged called Bétä Sälihom at the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos on Ginbot (May) 30, 1913 E.C., *Addis Zämän*: Ginbot (May) 27, 1952 E.C. Regarding the reason and outcome of the capsized boat and other related minute details, refer to Täklä Hawariat Täklä Mariam, *Autobiography* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1998 E.C.), pp. 222-225. On the relationship of the Emperor with *Abba Hana* see Christopher Clapham, *Haile Selassie's Government* (England: Longman, 1969), pp. 94-95. To support the activities of the Home, the Emperor granted 19 *gašas* of land in Säälälé *awraja*, Annexe 72.

⁴⁴⁰ *Addis Zämän*: Mäskäräm (September) 12, 1958 E.C., also in *The Ethiopian Herald* Vol. IV, No. 340, January 4, 1963 (Tahsas 26, 1955 E.C.); *Addis Zämän*: Hamlé (July) 16, 1955 E.C.

attached to it. At first it sustained 30 nuns and 15 monks. From 1921 to 1965, 3, 250 destitute aged people were taken care of at this home. Private properties that the Emperor generously donated to the Home so as to sustain it includes lands in the provinces and houses in Addis Ababa.

On June 23, 1942, the Emperor granted 10 *gašas* of land located in Aboté *wäräda* of Säلالé *awraja* of the province of Šäwa to Bétä Sälihom Home for the Aged.⁴⁴¹ A report compiled in 1964 raised the above figure to 19 *gašas*.⁴⁴²

The second important area of social activity in which *Ras* Täfäri played a crucial part was in the promotion of public health. Under his direction and order, Hakim Wärqnäḥ Ešäté established Bétä Saida Hospital in 1923.⁴⁴³ The naming of the hospital has Biblical roots:

After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep gate of a pool, which is called in Hebrew, Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a great multitude of sick people, blind, lame, paralyzed, waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain time into the pool and stirred up the water; then whoever stepped in first, after the stirring of the water, was made well of whatever disease he had.⁴⁴⁴

As we continue reading some verses down, we meet a man who had an infirmity for about thirty-eight years whom Jesus Christ made automatically well without the usage of

⁴⁴¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 64, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 36.

⁴⁴²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28. See also annexe 72.

⁴⁴³Abära, p. 71.

⁴⁴⁴The New King James Bible, (Thomas Nelson Inc., 1980), *the Gospel According to John Chapter 5 Verses 1-9* pp. 1036-1037.

the water. In short, Bétä Saida was a place of cure. What is more relevant to our purpose here is the kind of donation that the heir made for the fulfilment of the objectives of the hospital. The land and the houses where the hospital stood, that is 2nd *Bétä Rist*, were his *rist* and private properties which he inherited from *Wäizäro* Tisämé Abayirga. Later this hospital was renamed Haile Selassie I Hospital which is now Yakatit 12 Hospital.⁴⁴⁵

Another important medical centre established on June 23, 1947 was the St. Paul Hospital. It was established to give medical treatment for the destitute.⁴⁴⁶ The land where the hospital stood which measured 32, 004 square meters was the *rist* of the Emperor.⁴⁴⁷ The Emperor also donated money to finance some of its activities. The income obtained from the sale of 39 *gašas* of land located in *Wäliso awraja* at a place called Tulu Bido was given to the Ministry of Public Health to support the St. Paul Hospital.⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, beginning from September 1955, the *Bétä Rist* Office used to cover the salary of an expatriate nurse employed in the hospital who received Eth. 400 birr per month.⁴⁴⁹

The other pressing social and humanitarian issue that captured the attention of both the Emperor and the Empress was the care and rehabilitation of orphans. Some became orphans for they lost their parents at the time of delivery; others were deserted; and still

⁴⁴⁵ Abära, p. 71.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 74 and 88. On Hidar (November) 24, 1945 E.C. it came under the administration of a Board of Directors. One of the six board members was *Nägađras* Birhanä Selassé Abayäre, General Administrator of the *Bétä Rist* Office.

⁴⁴⁷ *Addis Zämän*: 25th Year, No. 210, Friday *Nähasé*(August) 28, 1957 E.C. For the official order that was given through the Ministry of the Pen, refer to annexe 63.

⁴⁴⁸ I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 90, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 196.

⁴⁴⁹ In a letter of order written on *ፒር* (January) 18, 1948 E.C. from the Ministry of the Pen, The *Bétä Rist* Office was ordered to give Eth. 400 birr per month to the St. Paul hospital which was to be a salary to a nurse of foreign national by the name Ruzica Petkovic, I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, *ፌ. ሪ. ሥ. ቤ.*, File No., 28. Also in Folder No. 11, File No. 25, and Folder No. 11, File No. 40. The Emperor also granted 10, 420 square meters of land where the Pastor Institute stood together with the buildings found there as *rist*, and covered a 10 years rent arrears needed from the institution. The property was located near the land managed under the *Bétä Rist* Office; *Addis Zämän*: 21st Year, No. 282, Friday Hidar (November) 22, 1954 E.C.

others were abandoned by their callous parents. As we have noted before, the Empress established an orphanage where children were taken care of until she passed away in 1962, an exemplary social concern which the Emperor followed suit. On July 11, 1951, he established a child care centre and school for the orphaned called *Egualä Mauta* in Urael quarter, Addis Ababa. Orphans from the 14 provinces were brought to this centre and were fed, clothed, and educated. After the death of the Empress, the children whom she brought up were transferred to *Egualä Mauta*. Until 1955, it was run by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.⁴⁵⁰ For the up-keep of the orphanage, the Emperor donated money from the *Bétä Rist* treasury.⁴⁵¹

No less was the concern, sensitivity, and contribution that the Emperor showed and made for the care and rehabilitation of blind children. One year after the above orphanage was established, the Emperor founded the *Märha Ewran* School on July 23, 1952 in that same Urael neighbourhood. It was an important centre of learning and rehabilitation for blind children brought as usual from the 14 provinces. For the fulfilment of its objectives, the Emperor donated significant amount of money at different times and granted considerable amount of lands to sustain its activities. Some time around 1956, for example, the Emperor donated Eth. 31, 876 birr and 50 cents for the construction of a

⁴⁵⁰Abära, p. 77, also in *Addis Zämän*: Nähasé (August) 2, 1947 E.C., *Addis Zämän*; Hamlé (July) 27, 1953 E.C., the Ethiopian Herald Vol. IV, No. 340, January 4, 1963 (Tahsas 26, 1955 E.C.), and *Addis Zämän* Hamlé (July) 16, 1955 E.C.

⁴⁵¹For example, in a letter of order written on Nähasé (August) 22, 1949 E.C. from the Ministry of the Pen, the Managing Director of the *Bétä Rist* was ordered to give Eth. 4, 921 birr and 90 cents to be expended for the up-keep of 13 children who were allowed to join the Home and school for the orphans. This money was expended from the *asrat* (tithe) set aside; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28. School and child care centres were also established in the provinces. One such centre was Princes Tänañña Wärq School and Child Care centre for the orphans established in the town of Asmara. This is revealed in a letter of order written on Miyaziya (April) 4, 1961 E.C., from the Ministry of the Pen to the Managing Director of the *Bétä Rist* Office to the effect that Eth. 20 birr would be paid to the centre per month from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* as school fee to a destitute child; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 340, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 21.

staff house and a classroom building.⁴⁵² In 1955, it came under the administration of the Haile Selassie I Foundation. Before this historic transition, the number of rehabilitated blind students was 50. By 1958, their number reached 62. The major challenge that the Foundation faced at this time was financial problem. That was why *Ato Täfäri Šaräw*, the first General Administrator of the Foundation, asked financial help from the Emperor. As we can understand from a letter of order written on May 26, 1958 from the Ministry of the Pen to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, *Ato Täfäri* stated that the annual budget allocated to run the school was Eth. 23, 220 birr. Now he asked an additional budget of Eth. 10, 602 birr which raised the total budget to Eth. 33, 822 birr. Accordingly, after examining the proposed additional budget, the Emperor granted Eth. 883 birr and 50 cents, an amount to be paid from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* every month. This was made known to the Foundation by *Šähafi Ti'ezaz Täfärawärq*, the Private Secretary of the Emperor.⁴⁵³

From February 1962 to January 1963 E.C., the Emperor donated Eth. 3, 107, 000 to different institutions ran by the Haile Selassie I Foundation. One major beneficiary of the above generous donation was the Märha Ewran Organization. Some time around 1955/'56, the head quarter of the Association was moved to Säbäta where the Säbäta School and Vocational Centre for the blind was established which is still in operation. To this end, the Emperor granted 100, 000 square meters of land located in Säbäta town. In addition to this generous land grant, he donated Eth. 600, 000 birr to help the construction of the school.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 27.

⁴⁵³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28. See also Abära, p. 80.

⁴⁵⁴The school gave accommodation for 150 blind students since 1956 E.C. Blind students of 7 to 14 years of age from the 14 provinces joined the school. *Addis Zämän*, 22nd Year, No. 635, Thursday Ṭir (January)

Between 1958 and 1968, as we have noted in chapter six, the Emperor made generous land grants from his holding located in the vicinity of Princes Şähay Memorial Hospital. In this area the Emperor granted 220, 711 square metres of land to different social groups and to associations. One of the beneficiaries of this land grant was Ewran Tärado Hibrät Dirijit (the Association of the Ethiopian Blind). On July 21, 1962, the Emperor granted, in the area that we mentioned above, 30, 000 square metres of land to this Association.⁴⁵⁵

The Emperor was also very much concerned about the care and rehabilitation of ostracized peoples. Leprosy, among others, has long been perceived as a major “but” among many societies. People’s power, wealth, and honour paled before such diseases. The disease cast a dark shadow over those who suffered from it. Even today, people dread the disease despite the fact that there are hospitals established to get their leprosy cured. Personal life could easily be disrupted by physical disasters of the above kinds. In Ethiopia, there have been people whose hearts were broken and lost hope as a result of this ailment. What the Emperor did was hope inspiring and life-changing to these groups of people. In Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi, the Emperor held 315 *gaşas* of land run by the *Bétä Rist*. Out of this, the Emperor granted 15 *gaşas* to lepers. According to an informant (the *Bétä Rist Şum* of the *awraja*), the amount of land granted to lepers measured 20 *gaşas* and was located at Tibila *qäbäle*. The sufferers were brought to this

23, 1955 E.C. As for the amount and kind of donation that the Emperor made for the rehabilitation of the blind, refer to annexes 54, 55, 56, 57, and 58.

⁴⁵⁵I.E.S.W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ጊ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 14. The social and educational department of the Haile Selassie I Foundation conducted rehabilitation program for the physically handicapped, offered care and training for the orphaned children and care for the aged. The blind school run by the Foundation provided academic education for 63 blind male students. A school and pre-vocational centre for the blind was erected at Säbäta which is still in operation. This centre had facilities for training blind girls in basic home economics, a Braille printing press, a library meeting hall, a school building that accommodated 100 children, a pre-vocational centre for fifty young blind people, and a clinic with 16 beds. One of the achievements of the social department was the integration of the blind children in ordinary public schools with the sighted ones. It is also revealed that in 1956 E.C., three blind students joined University College; *The Ethiopian Herald* Vol. IV, No. 340, January 4, 1963 (Tahsas 26, 1955 E.C.)

area in 1957 from different parts of Ethiopia. The Swedish established a clinic; cured them after which they began new life as farmers thus the name Addis Hiwot. Today, Addis Hiwot represents one of the most successful centres of rehabilitation for people who had leprosy in Ethiopia. The remaining land was decided to be sold and the revenue obtained there was given to the Foundation; money to be utilized especially to support the activities of the St. Paul Hospital.⁴⁵⁶

As we have noted before, humanitarian activities such as giving food for the hungry, clothing the destitute, giving alms to the needy, and in general helping the aged and supporting people with disabilities have had a long history in Ethiopia and was a deeply seated norm in the cultural and religious practices of the Ethiopian people. In this respect, Haile Selassie was in deed an exemplary figure. He devoted a great deal of time, and invested significant amount of money, for the establishment of churches, for the translation of scriptures, establishment of homes and schools for the orphaned and the blind, and for the establishment of homes and clinics for the aged. Such sensitivity and concern for the welfare of the forsaken section of society culminated with the establishment, on May 9, 1955, of the Haile Selassie I Foundation, the brain child of the Emperor. He was one of the major financial sources of the Foundation; donated it urban lands and houses, rural lands, money in cash, and shares. On July 22, 1959, it was given a charter.⁴⁵⁷ The foundation was the largest organized social welfare organization in

⁴⁵⁶I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28. Informant: *Ato* Kābādā Fāsāsā. See also *Addis Zāmān*: Ginbot (May) 25, 1953 E.C. As for the amount and kind of donation that the Emperor made to the Haile Selassie I Foundation, refer to annexes 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71 and 72.

⁴⁵⁷The Genesis of Humanitarian Activities in Ethiopia, *Addis Zāmān*: Hamlé (July) 13, 1957 E.C. The Haile Selassie I Foundation had ten Trustees: Crown Prince Asfā Wāssān, the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church, Princes Tānaññā Wārq, the Archbishop of Harārgé, Prince Mākonnān (the Duke of Harārgé), the President of the Senate, the Minister of the Pen, the President of the Supreme Court of the Imperial Ethiopian

Ethiopia that enjoyed financial and moral support from the government, too. Half of the total revenue was the grants-in-aid which the Ministry of Finance gave to the Foundation.

The aims and objectives of the Foundation were noble and fundamentally humanitarian. They included:

- ▶ The amelioration of the conditions of life and the enhancement of the welfare of the Ethiopian people through medical attention, rehabilitation, care, protection, education, assistance, and encouragement of the sick, the permanently incapacitated, the orphans, the young or aged destitute and the infirm as well as the delinquents.
- ▶ The establishment, development and encouragement of, and assistance to institutions, and enterprises designed to promote the objectives, purposes, and uses set forth above.
- ▶ The promotion and assistance to education of the young and adults in Ethiopia, and
- ▶ The establishment, administration, and operation of schools, hospitals, clinics, and homes for orphans, the destitute youth or aged, and the permanently incapacitated.⁴⁵⁸

Humanitarian institutions and medical centres that came under the administration of the Foundation were: a) the Haile Selassie I Hospital (Addis Ababa), b) Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital (Addis Ababa), c) School and Vocational Centre for the Blind (Säbäta), d) the Egoalä Mawta Home for Children (Addis Ababa), e) the Bétä Salihom

Government, the General Administrator of St. Trinity Cathedral, and the President of the Haile Selassie I University; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

⁴⁵⁸Purposes of the Foundation; *Addis Zämän*: Hamlé (July) 20, 1957 E.C.

Home for the Aged (Däbrä Libanos), f) Léul *Ras* Mäkönnän Hospital (Harär), g) St. Mary Hospital (Axum), h) the St. Paul Hospital (Addis Ababa), and i) *Wäizäro* Bäläṭišačäw Abajobir Clinic: Mother and Child Care Centre (Addis Ababa).⁴⁵⁹

Now let us consider the property that the Emperor graciously donated to the Foundation to finance the activities of the above institutions towards achieving the already stated objectives. As we have noted above, the property included urban and rural lands, houses, money in cash, and shares. We have indicated some of these donations before but it is essential to make a somewhat comprehensive description of them by providing some detail.

- ▶ From February 1962 to January 1963 the Emperor donated properties of his own estimated to be Eth. 3, 107, 000 birr to different institutions managed under the Haile Selassie I Foundation. Out of this amount, Eth. 1, 107, 000 birr was invested in the expansion of hospitals and schools that were established to serve people with disabilities. The remaining Eth. 2, 000, 000 birr was known to be an estimate of lands generously granted to the Foundation.
- ▶ In 1963/64, the head quarter of the Marha Ewuran Dirijit was moved to Säbäta, an area located few kilometres away from Addis Ababa in the western direction. To this end the Emperor granted 100, 000 square meters of land which was managed by the *Bétä Rist* Office. In addition to the above generous land grant, the Emperor donated Eth. 600, 000 to help the construction of the Säbäta School for the Blind, an important learning centre of the disabled.

⁴⁵⁹*The Ethiopian Herald*; Vol. IV. No. 340, January 4, 1963 (Tahsas 26, 1955 E.C.).

- ▶ The other social institution that received generous donations was the St. Paul hospital established on June 23, 1947 to provide health service to the destitute coming from the 14 provinces. By the time the above donation was made, it owned 300 beds. A total of Eth. 75, 000 birr was expended to construct the out-patient section of the hospital. Out of this, the Emperor covered one third of the total budget needed to finish the building (Eth. 25, 000 birr). Moreover, the revenue that the Emperor got from Qoqa Palace which was rented out to Ghion Hotel was invested in the treatment of the destitute who received medical care at this hospital on non-fee-paying basis. The property was estimated to be Eth. 1, 000, 000 birr. The Emperor also granted 10, 000 square meters of land located near the Jubilee Palace to the hospital. The other medical centre established to mitigate the burden of the St. Paul Hospital in providing treatment to the destitute was the hospital established in Axum town. For the construction of this hospital the Emperor donated Eth. 300, 000 birr.
- ▶ To assist the Monastery of Lalibella in its effort to promote health and education to the monastic community, the Emperor donated a house in Addis Ababa from which Eth. 12, 000 birr was collected per year in the form of rentals.
- ▶ Cognizant of the sufferings that Ethiopian mothers encountered in times of delivery, and in view of the need to build special delivery and treatment rooms, Ghandi Memorial Hospital, which at first was a Child Care clinic, was up-graded and began rendering service to expectant mothers since 1964. To this end the Emperor donated Eth. 800, 000 birr.

- ▶ The land and the houses located few metres away from Sidist Kilo campus in the North West direction in the vicinity commonly known as Afinço Bär that formerly was the *Bétä Rist* Head Office were also donated to the Foundation.⁴⁶⁰
- ▶ In Addis Ababa, the Emperor donated several lands and houses to the Foundation. For example, he donated a house located along Haile Selassie Street from which the Foundation collected Eth. 70, 000 birr per year. Again, the Emperor granted 1, 500 square meters of land located along Haile Selassie Street; 10, 000 square meters near Ghion Hotel; 4, 015 square meters in the vicinity of the Old Air Port; 500 square metres near the Square of Abunä Péṭros in 9th *Bétä Rist* which the Foundation received it on September 30, 1962.; and the land where the Pastor Institute stood; 5, 000 square meters near the Jubilee Palace, and above 4, 000 square meters of land located along King George Avenue.⁴⁶¹
- ▶ In Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi, the Emperor granted 408 *gašas* of land to the Haile Selassie I Foundation. This information is obtained from a letter written on December 10, 1971 from *Ato* Abäbä Käbädä, General Administrator of the Foundation, to *Ato* Abäbä Räta, Minister in the Ministry of Agriculture. According to this letter, out of a total of 408 *gašas* of land, 250 *gašas* was sold,

⁴⁶⁰ *Addis Zämän*, 22nd Year, No. 635, Thursday Tir (January) 23, 1955 E.C.

⁴⁶¹ "Different Donations made by Janhoy for Humanitarian Activities," *Addis Zämän* Hamlé (July) 16, 1955 E.C. Refer also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 38, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 3. Abära Jumbäre was Vice Managing Director of the Haile Selassie I Foundation. At the inaugural ceremony of the Foundation he recalled what the Emperor did forty years back while he was heir to the throne when he established a Home for the Aged called *Bétä Sälihom* at the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos on Ginbot (May) 30, 1913 E.C., *Addis Zämän*: Ginbot (May) 27, 1952 E.C.

each *gaša* at the rate of Eth. 1, 000 birr, the income from which was decided to be invested in the St. Paul Hospital.⁴⁶²

In chapter two we have given information on the kind and location of property that the Emperor inherited from *Wäizäro* Tisämé Abayirga. According to a letter written in 1973 from the Foundation to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, some of these lands in Addis Ababa were sold out in 1966 to 121 tenants and the income from which Eth. 108, 663 birr was given to the Foundation. The Foundation also confirmed that it received lands located in *Däjač* Balča Säfar.⁴⁶³

As we have noted in chapter three, the *Bétä Rist* bought properties from the Custodian of Enemy Property. One of these properties was *Palazzo Reiter*, a modern building located adjacent to Ethiopia Hotel along Churchill Avenue in what was then called Adwa Square. Apart from latter up-grading activities, the *Bétä Rist* expended more than Eth. 400, 000 at the time it bought the building. After about a decade later, the Emperor generously donated this building to the Haile Selassie I Foundation. The Emperor's order was made known to the Foundation through the Ministry of the Pen on March 8, 1963. On March 19, 1963, the Foundation formally received the building from the *Bétä Rist*. At the time the building was consigned to the Foundation, there were 30 living rooms rented out mostly to foreign nationals from whom Eth. 4, 954 birr was collected. The class rooms were rented out for a minimum of Eth. 40 birr and a maximum of Eth.

⁴⁶²In this letter, *Ato* Abäbä Käbädä asked the Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural experts who would give advice on how to utilize the remaining 158 *gašas* in the best possible ways; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 0, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 11.

⁴⁶³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 88, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 38; Folder No., 29, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 19.

380 birr.⁴⁶⁴ The above information is also made public in a newspaper called *Yä Ityopiya Dimše* (Voice of Ethiopia) in its special issue of the 14th of March, 1963. According to information obtained in this special issue, the foundation received the building on March 12, 1963, and tells us that the *Bétä Rist* used to earn Eth. 80, 000 birr per year from this building in the form of rentals. This figure is somehow inflated because, according to my investigation, the *Bétä Rist* earned between Eth. 5, 000 birr and Eth. 6, 000 birr per month which is between Eth. 60, 000 birr and Eth. 72, 000 birr respectively per year. Some times, the amount was even decreased to the four thousands per month.

According to Abära Jämbäré, the one time Vice Managing Director of the Foundation, the Emperor graciously donated lands and houses located both in Addis Ababa and in the provinces as well as shares to the Foundation. The amount of lands together with different kinds of houses located thereon that the Emperor donated to the Foundation in Addis Ababa measured 189, 436 square meters. In addition to lands and houses, the Emperor donated 18, 230 shares that he owned in different companies.⁴⁶⁵

On July 8, 1963, the Haile Selassie I Prize Trust was established. Its objectives, as expressly stated in the revised Charter, were encouraging and promoting the activities and abilities of the Ethiopian people, particularly in the advancement of health and

⁴⁶⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 201, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 2. See also in *Yä Ityopiya Dimše* (Voice of Ethiopia) the 5th of Mägabit (March), 1955 E.C. Refer also *Addis Zämän*: 22nd Year, No. 670, Thursday Mägabit (March) 5, 1955 E.C. The tract of land and the building thereon were estimated to be Eth. 1, 000, 000 birr and were under the administration of the *Bétä Rist* of the Emperor; *Addis Zämän*: 23rd Year, No. 92 Miyazia (April) 8, 1956 E.C.

⁴⁶⁵Abära, pp. 107-114. In 1952 E.C., for example, the Emperor permitted the transfer of shares bought from the Coca Cola Company at Eth. 50, 000 birr to the Foundation; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 331, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 8. Sources also revealed that the Emperor donated 2000 shares from the Ethiopian Transportation Share Company, each bought at the rate of Eth. 15 birr, total at Eth. 30, 000 birr, to support *Ras Mäkonän Memorial Hospital*, Harär; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28. The Emperor also donated shares from different companies bought at Eth. 113, 206 birr; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

prosperity of the people, and the exercise of the fine and applied arts, as well as the strengthening of the spiritual and cultural bonds between the Ethiopian people and the peoples of the African continent and the whole world. During this historic moment, the Emperor recalled the splendid works of the Nobel Foundation that it has played in education and enlightenment of all mankind.

The Managing Director of the Prize Trust was Dr. Abäbä Ambačäw and was under the control of five Ethiopian Trustees namely *Şähañi Ti'ezaz* Aklilu Habtä Wäld, Chairman, *Ato* Yilma Däressa, Commander Eskindir Dästa, *Lij* Kasa Wäldä Mariam, and *Ato* Yäwänd Wässän Mängäša. The purposes of the Prize Trust were the granting of national and international awards, scholarships and fellowships, research funds, and the establishment of study centres and a library. Awards were given for people judged to have provided meritorious recent services to the welfare of the Ethiopian people in the areas of agriculture, industry, humanitarian activities, fine arts, educational activities, Amharic literature, Ethiopian Studies and research over African themes and consisted of the full monetary value, the diploma and the gold medal.⁴⁶⁶

For the fulfilment of the purposes of the Prize Trust, the Emperor donated the following personal properties and income that were under the administration of the *Bétä Rist*:

- ▶ 53 *gašas* of land located at Errär Gota in the region of Adal and Issa, in the province of Harärgé, together with all properties located thereon.

⁴⁶⁶The Haile Selassie I Prize Trust Revised Charter (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1969), pp. 4, 12, and 19. The annual budget of the Prize Trust was Eth. 400, 000 birr. Out of this, the Prize Trust allocated Eth. 160, 000 birr for different awards; *The Ethiopian Herald*: Vol. V, No. 698, Addis Ababa, Thursday, April 16, 1964 (Miyazia 8, 1956 E.C.).

- ▶ 100 *gašas* of land located at Urso in the same region and province, together with all properties located thereon.
- ▶ 60 *gašas* of land located in the region of Arba Gugu, in the province of Arsi, together with all properties located thereon.
- ▶ Shares in the *Societe Hoteliere du Tourisme* Share Company, representing the contribution in kind of 3, 382 square meters of land located near Haile Selassie I Square in Addis Ababa on which the Ethiopian Hotel has been built.
- ▶ An annual contribution of Eth. 400, 000 birr from his share of the income of the St. George Brewery.⁴⁶⁷

Equally interesting were the Emperor's concern to ordinary destitute people. The *Bétä Rist* Office set the *asrat* (tithe) revenue aside and expended it mostly for humanitarian activities which were donated to the destitute in the form of alms, medical fees, and *darägot*. In addition to such occasional gifts, there were 39 destitute people in Addis Ababa who received moneys ranging from Eth. 5 birr to 50 birr on monthly basis. These people were referred to as *Yä Asrat Qäläbtäñoč* (people whose up-keep was allocated from the tithe revenue or whose pension was allocated from the *asrat* revenue of the *Bétä Rist*). Some of these people were blind, others widows of patriots, and others very poor people who had no one to care of them. According to a pay roll document, the *Bétä Rist* used to pay a total of Eth. 995 birr and 20 cents for these people per month. The Office prepared a pay roll and they took the amount permitted from the Emperor by signing against their names.⁴⁶⁸ On January 24, 1975, the list of these people was submitted to the

⁴⁶⁷*Ibid*, p. 28.

⁴⁶⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ጊ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 15; also in Folder No. 334, File No. 4, Folder No. 3 File No. 12.

Ministry of National Resources Development. The Ministry used to pay them pension until June 14, 1975.⁴⁶⁹

The Emperor's concern and sensitivity for the welfare of destitute people received confirmation from beneficiaries. *Ato* Yohannis Giday, for example, was a blind man who came from Asmara to Addis Ababa in 1938, and was one of the 39 pensioned destitute who received Eth. 50 per month. In an application letter, written on June 15, 1953, addressed to *Ato* Täfära Wärq Kidänä Wäld, Private Secretary of the Emperor, the disabled wanted to visit his parents and asked the Emperor for extra money. A pertinent section of the letter that expressly tells us the kind of compassion and help that he received from the Emperor reads:

እርግጥ ነው ግርማዊነታቸው ከዚህ በፊት ያደረገልኝ ችግርታ እጅግ ታላቅ ነው። በዚህ አገር ዘመድ የሌለኝ አይነ ስውር መሆኔን ግርማዊነታቸው በርህራሄ አይን ተመልክቶልኝ ከቤተ ርስት በወር 50 ብር እንድቀበል ፈቀደልኝ። እኔም በተደረገልኝ ሰፊ ችርነት ለግርማዊነታቸው እድሜና ጤና እግዚያብሔርን እየለመንሁ ብዙ አይነ ስውርኞች ከሚኖሩት የተሻለ ኑሮ እኖራለሁ።

It is true that what His Majesty has done for me so far is so great. Looking that I am a blind man having no relative in this country [Addis Ababa]; His Majesty permitted me to receive Eth. 50 birr per month from the Bétä Rist. For such compassion that I received from His majesty, I am praying

⁴⁶⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 289, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7. According to a report prepared on Ginbot (May) 16, 1947 E.C. by *Ato* Zäläqä Nigatu, overseer of the *Ristä Gult* Office (a variant of the *Bétä Rist* Office in the province of Harärgé) of the province of Harärgé, and submitted to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, we learn that there were needy people who received pension from the revenue of the Emperor. The pensioned were two in number, one blind (male) and the other sick (female). In addition to this, Eth. 23, 000 birr was donated to the Church of Alāmaya, now Haromaya. Moreover, a *gaša* of land was given to a certain Wäldä Şadiq as *Madäria* in Wula Quni; and Eth. 500 birr to *Wäizäro* Kädiya in the form of *Darägot*; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28.

*to God health and long age for His Imperial Majesty because I am leading
life better than the living conditions of other blind people.*

What he said next, so as to win the extra money and get favour in the sight of the Emperor, is heart-breaking and conveys statements of promotion of the compassionate character of the Emperor. It reads:

ወዳገሬ ስመለስ ምንም አይነት ሰውር ብሆን ወላጆቼ እጅ እጅን ማየታቸው አይቀርም።
ያደረጉልኝን ሰፊ ችግራትና ልግስና ለዘመዶቻችን ላገሬ ሰዎች እንዳወሳ... ይርዱኝ።

*Though I am blind, my parents shall expect something from me.... Please
help me so that I shall tell to the people of my country [Asmāra] and to my
family the generous donations and the great compassion that you made to
me back home.⁴⁷⁰*

The Emperor's birthday celebration and memorial days of the royal family were not mere occasions of feasting, drinking, and mourning. They were rather crucial alms giving times to the needy. For example, by the time the Emperor's 66th birth day was celebrated in 1958, Eth. 10, 000 birr was expended from the tithe set aside to be given to the destitute.⁴⁷¹ Again when the 71st birthday was celebrated on July 17, 1963, Eth. 10, 000 birr was donated to the destitute.⁴⁷² According to a report of expenditure prepared for the year January 1958, Eth. 30, 000 birr was expended from the *Bētā Rist* to be given to the needy in the form of alms on the forty days commemoration of the death of Prince

⁴⁷⁰I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 280, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 12.

⁴⁷¹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 11, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 25.

⁴⁷²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 17.

Mäkönnän Haile Selassie.⁴⁷³ On February 7, 1962, Empress Mänän died. On March 9, 1962, the thirty days of her death was commemorated. At this occasion, Eth. 20, 000 birr was expended from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist*, and was given out to the destitute.⁴⁷⁴

As we have noted in chapter four, in 1977, the amount of money expended in the years from May 1949 to January 29, 1971, from the main treasury of the *Bétä Rist* for different kinds of administrative and other purposes was audited. Accordingly, Eth. 7, 908, 787 birr and 89 cents was expended. Out of this, Eth. 942, 733 birr and 46 cents (which is about 12 % of the total) was given to the destitute in the form of *darägot* (money given to needy people depending on their problems, but not on regular basis).⁴⁷⁵ Most of the time such kinds of donations were made to cover the medical fees of needy people who suffered from different kinds of health disorders.⁴⁷⁶

Land grants and donations of other properties to Churches and Monasteries by Ethiopian monarchs was an age-old practise. Like his predecessors, Emperor Haile Selassie I made generous donations from his private property to be invested in both the construction, up grading and reparation of Churches and Monasteries. Though it is difficult to exhaust all kinds of donations that the Emperor made in this respect, we shall provide the following

⁴⁷³I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 287, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 7.

⁴⁷⁴I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 20.

⁴⁷⁵I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 262, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 3; Folder No. 11, File No., 25.

⁴⁷⁶In a letter of order written on Miyazia (April) 10, 1951 E.C. from the Ministry of the Pen to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, for example, Eth. 474 birr was donated to a certain Wogari Gurméssa who suffered from cancer; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 46. See also Folder No. 286, File No., 16, and Folder No. 36, File No. 33. In 1948 E.C. Eth. 8, 036 birr and 10 cents was donated to destitute people who received medical treatments at Menilek II Hospital; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 90, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 19. Before 1938 E.C., *madäria* land, the amount of which is not clearly specified, was given to settlers who came from Hamasien (ለስደተኛ አማሴኞች); it would seem war veterans, located in Abomisa *qäbälé* of Jäju *wäräda* in Arba Gugu *awraja* of the province of Arsi. Latter the Hamassien settlers vacated their original settlement site, perhaps due to infertility of the land, and moved to Adula *qäbälé* where they received other *madäria* lands. In a letter of order written on Miyazia (April 9), 1938 E.C. from the Ministry of the Pen to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, a *gaša* of *madäria* land was granted to a certain destitute by the name Mamrie Qitaw Bäyänä to support his family from the lands vacated by Hamassien settlers; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 90, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 30.

few but important examples. According to a letter written on December 6, 1960, from the *Bétä Rist* Head Office to the State Bank of Ethiopia, for example, the Emperor donated Eth. 188, 168 birr and 76 cents to the Foundation, a sum utilized for the construction of the Church of Axum Ṣiyon. This amount was ordered to be debited from the Emperor's account deposited in the State Bank of Ethiopia under account number H-386. This money was deposited in the bank without interest and was decided to be expended to the purpose stated above under the signatures of Crown Prince Asfa Wässän, Princes Tänañña Wärq, and *Ras Bitwädäd* Mäkonnän Endalkaçäw in accordance with a prior order given through the Ministry of the Pen on July 28, 1960.⁴⁷⁷

As we have noted before, on June 7, 1921, the Emperor established a Home for the Aged known as *Bétä Salihom* at the famous Monastery of *Däbrä Libanos* which marked the real beginning of welfare activity. The other monastic centre that received donations from the Emperor was the monastery of *Lalibella*. To support its effort to promote health and education to the monastic community, the Emperor donated a ground plus one house in *Addis Ababa* from which the Monastery used to collect Eth. 12, 000 birr per year in the form of rentals. And it was on January 25, 1963 that the *Bétä Rist* consigned a house located near the Square of *Abunä Péṭros* to the Foundation. In this same location the Emperor also donated another house to support the Church of *Qulibé Gäbriel*.⁴⁷⁸

The other monastic centre of great social value among the Christian Ethiopian community that received donations from the Emperor was the Monastery of *Gisan Mariam*. Accordingly, Eth. 9, 000 birr was donated to it from the *Bétä Rist* treasury as per

⁴⁷⁷I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 1, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 13.

⁴⁷⁸I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 38, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 3. See also *Addis Zämän*: 22nd Year, Ṭir (January) 23, 1955 E.C.

a prior order given from the Ministry of the Pen on May 1, 1963. The money was handed over to *Balambaras* Mahtämä Selassie Wäldä Mäsqäl, an amount to be used for the construction of a fence and *Kuré* (water well).⁴⁷⁹

Haile Selassie also played a leading and pioneering role in the promotion of higher education in the country. One of the higher institutions established on, and by the personal properties of the Emperor is the Haile selassie I University (now Sidest Kilo Campus). The inauguration ceremony of the university which was held on December 18, 1961 opened a new chapter in the history of the expansion of higher education in the country. Ten years lapsed from this historic date since the idea of opening a university started. First, people opined and agreed to erect a statue for the Emperor and began raising money. This idea was later imparted to the Emperor. On hearing this, the Emperor intelligently opposed the idea as in the following: “ለኛ ሐውልት የሚሆነን ድንጋይ አይደለም። የኛ ሐውልት የትውልድ ጉልበት የሆነው ትምህርት ነው”። The text, literally translated, could read: “It is not stone which is to be a monument for us. Our monument is rather education which would give power to generations.” After this gold-plated statement, the money raised was decided to be invested in the establishment of a university. Since the inception of the idea, civil-servants contributed from their monthly salary. After a sizeable amount of money was collected, a Committee was established to select a site where the university was to be stood. Some of the areas first selected as the site for the establishment of the university were located in the vicinities of the Old Air Port and Bole *wäräda*.⁴⁸⁰ Finally, the Emperor donated the Gännätä Le’ul Palace, his ancestral which he inherited from his

⁴⁷⁹I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 47, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 6. See also Folder No. 181, File No. 24. In 1965 E.C., the Emperor also granted land (*Yä Gibzina Märét*) the extent of which is not specified) to support the church of Addis Aläm Mariam; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 88, ቀ. ቃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 22.

⁴⁸⁰*Addis Zämän*, 21st Year, No. 678, Tahisas (December) 18, 1959 E.C.

father, *Ras Mäkonnän*, together with the land where the palace stood for the establishment of the university. The granting statement which the Emperor put it in few laconic terms gives the impression that the Emperor was truly generous and worked hard for the prosperity of the country through the agency of the Ethiopian youth through education:

ተወዳጁ ሕዝባችን በስልጣኔ ከፍ እንዲልና አገራችንም እንድትበለጽግ እስካሁን ካደረግነው ጋር አሁን ደግሞ የሌሎች አገሮች ወጣቶች ከደረሱበት የእውቀት ደረጃ የኢትዮጵያም ወጣቶች ደርሰው አገራቸውን በበለጠ እንዲያገለግሉ በማሰብ በፈቃዳችን የቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ዩኒቨርሲቲ እንዲሰራበት ከአባታችን ከልዑል ራስ መኮንን የወረሰነውን የግል ርታችን የሆነውን ገነተ ልዑልን ከቦታው ጋር ርስት አድርገን ሰጥተናል።⁴⁸¹

Pursuant to the promotion of our beloved people in civilization and the prosperity of our country, in addition to what we have done so far, and now pursuant to the promotion of the educational level of the Ethiopian youth until they catch up with the level attained by the youth of other countries so that they would render service to their country more, we have donated, at our will, our rist the Gännätä Léul Palace together with the land where it stood, which we have inherited from our father Léul Ras Mäkonnän, for the establishment of the Haile Selassie I University.

The Emperor officially donated the property on April 25, 1960.

The other institution that received generous land grant from the Emperor was the Abadina Police College. One of the Emperor's lands in Addis Ababa where he made gracious land grants to different spectrum of society and for different institutions, as we

⁴⁸¹ *Addis Zämän*: 21st Year, No. 295, Tahisas (December) 7, 1954 E.C.

have noted in chapter six, was located in the vicinity of Prince Şahay Memorial Hospital (now Ṭor Hailoç Hospital). In a letter of order written on March 12, 1968, from the Ministry of the Pen, the Emperor granted land and house located in this area to the college which is estimated to be Eth. 354, 486 birr and 99 cents.

Ethiopia has had Monasteries in the holy city of Jerusalem. These Monasteries bought a cemetery that had to be fenced. In a letter of order written on June 12, 1960 from the Ministry of the Pen to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, £ 1, 270 (Eth. 8, 979 birr and 95 cents, a pound sterling exchanged at the rate of Eth. 7 birr) was donated to the Monasteries, an amount remitted to *Abunä Filipos*, and was utilized for fencing the cemetery.⁴⁸²

The Emperor's concern for people with different forms of life challenges has also external dimension. In 1924 Täfäri made a historic tour to Europe where he was able to see modern system of administration.⁴⁸³ In this same year, he came back to Ethiopia through Jerusalem where he met 40 orphaned Armenians. On realizing their desperate situation, he made compassion for them and had them adopted, brought them to Ethiopia in 1924, and became their "father". According to an informant, the children gleaned some skills in Music and entered into an agreement with the Emperor to train Ethiopians on how to play musical instruments. On finishing their contracts, half of them returned to

⁴⁸²I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 315, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 15. Refer to also I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 22, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 35. Yä Ityopia Hizib Yä Hibrät Sira Mahbär (Ethiopian National Corporation), about which we do not know much, was established in the post liberation period, perhaps in the 1930s, with initial capital of Eth. 1, 000, 000 birr. According to a letter written on Tiqimt (October) 15, 1939 E.C. from the Corporation to the *Bétä Rist* Head Office, the latter used to collect rentals (Eth. 1, 200 birr) for a house that the Corporation rented from the *Bétä Rist* located near the Square of Anunä Péṭros, and along the Patriots' Avenue (in 8th and 9th *Bétä Rists*). On Nähasé (August) 18, 1942 E.C., the Emperor donated this house which had 12 rooms to the Corporation; I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 291, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 31, and 35.

⁴⁸³Bahru, p. 131.

their country while the remaining half decided to live in Ethiopia. One of these is even said to have died fighting against the Italians during the period of occupation.⁴⁸⁴

From 1936 to 1941, Ethiopia came under Italian Fascist regime. During this time the Emperor and his family lived in Bath, north-west London, in exile. The name of the villa where they spent those difficult years was Fairfield. It consisted of 25 rooms and measured one hectare. After the royal family returned to Ethiopia following the evacuation of the Italians, the villa was empty for a brief period of time. Later with the permission of the Emperor, thirty orphaned children spent time there for a period which is not clearly mentioned. Not long before, the orphaned vacated the villa after which Ethiopian students in London were allowed to live in the villa for some unspecified years. In 1954, the Emperor happened again in the city of Bath and made generous donations to the city administration and to its residents. In a royal banquet prepared in the villa, the Emperor decorated the mayor and the secretary of the city with the medal of Menilek II. Finally, in 1958, the Emperor generously donated the villa to the municipal administration to be used as a Home for the Aged. In May 1959, the Ethiopian ambassador in England officially consigned the villa to W.H. Galep, mayor of the city of Bath, and Jared Dickson, secretary. This donation was made in return for the warm welcome and respect that the residents of the city rendered to the royal family. In confirmation of the donation, there is an engraving, written both in English and Amharic, posted on the wall of the building which reads:

ግርማዊ ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ንጉሥ ነገስት ዘኢትዮጵያ በጠላት ከተወረረቸው ከሚወዷት
አገራቸው ከኢትዮጵያ ተሰድደው እ:ኤ:አ: ከ1936 እስከ 1941 ዓ:ም ድረስ በባዝ ከተማ

⁴⁸⁴Informant: Vertikes Nalvandian.

በሚገኘው በዚህ ቪላ ውስጥ ኖረዋል። በስደቱ ወቅት ያሳለፉትን ጊዜ በማስታወስና የባዝ ከተማ ነዋሪዎችንም የጋለ አክብሮት የተሞላበት የእንግዳ አቀባበል ትህትና በማሰብ ግርማዊነታቸው የፌርፊልድን ቪላ ለሽማግሌዎች መኖሪያ እንዲሆን ለባዝ ከተማ ማዘጋጃ ቤት ሰጥተዋል።⁴⁸⁵

His Majesty Haile Selassie I, king of kings of Ethiopia, lived in this villa located in the city of Bath from 1936 to 1941 after he left his beloved country which was then conquered by the enemy. Recalling the warm welcome, hospitality, respect and modesty that the residents of the city showed, His Majesty donated the Fairfield villa to the Municipality Office of the city of Bath to be Home for the Aged.

The above account seems funny, but impressive for an exiled monarch of a poor country made donations to the aged who were citizens of one of the biggest economy of the world, England. But, the fact remains that, the mayor and his secretary never despised the donation. The following four tables give us a summary of the amount and kind of property generously donated to social and humanitarian institutions and for the destitute by the Emperor from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist*. In 1955, the 25th anniversary of the Emperor's coronation (Silver Jubilee) was celebrated. Before the arrival of the day, the *Bétä Rist* Head Office prepared and submitted a report of donations that the Emperor made from 1949 to 1955 as shown in the table below.

⁴⁸⁵ *Addis Zämän*, 24th Year, No. 20, Friday ጥገ (January) 14, 1957 E.C. Kapuscinski interviewed Haile Selassie courtiers and turned their views straight into a book by which he pictured the monarch as a greedy person who placed the blame on *Aba Hanna* whom the Emperor held in the highest confidence. He also pictured the Emperor as one who believed in reform but disliked reforms made by others because he sought to keep benevolence to himself, see for example Kapuscinski, pp. 32-34 and 44.

Table 18: - Donations that the Emperor made from 1949 to 1955.

No.	Reason	Amount in Eth. Birr
1	For the construction of Churches	27, 443. 50
2	Assistance for Hospitals	35, 000
3	Medical expenses for the destitute	9, 106. 10
4	School fees for destitute children	6, 168. 39
5	Alms given for the needy at different times	65, 896
6	For the construction of schools	2, 000
7	Money paid for the needy on monthly and yearly basis	21, 156.66
8	<i>Darägot</i> (Money given once) for the needy	2, 200
9	Compensation for two people killed	1, 000
	Total	169, 970. 65

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28.

Table 19: - Kind and amount of donations that the Emperor made from the treasury of the *Ristä Gult* Office of the province of Harärgé from 1953 to 1955.

No.	Reason	Amount in Eth. Birr
1	For needy blind people paid per month	10, 080
2	For the construction of Churches	23, 000
3	Money given to the destitute	500
	Total	33, 580

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28.

In addition to the above sum, the Emperor gave 3, 000 *daula* (a *daula* on average measuring 100 kilograms) grain to people who came from Mänz, in north Šäwa, and settled in the town of Jigjiga.

Table 20: - Amount and type of property generously given to humanitarian and other social institutions and the estimated price in Eth. Birr, information compiled on the 11st of November, 1963.

No	Location(<i>Awraja</i>)	Grantees	Amount of land	Estimate in Eth. Birr.
1	Addis Aläm	Aläqa Kidanä Wäld School	60, 000 Sq. Metres	10, 000
2	Däbrä Birhan	Täfäri Mäkönnän School	41. 50 <i>gašas</i>	41, 500
3	Käffa	Märha Euran School	500 <i>gašas</i>	500, 000
4	In different <i>awrajas</i>	Ministry of Education	332 <i>gašas</i>	332, 000
5	Addis Ababa	Ministry of Education	800, 000 sq. Metres	4, 000, 000
6	Addis Aläm	Monastery of Däbrä Qidus	2. 50 <i>gašas</i>	37, 500
7	Däbrä Birhan	Gäbrä Mänfäs Qidus Church	1 <i>gašas</i>	4, 000
8	Sälalé	Bétä Sälihom (Home for the Aged)	19. 50 <i>gašas</i>	195, 000
9	Nazrét (Ziquala)	Monastery of Ziquala	1 <i>gašas</i>	1, 000
10	Addis Ababa (Arada)	Monastery of Asäbot	House with 20 rooms	300, 000
11	Arsi Province	St. Trinity Clergy	30 <i>gašas</i>	15, 000
12	Same	Çäké Mikael Clergy	9 <i>gašas</i>	9, 000
13	Same	Soti Mikael Church	3 <i>gašas</i>	3, 000
14	Addis Ababa	Miskaé Hizunan Church	Shares	15, 000
15	Käffa	Monastery of Andäraça	50 <i>gašas</i>	15, 000
16	Däbrä Birhan	Monastery of Abiyä	1 <i>gašas</i>	10, 000
17	Addis Ababa (Rufa'él)	Princes Şähay M. Hospital	14, 250 Sq. Metres	14, 250
18	Same (Old Air Port)	Same	100, 000 Sq. Metres	420, 000
19	Same (Yäkatit 12)	Haile Selassie I Hospital	52, 183 sq. Metres	521, 830
20	Same	Birhan Ina Sälam Printers	Printing Machinerics	31, 527 and 40 cents

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28. See also Abära, pp. 107-114.

As we can see from the above table, the properties were located both in rural and urban areas, and most of which are lands, some houses, shares and machineries. The house that was given to the monastery of Asäbot incorporated 20 rooms, and those given to Princes Şähay Memorial Hospital were 6 in number having a total of 59 rooms. Formerly the 800, 000 square metres of land given to the Ministry of Education was the property of *Nigus Wäldä Giyorgis* and that of *Däjäč Balča*. The total amount of *gaša* land given to the above institutions measured 990.5 plus 1, 026, 433 square metres and were estimated to be Eth. 6, 475, 607 birr and 40 cents.

Considerable amount of money expended from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* was also given to cover school fees of the children of the destitute; *Qäläb* (small amount of money) for the needy paid on monthly basis; for the construction of orphanage school; ransom for people thrown into prison due to lack of money; medical expenses for the poor; alms given to the destitute; and that given to support different social institutions. The major beneficiary of the Emperor's generous land grants and other donations was the Haile Selassie I Foundation.

Table 21: - Table showing a summary of the amount of money expended from the treasury of the *Bétä Rist* for the above purposes.

No.	Reason	Amount in Eth. Birr
1	Money given to the Haile Selassie I Foundation	1, 111, 033. 40
2	School fees paid for children who had no helpers	2, 200
3	<i>Qäläb</i> for the destitute paid per month	618, 405
4	Construction of Orphanage School	192, 950. 50
5	Money expended to ransom imprisoned poor people	2, 075
6	For the construction of Churches and Monasteries	678, 124. 69
7	Fees paid for medical treatments of the destitute	4, 490. 66
8	Alms given to the poor or needy	209, 840
9	Money given to support Associations	37, 647.70
	Total	2, 856, 766. 65

Source: I.E.S., W.T.M.R.C., Folder No., 197, ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. ቤ., File No., 28.

Chapter Eight: - Conclusion

Haile Selassie I was a career political figure who lived in and ruled Ethiopia in a very dynamic period. Before and after he assumed power as King of Kings of Ethiopia in 1930 major developments of historical significance came about in the country. Power struggle between the forces of “tradition” and “progress”, the process of centralization of administration and of the economy which the monarch had taken up after the period of Italian occupation was over in earnest, the period of occupation itself, the internal and external dimension of the patriotic struggle, the expulsion of the Italians, the British and the American decades, the aborted *coup dé'tat* and its aftermath, peasant rebellions, the famine, the Ethiopian Students' Movement and other movements that rocked the monarchy from different epic centres and the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolution that brought an end to the regime of Haile Selassie were the most readily recognizable historical developments that were unfolded in the country before and after 1941. So, it is no wonder that the period attracted the attention of both indigineous and foreign scholars as well as professional and non-professional writers from all walks of life. Nevertheless, almost all scholars, indigenou and foreign, including Haile Selassie himself in his autobiography, focused on his political career to such an extent that they left out other aspects of his life, above all his property. His political grip and success was intertwined with deep economic and social concerns. He was an accomplished businessman and a socially benevolent person. Thus, a comprehensive study of his time and of his career would be incomplete without having an idea of his property and wealth and how he utilized it.

By drawing heavily on archival materials (more than 90%) that were collected mainly from the Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Research Centre of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies this thesis has attempted to fill some of these gaps in the scholarly studies by examining the various efforts that the monarch made to manage and enlarge his property through a property administration institution called the *Bétä Rist*.

In the immediate aftermath of the restoration of the monarchy in 1941, Haile Selassie established a property administration institution called the *Bétä Rist*. In fact, much earlier than that the sovereign had established an institution known as *Guada Bét* for the administration of his property. But *Bétä Rist* represented a well organized and centrally directed property management institution that followed a strict financial accounting system. Put succinctly, the Office was established to manage the already existing property, restoring lost properties and privileges from the period of occupation, and to enlarge the property of the monarch through investment mainly in agriculture, development of real estates and in the manufacturing sector.

In pre-modern Ethiopia there was no clear line of distinction between state domain and the private domain of Ethiopian sovereigns. Was there a distinction in Ethiopian law between the two? If the answer is yes, when did the tradition of separating private and state property start? Any attempt to analyze the above issue impels one to ask this question: What is the evidence in historic Ethiopia for a certain property, for example land, to be the property of the sovereign? It is not easy to answer this question right up to the time of Menilek II. In the era of Haile Selassie, however, there was a move to separate the two types of property. For example, the right of a person to own private property is legalized both in the Civil Code of the Imperial Ethiopian Government and in

the 1955 revised constitution of Ethiopia. In addition to this, Haile Selassie made it clear on several occasions that there was a distinction between his own property and that of the state.

When we look at landed property, the main confusion centers on land that belong to the Crown and land that belong to the sovereign personally. While these lands were different in terms of their use, some scholars have argued that the income from Crown lands went to Haile Selassie personally for his own use. This must, however, be corrected. The income from Crown lands was rather used for the up-keep of the palace or used for sustaining government activities. Therefore, the assumption that an income that went personally to the Emperor and that same income used to meet the needs of the court is rather erroneous. It is clear that the Emperor owned extensive *rist* and *rist gult* lands located in the provinces. But Crown lands such as *Gannä Gäb* or *Mad Bét*, and *Wärrä Gänu* lands were not the private lands of the Emperor. Be that as it may, one can argue, with a fair degree of confidence, that it was Emperor Haile Selassie who made the first practical and legal attempt to clearly distinguish between the two - state and private domain. Through various legislations and pronouncements, the Emperor legalized private property. The several tax receipts prepared by the Ministry of Finance of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia in the name of Emperor Haile Selassie also meant that there was distinction between the two, too. This clearly indicates that the Emperor used to pay tax for the government and this can be regarded as hard evidence for the presence of private properties of the sovereign.

In what ways did the Emperor acquire property is the next question that this thesis answered. As far as I have established, there were at least six mechanisms of acquiring

property- inheritance, bequeathment, purchase, land grant, confiscation, land measurement and litigation. The Emperor acquired a huge amount of landed property from his father, *Ras Mäkonnän*, and from other members of the Šäwan ruling family and aristocracy. He also acquired significant amount of landed and other properties from the whole strata of society. Chief among these were the local *balabats*. The Emperor also purchased different kinds of property from individuals, from state domain and from the Custodian of Enemy property. Unsuccessful intrigues against the heir apparent were also excellent opportunities to appropriate the properties of people involved in those intrigues. Several *gašas* of lands from the state domain were also given to the Emperor. Sometimes, the *Bétä Rist* restored lost properties and privileges through litigation.

The different ways of acquiring property offer a fabulous opportunity to decipher how power and property were woven together in the career of Emperor Haile Selassie. This is reflected under different circumstances. If we ask why did the local *balabats* bequeath their property to the heir apparent and later to the monarch? The obvious answer is that they sought to secure two things- the *balabatnät* and the concomitant economic privileges that they formerly enjoyed. By the same token, if we ask why did the aged and the widowed bequeath their property? The answer is this: they sought protection and pension. The intertwined nature of power and property is also reflected in the different land grants that the state made to the sovereign. Provincial and *awraja* level administrators were ordered to carefully select lands which were fertile and to quickly hand over to respective overseers. This situation is also reflected in the amount of price fixed to lands that were sold to the Emperor from state domain. Lands were sold to the monarch at a relatively lower price. The fact that the Emperor repeatedly used the Ministry of the Pen as a

conduct between him and his *Bétä Rist* and the fact that some provincial governors were “kindly asked” to assist when they faced different management problems and at times inspect them meant that the Emperor used his power to use the state system in the management of his property. In some instances, provincial governors were even given full responsibility to direct some activities in the absence of overseers of the *Bétä Rist*. Sometimes, the initiative came from the provincial rulers themselves for opportunistic reasons.

The properties that were administered by the *Bétä Rist* were found in almost all the provinces and in Addis Ababa. The main property of the Emperor in the rural areas of the provinces was land. In urban areas, the monarch owned houses of different types from which he collected significant amount of money in the form of rentals. In addition to this, the Emperor was one of the largest share holders in many enterprises that were established before and after the period of occupation.

When we see the structure of the *Bétä Rist* it had its head office at Addis Ababa and branch offices in the provinces. Head Office workers including the Managing Directors were directly appointed by the sovereign. In addition to “professional competence” appointment presupposes loyalty. Men who possessed long experiences in business and in the administration of rural and urban lands were carefully recruited from government offices and were appointed at the Head Office. Out of the four Managing Directors that were appointed after 1941, for example, three of them were the title of *nägadras*. Overseers who were appointed in the provinces were recruited by the Managing Directors. They were like *wäräda mislänés* and were responsible to *awraja* and provincial level administrators and to that of the *wänbäroč* (the judges). They were above

the local *balabats* and the *çiqa šums* and were the local representatives of the monarch in their respective domains.

The inner workings of the *Bétä Rist* witnessed a remarkable transition from the traditional form of property administration to the modern capitalist oriented form of property management system. One manifestation of modernity is that money was widely used. Significant amount of money was allocated to run partially mechanized farming activities, expansion of real estates developments and to buy shares. All Head Office workers and some provincial overseers were salaried. Daily workers were paid wages in cash on daily basis. Another marker of modernity seen is that workers were motivated with reasonable salary increments.

Throughout its existence the Office faced different internal and external challenges. The internal challenges were mainly created by corrupt overseers assisted by some *awraja* and *wäräda* level state administrators. Externally, in addition to the problemes that were created by some *awraja* and *wäräda* level state administrators, the Office faced challenges from British officials and Italian residents in Addis Ababa and from local *balabats* in some provinces. In general, apart from some of the challenges that were created by the above agents the management system was a very smoothly functioning institution. With the exception of some corrupt overseers, workers who were appointed both at the Head Office and in the provinces were loyal. Whenever the Office faced problems, it took appropriate measures. In general, as long as workers admitted their wrongs and vowed not to repeat mistakes, the management system was not harsh; it was slow to take actions and lenient to give pardon.

Another crucial theme that this study examined in connection with the *Bétä Rist* is land grant and sale. As far as I established this issue, Haile Selassie was a generous land giver to the whole strata of society. However, the amount of land that he granted considerably decreased as one moves from his sons and other members of the royal family to ordinary people including tenants. In the 1960s, the *Bétä Rist* was also preoccupied with land sale practices from which the Emperor got significant amount of money.

In spite of the fact that the political career of Haile Selassie saw many ups and downs, the concern and sensitivity that he showed for the rehabilitation and care of the aged and the orphaned, for the blind and the outcasts was highly impressive. He financed the construction of Homes, schools, and vocational centers for the aged, orphaned and blind as well as health centers that gave services especially to the destitute to the extent that his resources allowed him. Besides, he made generous donations both in kind and in cash to welfare institutions that were established under his direction.

Through the agency of the *Bétä Rist*, the monarch also showed some concern and sensitivity towards his urban and rural tenants. Though he failed to introduce tenancy legislations that would improve the conditions of tenants at the national level, he took several measures so as to protect the rights and interests of his own tenants. His concern to his tenants ranges from protecting their rights to granting lands that was geared towards making them economically more secured. As compared with the case with tenants under other landlords, share-cropping was not exploitative because the main, if not the sole, sharecropping arrangement was *irbo*. Eviction and corvee labour were strictly prohibited. Corrupt overseers and *wäräda* level state administrators who grieved the tenants of the king under several pretexts were repeatedly castigated by the Head Office

in the presence of tenants and at worst they were threatened with dismissal from their work. This was done after the problem was timely and rigorously investigated by Committees formed for that purpose. Interestingly enough tenants themselves sought to remain as tenants of the king indicating how much the management system was very sensitive to address their problems.

List of Informants

Name	Age	Place of interview	Date of Interview	Remark
Abära Moltot	80	Addis Ababa	19/03/2006 E. C.	Vice minister in the Ministry of Development of Public Living during the imperial system. Now he is member of the Committee for Arbitration and Development of the Patriots Association.
Fanta Šanga	79	Addis Ababa	3/07/2006 E.C.	Wäräda treasurer in the province of Illubabur.
Gétačaw M/Silassie	85	Addis Ababa	19/03/2006 E. C.	An engineer by profession but he helped more in informing me one key informant who served in the Bétä Rist.
Käbäda Fäsässä	78	Town of Abo Missa	24/12/2006 E.C.	First Bétä Rist Šum (overseer) of Mäqé wäräda from 1950 to 1952 E.C. later promoted and became Bétä Rist Sum of Arba Gugu awraja of the province of Arsi until 1968 E.C.
<i>Lij</i> Daniel Jote Masfin		Office of the Patriots	10/03/2006 E.C.	Son of Ras Mäsfin Siläš who is serving in the Patriots' Association at different capacities.
Sahle Ayu (<i>Qäññač</i>)		Addis Ababa	20/03/2006 E.C.	He served in the Office of the Private Secretary of Crown Prince Asfa Wässän; Private Secretary of Prince Ras Asratä Kasa and Lieutenant general Mar'ed Mängäša; vice mayor of the town of Gondär; one who served in the Ministry of National Defence during the tenure of Ras Abäbä Arägay; and Governor of different awrajas mainly in the province of Simén and Bägémdir.
Seyium Täka	57	Addis Ababa	11/11/2006 E.C.	Caretaker of the Catholic Graveyard in Gäfärssa wäräda.
Solomon Dämissie	67	Addis Ababa	29/09/2006 E.C.	Car broker and seller in front of Palazzo Reiter bldg.
Vertikes Nalvandian	64	Addis Ababa	1/11/2006 E.C.	President of the Armenian Community.
Zägäyä Säifu	81	24/3/2006 E.C.	Addis Ababa	One who served in the Bétä Rist as a clerk.

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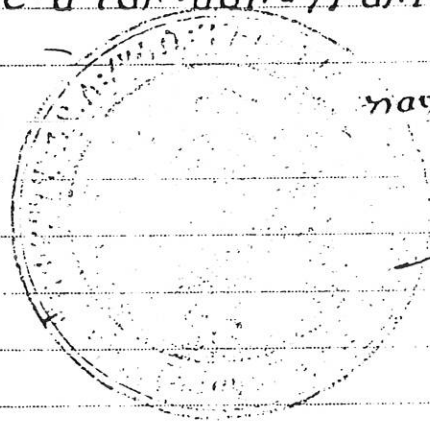
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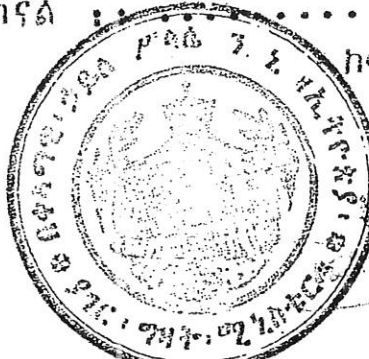
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ከአገልግሎት ገዢ የወሰዱ ስነ-ምግብ ጋር ::
ለወይም ትሰጡ አባይ ገንዘብ
ከአገልግሎት ገዢ የወሰዱ ስነ-ምግብ ጋር ::

አዲስ አበባ ::

13--

ደፋ አገድ ጋሽ መረት ፣ በይጋራ /49/ አደባ ዘጠኝ /ጋሽ መረት ከኮርማን ከጋሽ ሽው አገድ ስምተኛውን አና አገድ ቡርቀነት ዌቃር ፣ አዲስ አበባ የከተማቦታ የሆነ ልጁ ደጃጊጃጃ ደሴታ ብሩ ሠጥቶ በአጁ ስለሚገኘ ፣ አስከ ሕይወቱ ድረስ አኒ ተ ጠቅሞበት ፣ ከሕይወቱ ፍጻሜ በኋላ ከላይ አገደገለጽኮት ለገርጣዊ ቀጥጣዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ በተደላደለ አዕምርዮና በፈቃዱ ወደጁ ሠጥቻቸዋለሁ ።።

ከዚህ በቀር ልጁ ደጃጊጃጃ ደሴታ ብሩ ለኒ ከሠጠው አርሥት ውሥጥ ተረ ስተና ተዘገገተ ሰይጃፍ ወይም ሰልረከበው የቀረ ቢገኝ በዚህ ውርስ መሠረት የገ ሮጣዊ ቀጥጣዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ሮሥት አየተከታተለ ለወሰዱ ይኸላል ።።

ይህ የውርስና የሥጦታ ውል ለዘላለም ጸንቶ ይኖራል ፣ በግንግ ግንግግ ለፈርስ አይኸልም ።። .

ይህ የውርስ ሥጦታና ውል በጣህተኞና የውል ተመልካች በአደረገሁት/የውህ
xxxxx በነገረፈጁ በአቶ ወርቀ ልጣጌ ፊርማ የጸና ነው ።።

ይህ ውል በአኔት ኮፎ በትክክል ተጠቅጦ ተፈርቆበት ፣ ከገደኛው በ ከቡር አገር ገዛት ሚኒስቴር ፣ ሁለተኛው በከቡር የጽሕፈት ሚኒስቴር ።። ስለተኛው በቀጥጣዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ሮሥት ጽሕፈት ቤት ።። አፈተኛው በአኒ በአውራጃ አጅ ይገኛል ።።

አኔግ ወርቀ ልጣጌ ከዚህ በላይ የተጻፈውን የርሥት ሥጦታ ውል ወይ ዘር ትሰሜ አባ ይርጋ ሲፈርጡ ነገረፈኛቸው በመሆኔ ስለወይዘር ትሰሜ አባይርጋ የውል ተመልካች ሆኖ ውሉ የጸና ይሆን ዘገድ ፈርግዋለሁ ።።

ነገረፈኛቸው ለመሆኔ በከፍተኛው ፍርድ ቤት መሰከረግ 23ቀን 45ዓ.ግ። በቀጥር 65/45 በግ / ፈጅስትፈር የተፈረመ አቅርቦ አሳይቻለሁ ።።

አኔግ ጥበቡ አብርሃም ከዚህ በላይ በተጻፈው ውል መሠረት ስለቀጣዩ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ሮሥት ጽሕፈት ቤት ሆኖ ውርሱን በመቀበል ከወይዘር ትሰሜ አባይ ርጋ ጋር ተፈረግዋለሁ ።።

የውህጃጃ ጣህተግ የአውራጃ ውል ተመልካች ፊርማ የሥጦታውን ውል ተቀባይ፡፡
ሆርቶ
ገበየሁ



የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።
የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።
የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።
የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።

የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።
የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።
የውል ተመልካች ፊርማ ።።

14

መስከረም 30/1539.ዓ.፡

10/311

የ ር ሥ ት ሥ ሞ ታ ው ል ፡ ፡

እኔ ወይዘሮ ትሰጫ አባይርጋ በኩሮ የአገር ገዛት ጫኒሰቴ ኮርሰትና ውል
ጥናት ለፈተ ቤት ተርቢ ስለ እኔ ሆኖ ውል የሚያደናልኝ የውል ተወልካኝ ነገረረጃን
አቶ ወርቀ ልመገህን ይዞ ከዚህ የጫኒተላውን የርሥት ሥሞታ ጣገጦ ሰደስገድደኝ ፈቀጂ
በሙሉ አእምሮዬ ሆኜ ፈርጫለሁ ፡ ፡

እኔ እረቤ ያፈረሁትንና ከአባቴና ከዘመዶቼ የደረሰኝ እርሥት ፡ ፡

- 1- በየረርና ከረዩ አውራጃ ገዛት ሞቼ ወረዳ ለጫ ከአክሰቲ ከወይዘሮ ልክ የለሽ
የሸዋ ለል የደረሰኝን ስድስት ጋሻ ወልከኝነት ሸገኩራ ገጣሽ ጋሻ ፡ ፡
- 2- በተገለትና በልጋ አውራጃ ገዛት በአገባብር ወረዳ ልዩ ስሙ ኩራ በተባለው ሥ
ፍራ አገድ ጋሻ ፡ ፡
- 3- ገነት ወረዳ የጅቹ አጅርሣ ሸባ አገድ ጋሻ ገባር አዩ በአዳ በርጋ በዘውዲ አሰፉ
ወልከኝነት አገድ ጋሻ ፡ ፡
- 4- አቃቂ በሰቃ ከተሾመ ባሕረ የጭካፈላው ኮርጣን ፡ ፡
- 5- አቃቂ አሱባራ ሰስት ኮርጣን ፡ ፡
- 6- ጨለባ ኮርጣን
- 7- ወረወሉ አውራጃ ጃሣጣ አገድ ጋሻ ፡
- 8- ሰረር ቤቃ አገድ ጋሻ
- 9- ገር ጉተ አገድ ጋሻ
- 10- ደቡብ አገድ ጋሻ
- 11- አደስ አበባ ከተማ በደብል ግንብ ከነጋድራስ ዘውገ ወረሾች የገዛሁትንና በደ
ጃገጣኝ ገንጫ ወረር ከፊታውረሪ አበበ ወረሾች የገዛሁትን ቦታ ፣ አገዳሙ ከዚህ
በቀር ሰይጃዩ የተዘነጋ ከአባትም ከአናትም ወይም ከዘመዶቼ በውርስ ወይም የገዛሁት
ቢኖር ከዚህ በላይ ከአገድ አስከ 11 ተራ ቀጥሮ የተዳረውን ለረቤ አስቀርቼ ከልጄ
ከደጃገጣኝ ደስቲ ብሩ በስሞታ ያገኘሁትን የከተማ ቦታና የውዳ አገር እርሥት ከዚህ
ቀጥሎ በፍርድ ቤቱ የተዳረውን ለገርጣዩ ጃገህይ ለቀዳጣዩ ያይሉ ሥላሴ በውርስ ሰጥቻለሁ ፡ ፡



ሆር ታ
0/0

570:747:220ታ
የርሰትና:የውል
መዝገብ:ቤት:

13.2.21

Handwritten signatures and initials.



የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት

የገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት

- 1/ የባለቤቱ ስም ግርማዊ ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ
- 2/ መሬት የሚገኝበት ወረዳ ማዘጋጀት ተባብሮ አንድ ዓመት ለማግኘት
- 3/ የመሬት ዓይነት (ርስተ ጉልት ወይም ሲቦ) ከገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት
- 4/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው አሁን በአገር የሚገኘው መሬት ለክፍያ ጋዥ መሆኑ
- 5/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው በግብር ለሌላ የተከለሰ መሬት ለክፍያ ጋዥ መሆኑ
- 6/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው ከተከለሰ ስምዥ ይቀበል የሚሰረው ግብር ለክፍያ ጋዥ መሆኑ
- 7/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው ቀደም ለመገንጠል የሚገባው በየደንብ ስምዥ አንድ ዓመት

M.F.R.A.B.A.S.V.M.

- 8/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን
 - 9/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን
 - 10/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው የተገኘው የምስክር መገንባት ቁጥር የሚገኝበት
 - 11/ መገንባት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን የተመሰከረበት/የፊ-ቁጥር ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን
- አዲስ አበባ
- የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

የህዝብ ግብር ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን



የተገባው ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

የተገባው ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

(1) የመሬት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

የገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

የተገባው ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን



የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት

የገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት ማዘጋጀት

- 1/ የባለቤቱ ስም ግርማዊ ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ
- 2/ መሬት የሚገኝበት ወረዳ ማዘጋጀት ተባብሮ አንድ ዓመት ለማግኘት
- 3/ የመሬት ዓይነት (ርስተ ጉልት ወይም ሲቦ) ከገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት
- 4/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው አሁን በአገር የሚገኘው መሬት ለክፍያ ጋዥ መሆኑ
- 5/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው በግብር ለሌላ የተከለሰ መሬት ለክፍያ ጋዥ መሆኑ
- 6/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው ከተከለሰ ስምዥ ይቀበል የሚሰረው ግብር ለክፍያ ጋዥ መሆኑ
- 7/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው ቀደም ለመገንጠል የሚገባው በየደንብ ስምዥ አንድ ዓመት

- 8/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን
 - 9/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን
 - 10/ ባለርስተ ጉልት ወይም ባለሲቦው የተገኘው የምስክር መገንባት ቁጥር የሚገኝበት
 - 11/ መገንባት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን የተመሰከረበት/የፊ-ቁጥር ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን
- አዲስ አበባ
- የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

የህዝብ ግብር ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

የተከለሰበት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን



የተገባው ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

ገንዘብ ማዘጋጀት

የተገባው ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

(1) የመሬት ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን ስምዥ ሲቦ ሲሆን

ቅጠል ገጽ ፩

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የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱

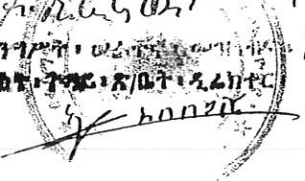
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የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱

ዚህ ሰነድ የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱

የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱

የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱

የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱
የገዢው ስም: ሀ. — አ.፡፡/፲፱፻፱፻፱





ሙሉ ስም : ገ. ገ. ገ.

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ገቢዎችና መንግሥት
የግብርና ጠቅላይ ግዛት
የሰጠው የግብር ማዘጋጃ ቤት

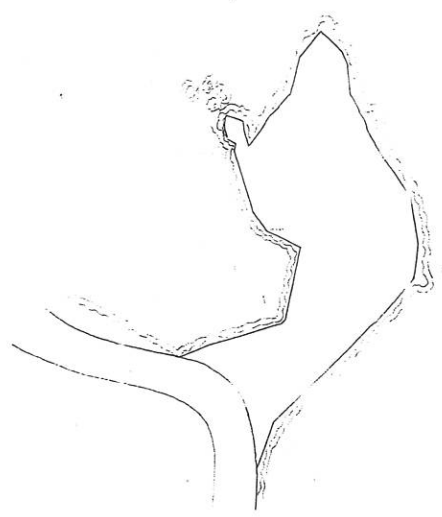


ለከተሉት ገቢዎች የሚሰጠው የሥልጣን ሰነድ

የገቢው ስም : ገ. ገ. ገ.
 የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ
 የገቢው ቦታ : ገቢ
 የገቢው ስፊት : ገቢ
 የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ
 የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ

ተጠቃሚው ስም	የገቢው አይነት	የገቢው ስፊት	የገቢው አይነት
ገ. ገ. ገ.	ገቢ	ገቢ	ገቢ
ገ. ገ. ገ.	ገቢ	ገቢ	ገቢ
ገ. ገ. ገ.	ገቢ	ገቢ	ገቢ
ገ. ገ. ገ.	ገቢ	ገቢ	ገቢ
ገ. ገ. ገ.	ገቢ	ገቢ	ገቢ

ገቢው ስፊት : ገ. ገ. ገ.



የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ
 የገቢው ስፊት : ገ. ገ. ገ.

የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ
 የገቢው ስፊት : ገ. ገ. ገ.
 የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ
 የገቢው ስፊት : ገ. ገ. ገ.

የገቢው ስፊት : ገ. ገ. ገ.

የገቢው አይነት : ገቢ



የገቢው ስፊት : ገ. ገ. ገ.



amida m f

h m n c q h r h = h m n = m n o p . n f .

q c h f . o m a d s = q q . n c . p s . q h o n f c =

25
311

h = h m n =

n q l c w f = m l g = q m f = r h h = q a q . 7 f m z . m f . o o z = n h

q = h q = q m l 7 f . h z = n . p . f . s = h c f . f = q p . p o c = m l u = q c = h

q q . h = n a q . 7 f m = m a d = m u l 2 f = h q c a q p = q z u p y = n f .

c h f = h h h . 7 . n = h z q . g . p e n = a l h = m o n 7 n = h z h . 9 n d

f i n a y n c = h m i h n f . h o = m a 7 n . f . e p f i = c f z . 9 = g

h m i d n f .

h p h . y o p . p n = q q . n . w c s r ?

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ማከታ ወቂያ ::

ሕገ መንግሥት አንቀጽ 100 ስር ለሕዝብ አገልግሎት ለማድረግ የሚያስፈልገውን ገንዘብ ለማግኘት የሚችሉ ሁሉንም ዓይነት ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ማዘጋጀት ይገባል።

በዚህ ጉዞ ላይ የሚገኙት ገንዘብ ስጦታዎች ለሕዝብ አገልግሎት ለማድረግ የሚያስፈልገውን ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ማዘጋጀት ይገባል።

የተጠቀሱት ገንዘብ ስጦታዎች ለሕዝብ አገልግሎት ለማድረግ የሚያስፈልገውን ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ማዘጋጀት ይገባል።

የተጠቀሱት ገንዘብ ስጦታዎች	የተጠቀሱት ገንዘብ ስጦታዎች	ሠጪ	የሰጠው ዓይነት	የሰጠው ስጦታ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ
1	የቤት ተጠቃሚ	የቤት ተጠቃሚ	የቤት ተጠቃሚ	የቤት ተጠቃሚ	20,000	16,236	175,498.40	191,734.40
2	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	—	—	604,210.15	604,210.15
3	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	—	የሚገመት	5,750.00	5,750.00
4	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	—	—	6,030.00	6,030.00
5	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	—	—	127,031.00	127,031.00
6	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	—	የሚገመት	7,625.00	7,625.00
7	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	8,952	1,977	11,496.00	13,473.00
8	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	የሰጠው ገንዘብ	1586	9,516	25,327.00	34,843

የሰጠው ገንዘብ ጠባቂ

ገዢ ገን ወላ በሚሰጡት ህገ ተከራኞች በወጥተው አዎንታዊ በሥራ ላይ ያረጋገጡ ማለት
አጠቃላይ የአደጋ ነጋሪቶች ለመብታት ወጥተው ለላቸው ፡፡

ገ። የቤተ ርስት ጽሕፈት ቤት ለሰደስት ወር በተወሰነ አገልግሎት ነጋሪቶች ለተከራኞች ይህ
ዓላማ ተከራኞች የተረከቱ ስራ ይዘገቡ ያዘጋጁት የጣጣት የሰደስት ወጥተው ለላቸው ህገ
ላሽ የሚሰጡት ወጥተው በጋራ ለጋራ ይከፍላሉ ፡፡

ይህ ወላ በባህሪ ገለጻ ተጽኖ አገልግሎት ለሰጠው ህገ ገን በተከራኞች
አገልግሎት ላይ በሰደስት ወጥተው ይከፍላሉ ፡፡



የተከራኞች ፊርማ ፡፡

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F 88/39/55

21. 2. 1953

ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንገሥት የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር
አዲስ አበባ

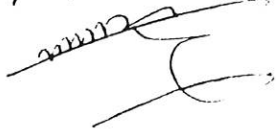
✓

ሰለ ከውረጉዳዮች ጣዲያ የዓመት ወጭ በ1941 ዓ.ም የወጣውን
አዋጅ ለማሻሻል በተረጋገጠው ድንጋጌ መሠረት ለርሻ ሥራ አገልግሎት ለሚ
ውሰ ትረክተር የሚያገለገለው ናፍታ ከጭረት ነፃ አገዳሚን ከከፍተኛ
የሚኒስትሮች ጭከር ቤት ሰኔ 9 ቀን 1950 ዓ.ም በቀጥሮ 612/50
ሲዳፍለጋ የደረሰንን ገልባዊ አያሰታወሰን፤

የተዳጣዊ ኃይለሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት ጽ/ቤት በአረቢ ጠቀላይ ገዛት
ውስጥ ገረገጠው በገንዘብ ሥራ ገደብ ስር ጋሽ መሪ
በሰውነት ትረክተር ለጣባረሰ 108.000 ሊትር ቢገዙ ከተረጋገጠ ነፃ
አገዳሚነታቸው ለዚህ መዋደድ አገልግሎት የተሰናዳውን ኖርም ምልተው
ሰላምለክተ ለጊራ ከተጠየቀው ውስጥ ለጎዳ አምስት ጋሽ መሪ ጣባረ
ሽ አገዳሚ በጋሽ 1.500 ሊትር ሂሳብ በድምሩ 37.500 ሰላሣ
ሰባት ሺ አምስት መቶ / ሊትር ናፍታ አገዳገዙ ከላይ ከተመለከተው
ከአውራ ጉዳዩ ተረጋገጠ ነፃ የሚያደርገው ፈቃድ አገዳግቶው አካባቢያለን :-

ቃ

መሥሪታችን በጋራ 3. 4. 7. 11 ያህሉ ፣

~~መሥሪታችን~~


ሃሳድ

To the ministry of Agriculture

Addis Ababa

FUELS PURCHASE REQUEST- FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES

1. Name of farmer H.I.M. PRIVATE ESTATE - HARRAR PROVINCE-
2. Location of farm G O T A - E R R E R - U R S O
3. Size of farm (number of hectares) 430 -
4. Kind of crops and number of hectares of each.

Crop	Number of hectares	
Oranges and other fruits	=	ha. 100,--
" Vegetables	" = =	" 20,--
" Cereals and grass	" = =	" 200,--

5. Number of tractors owned _____ ANA Located on this farm.

Name of tractor	Quantity	Type of fuel	Horse power	Number of days operated per year
XXXXXXXXXX				
Fergusson	1	gasolin	45	200
SAME	1	"	35	200
FORD	1	"	30	200
HANG MAG	1	"	45	100
FIAT BILL DOZER	1		60	120

6. Number of tractor drawn implements on this farm.
- Plow for breaking land? 6 Planters? 4
- Disc harrows? 4 Spike tooth harrows? 2
- Cultivators? 4 Others? -

7. No. of liters and kind of fuel required? 20,000,

8. I, the undersigned, declare that the fuel requested will only be used for the tractor and jobs stated hereinafter. Should however this be found out otherwise, the Ministry of Agriculture shall have the right to take immediate counteraction.

Addis Ababa 5th Jun 1963

SIGNATURE: _____

p Blatta Zelleke Negatou
General Manager
(G. Fiumana)



፩ኛ፡ ተከራይ፡ በተከራይት፡ ቤት፡ ውለጥ፡ የሚገኙት፡ የሚንቀሳቀሱና፡ የሚይንቀሳቀሱ፡ ንብረቶች፡ የቤቱ፡ ሁኔታ፡ ጭምር፡ ከሁለት፡ ላይ፡ በትክክል፡ ተጽፎ፡ የኪራይ፡ ዘመን፡ እስኪፈጸም፡ ድረስ፡ በሁለቱም፡ ተዋዋሶች፡ እጅ፡ ይቀመጣል። የኪራይ፡ ዘመን፡ ሲፈጸም፡ የቶረከቡትን፡ ቤት፡ ክጥናብ፡ ብዛትና፡ ከመሬት፡ መናወጽ፡ ወይም፡ ከሰማይ፡ ከሚወርድ፡ ከድንገተኛ፡ አደጋ፡ ዳስተቀር፡ ዐጠቃቀቅ፡ ጉድለት፡ የተበላሸውን፡ አድሰው፡ እንደ፡ ተረከቡበት፡ ጊዜ፡ አድርገው፡ ሊያስረክቡ፡ ተስማምተዋል።

(ከሁከት ዓመት)

፪ኛ፡ በዚህ፡ ውል፡ አከራይ፡ ለተከራይ፡ የፈቀደላቸው ጸሐፊዎች፡ ስለ፡ ሆነ፡ የውሉ፡ ዘመን፡ ሲፈጸም፡ ለቤተ፡ ርስት፡ ከማስረከብ፡ በስተቀር፡ ተከራይ፡ ውሉን፡ ለሌላ፡ ሰው፡ አሳልፈው፡ ለመስጠት፡ አይችሉም።

፫ኛ፡ ተከራይ፡ በዚህ፡ በተከራይት፡ ቦታ፡ አዲስ፡ ቤት፡ ወይም፡ ሌላ፡ ተጨማሪ፡ ሥራ፡ ለመሥራት፡ ቢፈልጉ፡ ከከራይ፡ መሥሪያ፡ ቤት፡ ጋራ፡ መስማማት፡ አለባቸው። እንጂ፡ በራሳቸው፡ ሐሳብ፡ ለመሥራት፡ አይችሉም። ያላከራይ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ሠርተውም፡ ቢገኙ፡ ቤቱን፡ በሚለቁበት፡ ጊዜ፡ የሠሩትን፡ በነጻ፡ ላከራይ፡ ለቀው፡ ይሄዳሉ፡ እንጂ፡ ግምት፡ እቀበላለሁ፡ ሲሉ፡ አከራይን፡ መሥሪያ፡ ቤት፡ ለመጠየቅ፡ የማይችሉ፡ መሆናቸውን፡ በዚህ፡ ውል፡ ላይ፡ አረጋግጠዋል።

፬ኛ፡ በተከራይ፡ ቤተ፡ ሰቦች፡ ወይም፡ ከብቶች፡ አትክልት፡ ቢበላሽ፡ አጥር፡ ቢሰበር፡ ለኪሳራው፡ ተጠያቂው፡ ተከራይ፡ ናቸው።

፭ኛ፡ በውሃና፡ በመብራት፡ ዋጋ፡ ይህን፡ በመሳሰለ፡ በለቀው፡ ነገር፡ ሁሉ፡ ተጠያቂው፡ ተከራይ፡ ስለ፡ ሆኑ፡ ቤቱን፡ ሲለቁ፡ የከፈሉበትን፡ የገንዘብ፡ ደረሰኝ፡ አብረው፡ ያስረክባሉ፤ ያልከፈሉትም፡ ቢገኝ፡ ወዲያው፡ እንዲከፍሉ፡ የሚገደዱ፡ መሆናቸውን፡ ተስማምተዋል።

፮ኛ፡ የቤተ፡ ርስት፡ የቤት፡ ክፍል፡ ሠራተኛ፡ ቤቱን፡ ለመጉብኘት፡ አይከለክልም።

፯ኛ፡ ከዚህ፡ በላይ፡ ለተጻፈው ግዴታ፡ ማስፈጸሚያ፡ ተከራይ፡ ዓ.ክ.ር.ክ.ን.ቁ.፡ 62/፲.፶.33 - ዋስ፡ ጠርተዋል።

እኔም፡ ዓ.ክ.ር.ክ.ን.ቁ.፡ 62/፲.፶.33 - ከዚህ፡ በላይ፡ በተጻፈው፡ ውል፡ ዓ.ክ.ር.ክ.ን.ቁ.፡ 62/፲.፶.33 ላይ፡ ከቤተ፡ ርስት፡ ለተከራይት፡ 0.፶.5. 0.97 - ኪራይን፡ በተወሰነው፡ ቀን፡ ሳይከፍሉ፡ ቢቀሩና፡ የተከራይትንም፡ 0.፶.5. 0.97 - እንደ፡ ነበረ፡ አድርገው፡ ሳያስረክቡ፡ ቢቀሩ፡ በውሉ፡ ላይ፡ የተጻፈውን፡ ግዴታ፡ ሁሉ፡ ጎላፊ፡ ሆኜ፡ ልክፍል፡ መዋሉን፡ በፈርማይ፡ አረጋግጣለሁ።



የገቡ ፈርማ
Dr. Drabau
Georges Verbeke

9/267



የቀዳማዊ ጌደላ ሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት ጽ/ቤት
የቤትና የቦታ ኪራይ ውል መስጫ

ቁ/1946/45

አዲስ አበባ 11.6.87 ቀን 11:29 ሰዓት

የግርማዊ ንጉሠ ነገሥት ቀዳማዊ ጌደላ ሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት ጽሕፈት ቤትና

በዚህ የተጻፈውን የቤት ኪራይ ውል ተስማምተው ተረፈው መሆኑ

በዚህ የተጻፈውን የቤት ኪራይ ውል ተስማምተው ተረፈው መሆኑ

፩ኛ ሰፈሩ ወይም ቀበሌው 42ኛ ግዛት 205ኛ ስ/ቤት

የመንገዱ ስም

የቤቱ ቀጥር ወይንቱ 645/906 ስ/ቤት

የቤቱ ብዛት 1996 ስ/ቤት 205ኛ የክፍሉ ብዛት

የቦታው ስፋት

በዚህ በላይ የተጠቀሰው በ 9 ስ/ቤት ስ/ቤት በኪራይ እንዲሰጣቸው

በላይ ጠየቁ የቤተ ርስት ጽ/ቤት በዚህ ውል ተስማምቶ ለ 336 ስ/ቤት ስ/ቤት ረቀቅላቸው

አካራይቷል

፪ኛ ስ/ቤት በዚህ ኪራይ በወር በወሩ የሚከፈለው 5.350/11 ስ/ቤት

የገንዘብ ስም ለዚህ ስ/ቤት ስ/ቤት ስ/ቤት ስ/ቤት

ክፍለው ደንበኛውን ደረሰኛ ይቀበሉ

፫ኛ የኪራይን ገንዘብ በዚህ በተወሰነው ቀን እቤተ ርስት ጽሕፈት ቤት ድረስ አምጥተው

ሳይከፍሉ በቀሩ በኪራይ ገንዘብ በቀን አንዳንድ ብር ሊሰጥ ተጨማሪ አድርገው ሊከፍሉ ተከራይ

ወደው ውል ገብተዋል

፬ኛ ተከራይ የተከራየትን ቤት የሚለቁበት ጊዜ ከመድረሱ ከ፲፮ ቀን በፊት

የሚለቁ መሆናቸውን ለቤተ ርስት ጽሕፈት ቤት አስታውቀው ለክፍሉ ኅላፊ ሠራተኛ አስረክበው

ያለባቸውንም ኪራይ ከፍለው የውሉን ደብዳቤ አሠርዘው መልቀቅ ይችላሉ ነገር ግን ያለባቸውን

ኪራይ ሳይከፍሉና ቤቱን አስረክበው የውሉንም ደብዳቤ ሳያሠርዙ ቢቀሩ ይህ ውል እንዳለ ሆኖ

ኪራይ ይታሰባል እንጂ ቤቱን ለቅቄ አለሁና የለቅቅሁበት ቀን አይታሰብብኝም ለማለት አይችሉም

በለማስረከባቸውም ምክንያት ቤቱን ጉዳት ቢያገኘው ኅላፊ ይሆናሉ

ገቢ: 2456



Annexe 27

No 003118

የቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ቤተ ጳጳስ

29/152

ጠቅላይ ጽሕፈት ቤት
የግምጃ ቤት ጸረገጃ

24561

403

ከዚህ በታች
ተቀጥሎ የሚ

ARTIFIC PRESS 2393 D

የምዕራብ ስም: ዲሞክራሲያዊ ኮንረድ
የመጠን ስር: ትንሹ ሄይቲ
ምዝገባ: 205 ወ. ስብርከት ማግኛ ፊደላዊ
ዳም: ሄክሎን ፊደላዊ ዳም: ደብዳቤ ወር
ደገፍ: ጊራ

Handwritten signature

አይ:

205
0990

የገንዘብ ልክ በአኃዘ

የዘመድ

በደብዳቤ ስር ስብርከት ማግኛ ፊደላዊ ዳም

ተቀጥሎ

ገጽ

Handwritten signature

ገጽ 15

የገንዘብ ልክ በአኃዘ

Handwritten signature

የገንዘብ ልክ በአኃዘ

የገንዘብ ልክ በአኃዘ



ሁዳ
C PRESS 7199 9

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY HAILE SELASSIE I HOUSE PROPERTY OFFICE

33/267

AGREEMENT OF LEASE FOR ONE DUPLEX HOUSE

Addis Ababa, September 25, 1956.
Maskaram 15, 1949.

His Imperial Majesty's Land & Property Office and Ethiopian Air Lines, Inc. have hereby agreed and signed the lease of the following described premises:-

1. State or Provincial: Machiew Woreda

Street: Marshal Smuts

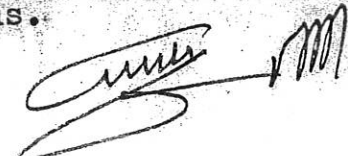
House No. - Kind: Duplex Residence

Number of Houses: One (1) No. of Rooms: Eight (8)

Property Area: Includes Buildings and Garden within Fenced Area.

The above mentioned Duplex House has been by mutually agreement granted and leased to Ethiopian Air Lines, Inc. by the House Property Office for a period of five (5) years commencing October 1, 1956 (Maskaram 21, 1949).

2. For this Duplex House monthly rent payment will be E\$400.--(Ethiopian Dollars Four Hundred Only) and paid to House Property Treasury Department against official receipt.
3. If the Lessee should want to terminate his contract he is free to do so provided that he informs the Lessor of his intentions 15 days prior to termination of contract; surrender premises and settle every account. However, if Lessee leaves premises without complying with the regulations as herein outlined, contract will still be considered as valid even though it has been vacated by Lessee. Accordingly, the Lessee will also be held responsible for any harm or damage done due to Lessee's failure to surrender the house premises to Lessor before vacating it.
4. Each party (Lessor & Lessee) shall be in possession of documents which lists all the mobile and immobile articles and the condition of the premises until the termination of the contract. The Lessee shall not be responsible to restore or to rebuild the premises, if, during the term hereof, the premises herein demised or the buildings of which the demised premises are a part should be destroyed or damaged by heavy rain, windstorm, fire, earthquake, lightning, other casualty or ordinary wear and tear. The Lessee does agree to restore or rebuild any damage done by casual negligence and surrender the premises in as good condition as when received, subject to the above conditions.



25/9/56

DUPLEX HOUSE CONTRACT (Cont'd.)

- 5. Ethiopian Air Lines, Inc. shall have the right to sub-lease during the period of the lease subject to the conditions herein.
- 6. The Lessee has no right to build additions or make alterations to the house without the consent of the Lessor. At termination of the contract, all additions and alterations shall become the property of the Lessor.
- 7. Rent will start from October 1, 1956 (Maskaram 21, 1949).
- 8. Electric light and water expenses will be paid by the Lessee. In the event of non-payment of herein mentioned expenses or part expenses it is understood and agreed upon by the Lessee that he shall settle in full on the day of contract termination.
- 9. Deputy in Charge from the House Property Office shall be granted access to inspect the demised premises at reasonable hours by appointment.

ETHIOPIAN AIR LINES, INC. (Lessee)

[Handwritten signature]
Witness to EAL's Signature



[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]
Witness to Lessor's Signature



IMPERIAL MAJESTY HAILE
HOUSE PROPERTY OFFICE
(Lessor)

[Handwritten signature]

SPECIAL NOTICE:

In accordance with the abovementioned contract, the Lessee on this date, September 25, 1956 (Maskaram 15, 1949) has surrendered the house and keys and we are herewith certifying that it is vacant and locked.

Section Deputy's Signature

Annexe 30

ቁ፡ጥር : 761/52

አካል : ቦር : 80 ተገንጠይቆ የሚገኝ :



ጤተ : ርስት : ጽሕፈት : ቤት :

8/311

ለከብር የኮካ ኮላ ማህበር ጽ/ቤት

አዲስ አበባ

በገርማ ደንታቸው ቤተርሕገ ስም የተገዛገጠ የ\$100,000= ሺህ
በር አክሲዮን ሰርቲፊኬት ለተሰጠ በአቶ ዘውዴ ወንድ
ው አፎ አንዲስ ስም ለገንቀቅ ለገንጠል፡፡=====



Annexe 33

N° 003445

1340

Attestation de paiement



Le 10/05/2010, j'ai reçu de Monsieur [Name] la somme de 18000 F.C.F.

En vertu de la somme de 18000 F.C.F.

N°	Libellé	Montant
1	18000	18000
		18000

Signature de Monsieur [Name]

Signature de Monsieur [Name]

Handwritten notes at the top of the page

Annexe 34

MAIL

ሳ ሴ አ ን ል

SABEAN

SABEAN UTILITY CORPORATION S. C.
ADDIS ABABA-ETHIOPIA

CABLES: SABEAN-ADDIS ABAI
TELEPHONE: 47235, 47236
P. O. BOX - 1553

Our Ref. AB/kb/156/64

8/3..

Addis Ababa, March 14, 1964

Your Ref.

The Administrator,
The Private Administration of His Imperial Majesty,
ADDIS ABABA

Dear Sir,

We have the pleasure to enclose our Cheque No. H099787 for E\$984.- (Ethiopian Dollars Nine Hundred Eighty Four only) being the dividend due to The Private Administration of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I on His holding in our Company of 246 shares. Dividend declared by the Annual General Meeting of the Company was Eth.\$ 4.- per share.

Kindly acknowledge receipt and accept our kindest regards.

Handwritten notes:
4.11.77 - 11/11/77
12/11/77
12/11/77
12/11/77
12/11/77
12/11/77

Yours sincerely,
SABEAN UTILITY CORPORATION, S.C.

Uminotshali
MANAGING DIRECTOR

Encl.

S.C. Accounts Dept.

Nº 002295



አዲስ አበባ፣ ሐምሌ ፳፻፲፯ ዓ.ም.፣ ጳጉሜ ፳፻፲፯ ዓ.ም.

ቤተ፡ርስት፡ዋና፡ጽሕፈት፡ቤት ።
ለቤተ፡ርስት፡ዋና፡ግምጽ፡ቤት፡
አዲስ አበባ ።

ከዚህ በታች በገርገር የተመለከተውን ገንዘብ ከህግ ፩ ፊ/ሀ አገፍቶ ለጽ/ቤት ለተቀባለው የግምጽ ቤት ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጡና እንደ ደንብ በገቢ መገዛት እንዲጸፍ አስታውቃለሁ ።

ተ.ተ.ተ.	ገንዘብ የሚገባበት ምክንያት	የገንዘብ ልዩነት	
		ብር	ሳ
1	አ.ኤ. ከሰባ ገቢ ስራ ላይ የሚገኝ ገንዘብ ለጽ/ቤት ለተቀባለው የግምጽ ቤት ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጡና እንደ ደንብ በገቢ መገዛት እንዲጸፍ አስታውቃለሁ ።		
	ገቢ ስራ ላይ የሚገኝ ገንዘብ ለጽ/ቤት ለተቀባለው የግምጽ ቤት ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጡና እንደ ደንብ በገቢ መገዛት እንዲጸፍ አስታውቃለሁ ።	5000	ሠ
	ገቢ ስራ ላይ የሚገኝ ገንዘብ ለጽ/ቤት ለተቀባለው የግምጽ ቤት ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጡና እንደ ደንብ በገቢ መገዛት እንዲጸፍ አስታውቃለሁ ።	99	ሠ
	ጠቅላላ	5099	ሠ

ጽ/ቤት ለጽ/ቤት ለተቀባለው የግምጽ ቤት ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጡና እንደ ደንብ በገቢ መገዛት እንዲጸፍ አስታውቃለሁ ።

የአዲስ አበባ ጽ/ቤት ለጽ/ቤት ለተቀባለው የግምጽ ቤት ደረሰኝ እንዲሰጡና እንደ ደንብ በገቢ መገዛት እንዲጸፍ አስታውቃለሁ ።

ነኩ: ኑረር: ሃርጽ: ቦታ: ሠራ: ነገሮቹ: ወገኖቻቸው:

የዛሬው ዓመት: የኑረር: የሃርጽ: ሠራ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

እነዚህ: የሚባሉ: የሚባሉ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

1 የሃርጽ: ሠራ: የገንዘብ: ክፍል: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

2 ከሆነ: ከሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

3 ከሆነ: ከሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

4 ከሆነ: ከሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

5 በሆነ: በሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

6 ከሆነ: ከሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

7 ከሆነ: ከሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

8 የሃርጽ: ሠራ: የገንዘብ: ክፍል: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

9 ከሆነ: ከሆነ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

የሚባሉ: የሚባሉ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

አዲስ: አዲስ: የሚባሉ: ነገሮቹ: ለገደቡ: በገንዘብ: ክፍል: ቀጥሎ: ያከፈሉ: ከገደቡ: ከመመዘኑ: ቻልዎታል::

ወይም 19 ቀን 54 ዓ.ም.

ከተናገሩት ገንቱ የሚያሳድሱት ወኪና የሚሰጡት ቀን ከዚህ ቀን በፊት ተወስኗል።

1. ስኚ ከጥቅምት 1991 ተነስቶ የተሰጠው ገንቱ በሰኞት በዓት እንዲደርስ ለሌላው ስኚ ወደ ደቡብ ደቡብ አገልግሎት ደርጋዎች። ስኚም ርባ ለት ተነስቶ በጥቅምት ወር እንዲደርስ ይደረጋል።

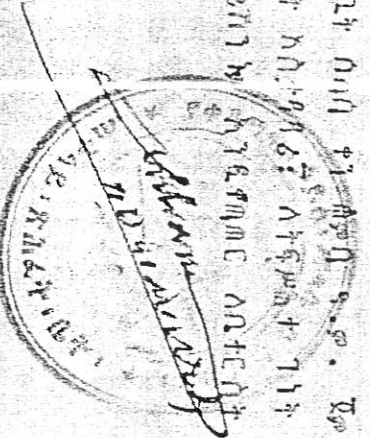
2. ስኚ ከጥቅምት በ1 በዓት ተነስቶ በሰኞት በዓት የተናገሩት ገንቱ ደርሰው ደቡብ ለሌላው ስኚ ይሰጡበታል። ለሌላው ስኚ የሚሰጠውን አይርስ ለት እንዲያቀድሙ ወይ እንዲሰጡ አጠቃላይ ይደረጋል። ስኚም የቀዳሚ ተነስቶ በጥቅምት ወር እንዲደርስ ይደረጋል።

3. ለሌላው ስኚ የሚሰጠውን ነገር እንዲያቀድሙ ይደረጋል። ይህም ለሌላው ስኚ የሚሰጠውን በር ከሠራ ይከፍላል።

4. ስኚም ዕቃውን ከተረከበ በኋላ በየሰዓቱ በሰኞት በተወሰነው ቀን ለከተለው የቀረ እንዲሆን ወኪናው ሠራ በደቡብ በጥቅምት ወር ከሠራ ይከፍላል።

5. የተከሰተውን ዕቃ ተቀባይነት የሚያስፈልግ እንዲሆን ለጥቅምት ወር የተሰጠው ጊዜ የወሰዱት እንዲሆን በጥቅምት ወር ከሠራ ይከፍላል።

ይህ ተወስኖ ከወይንም በፊት ተወስኖ ይደረጋል። የዚህ ገልጻል ለተናገሩት ገንቱ እንዲሆን ለትናገሩት ገንቱ ወይንም በጥቅምት ወር ለከተለው የቀረ እንዲሆን ወኪናው ሠራ በደቡብ በጥቅምት ወር ከሠራ ይከፍላል።



Handwritten marks at the bottom right corner.

የዞረ:

ተ/ቁ	የክርታ ቁጥር	ሚቸር ገ/ፊ	የተከጠረው ስራ ስም	የሚቸር ገ/ፊ ለውጥ
30	4828	401400	ከቶ. ግርማ. ለቆሏ:	166,940 400
31	"	"	ወቅደር. ከከፎር. ለቆሏ:	400
32	"	"	ከቶ. ታዬ. ለቆሏ:	400
33	"	"	ወቅደር. ብዛሃኛ. ለቆሏ:	400
34	"	"	" ከጸሃፊ. ለቆሏ:	400
35	"	"	" ንግድ. ለቆሏ:	400
36	"	"	ከቶ. ከበቡ. ከተማ.	1,460
37	"	"	" ከፍካራ. ገ/ሥላሴ	700
38	"	"	ከፊት. ሣሌ. ግዛድ:	33,576
39	"	"	የግርማዊነት ፊርማ. ገቢ. የገጠማ	48,261
40	"	"	የግዛዳዊ ገቢ. መ/ሥላሴ	1,500
41	"	"	ክብር. ከቶ. ምናኔ. ኃይሌ	3,500
42	"	"	ከቶ. ቆርጋ. ወጪ ግዛዳ:	400
43	"	"	የክብር. ሥደም. ሐረጎች:	3890
44	"	"	ኔቶ. ቆራማ. ኃይሌ:	500
45	"	"	የግዛዳዊ ገቢ. መርዕድ. ብድር:	2845
46	"	"	ዛንጉራ. መ. ከገቢ. ገ/ሥላሴ	1000
47	"	"	ሚኒስ. ገንብ ስራ:	
48	"	"	ከቶ. ለገበያ. ገም:	700
49	"	"	ወቅደር. የካሎ. ወርቅ. ገሣ	500
50	"	"	ከቶ. ከበኤ. ሊዳ:	600
51	"	"	ወቅደር. ከአያቶች. መከከል	500
52	"	"	ከቶ. ከሆከ. ከበቶ:	500
53	"	"	ወቅደር. ለግዛዳ. ቆርቆር:	500
54	"	"	ከፊት. ጸሐፊ. ለውጥ. ገ/ሥላሴ	200
55	"	"	ክብር. ለገበያ. ከበቶ. ገንብ	4,000
56	"	"	ከከባ. ገም. ገንብ. ገም. ገም:	
57	"	"	ወቅደር. ግርማ. 2376:	200
58	"	"	" የግዛዳ. ገቢ. ገም:	200
59	"	"	የግዛዳዊ ገቢ. መከከል. ከገበያ. ገም:	300
60	"	"	የክብር. ከከባ. ገም:	300
61	"	"	የክብር. ገም. ገም. ገም:	200

[Handwritten signature and scribbles]

የዚህ

2/311

ቁጥር	የገቢት ቁጥር	የገቢት ዓመት	የተከፈለው	የገቢት ዓይነት
62	4828	401400	የፕሮጀክት: ገቢ. ተፈራ. የክ.	200
63	"	"	" " " ከፊት: ወ/ሚገኝ	200
64	"	"	" " ከፊት: ፀጋ ያ፡	200
65	"	"	" " መገናኛ. ገገያ.	200
66	"	"	የህ. ክክታ. ፈገግ. አመቺ.	200
67	"	"	" " በቀኑ: ወከፍ. ኪዳን.	200
68	"	"	" " ከፊት: ገመፍ.	200
69	"	"	" " መካከል: ያ/ገቢት	200
70	"	"	የ፲: ክክታ: የሂጎ. ከፊት: ገ/ወከፍ	200
71	"	"	" " ከፊት: ሥዕል.	200
72	"	"	" " ላይኛው: ገቢት	200
73	"	"	" " ምን: ያለውን: ገቢት	200
74	"	"	ምክንያት: የ፲: ክክታ: ከገቢት: ገቢት	200
75	"	"	ክፍት: ገቢት: ኪዳን: ገቢት:	400
76	"	"	ወከፍ: ገቢት: ታላቅ.	500
77	"	"	ከፊት: ገቢት: ገቢት:	500
78	"	"	ከፊት: ገቢት: ገቢት:	200
79				
80				
81				
82				
83				
84				
85				
86				
87				

(Handwritten signatures and marks)

Total 205,672 → 1700 ቢሮ

1905 ዓ. ገ. 1440 ዓ. ገ.

የደ.ላ. 35



የኢትዮጵያ ፍትሃዊ የሥነ ምግባር ሚኒስቴር
የአካባቢ ፍትህ ሚኒስቴር

Annexe A1
የግብር ቁጥጥር 1176-8-922
አዲስ አበባ የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት 38

13/28

ጉዳይ

አቀዳሚ ጽ/ቤት ለሥነ ምግባር ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

አካባቢ ሚኒስቴር

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር



የግብርና ሚኒስቴር
ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

ግብር

አካባቢ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

አካባቢ ሚኒስቴር

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር

ጥ.ጊ.ል 35



25/2x6
 ንግሥት ህዳር 21 ዓ.ም. 1910
 ቁጥር 21 ዓ.ም. 1910

የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መንግሥት ፡
 የጽሕፈት ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡

ጉዳይ ፡

አቶ ዳግማዊ ፡ ቃይከ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ርስታ ፡ ቤት ፡ ጽሕፈት ፡ ቤት ፡
 ከዲ.ስ. ክብሩ ፡

አቶ ፡ ጌታቸው ፡ ምንጫ ፡ ገለገለ ፡ የገንዘብ ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡
 ገጠቢ ፡ ከገጠቢ ማህበራት ፡ ቤት ፡ ጋር ፡
 ፋይን ፡ ገቢ ፡ ስር ፡ ገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡
 (500) ስኞት ፡ ሆኖ ፡ ገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡
 ከንግሥት ፡ ገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡

A.A.B.S.P. of H.I.M. Haile Selassie I. 6-9-46 No. 1498

ገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡
 ገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡



5554/174
 21-2-1910

ኮ.ገ.፡

ከገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡
 የከዲ.ስ. ክብሩ ፡ ገቢ ፡ ጋር ፡ ጋር ፡
 ከ፡ ክብሩ ፡



Annexe 43

የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት
አዲስ አበባ

3/28

1953

የኢትዮጵያ ግንባታ ግንባታ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት
የግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ገጽ 1

ከቀዳሚያ ዓ.ም. ጋር የተገናኘው ገቢ

አዲስ አበባ

አጠቃላይ ገቢዎች ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ጋር የተገናኘው ገቢ

ገቢዎች ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ገቢዎች ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

[Handwritten signature]

ግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት



ግብርና

አዲስ አበባ ግብርና ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

አዲስ አበባ

22.1.56

29/1/56

የኢትዮጵያ-ፊት ለፊት የግንባታ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት

IMPERIAL SAVINGS AND HOME OWNERSHIP PUBLIC ASSOCIATION

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
P. O. Box 1231
Tel. 56789

Ref: 416/3-1/2134/54
Date: ኅዳር 8 ቀን 1954 ዓ.ም

አገር ውስጥ የሥራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት

በገንዘብ ስራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት
100,000 /አገር ውስጥ ስራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት
ዘዘን ስራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት
በአገር ውስጥ የሥራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት
በአገር ውስጥ የሥራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት
በአገር ውስጥ የሥራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት



ሰጪ ገቢ
ገቢ ስራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት

ሰጪ ገቢ ስራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት

በአገር ውስጥ የሥራ ስራ ለማስፈጸም ለሚችሉ ሰፊ ተቀባይ ግብዓት ማግኘት

18-12.54
1187/4154

Annexe 47

ጥደታ: 35



ንግድ 4021-8-434

እደስ እበባ ጥር ሸፀ ተን ገበያዳሪ ዓ. ጥ. 64

የአ.ት.የ.ጽ.የ. ንጉሠ: ነገሥት: መንግሥት:
የጽሕፈት: ሚኒስትር =

11/53
100479

ጉዳይ:

5

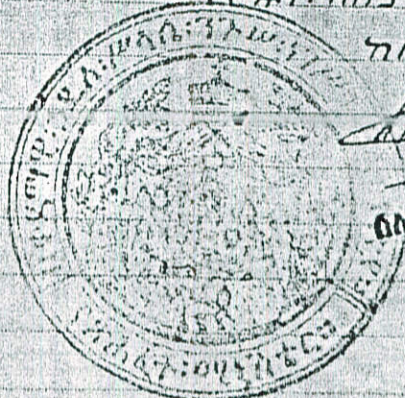
27/28

አቀዳሚ ጽሑፍ - ጽሑፍ ወይንም ጽሑፍ ለ/ጽሑፍ

አደስ ነበባ

አቶ: መከታ - ነበባ - የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር: ባህሪ ለገገ
አገልግሎት ተቀውረው - ገንዘብ: ባቶ: ይቀቁ ህግ ገንዘብ ሲያመ
ከባቶ: አደጋ ለገገ - ማረጋገጫ ስራ ለገገ ማረጋገጫ: አጠቃላይ
በጽሑፍ: ጽሑፍ - ገንዘብ - ባቶ ከደ 1000 ሊካንቴ: ገንዘብ ማረጋገጫ
ባቶ: ባቶ ለገገ: አደስ አጠቃላይ መረጃ ለገገ: አገልግሎት ለገገ:

A.A.B.S.P.P. of E.I.M. Halle Schasale I 15.9.50, No. 1314



ገንዘብ ማረጋገጫ

አደስ ነበባ

በገንዘብ ገቢ ጥርያም
ጥ. ገንዘብ

ቀ
1450
ቀ
ቀ
ቀ

ገዢ

አደስ ነበባ ገንዘብ ማረጋገጫ ለ/ጽሑፍ

አደስ ነበባ

Handwritten signature and stamp

30. 5. 55

284/1/55

4. 25
45
58
507

ገጽ ፩



Annexe 48

ቁጥር: 55578698

ደብዳቤ ቁጥር: 1243, ወርቅ 2, ገጽ 70

የኢትዮጵያ ፍትህ ግንባታ ሚኒስቴር

የአገልግሎት ሚኒስቴር

19/28

ጉዳይ ፡

አገር መግቢያ ማቆሚያ ህጋዊ ጥያቄ ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ገ/አገገ

ወይም ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ነገር ግን ለሰው ለማቅረብ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ሌላ ጉዳይ ላይ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

የሰው ለማቅረብ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

በዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ገ/አገገ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

አገር መግቢያ ማቆሚያ ህጋዊ ጥያቄ ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ወይም ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ነገር ግን ለሰው ለማቅረብ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ሌላ ጉዳይ ላይ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

የሰው ለማቅረብ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

በዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ገ/አገገ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

አገር መግቢያ ማቆሚያ ህጋዊ ጥያቄ ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ወይም ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ነገር ግን ለሰው ለማቅረብ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

ሌላ ጉዳይ ላይ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

የሰው ለማቅረብ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል

በዚህ ጉዳይ ላይ ለሚያስፈልገው ሰው ለማቅረብ ይገባል



Handwritten signature

ገ/አገገ

አገር መግቢያ

ማቆሚያ ህጋዊ ጥያቄ

ገ/አገገ

18.7.56

343/156

1/9

ጥር 310/59/

ጋብት 8 ተገ 59 ዓ.ም

28/197

ለስተ አሸተ ህገዘው
የአረቢ ቤተ ርሰት ሹ
ር ቤ

በአረቢ ጭቅጫ ገዛት በአርባ ጉዞ አወረጃ ገዛት ውስጥ ከግጥሙ የቤተ ርሰት ለገገ
ቦታ 2-15 ገሽ -ረት ተስተፋ የተረፈውን 300 ገሽ -ረት ተሸጦ ለበጎ አወረገት ወርሻት
-ሥረጸ ቤተ ለተፋሰ ለውሰ ሀሰጊታ ግብጫ አገግባቱ በገዘዘው ሠረገት ህሽው ሥረ ከየባረት
28/59 ዓ.ም ሹጦር በተገ ጭቅጫ አየተ-ጠረ ሥረው አሰከ ዛረ በሠረገት ላይ ገፀ ፣

ለሌሁ ወቅት ተገጥሮ ሥረው የግጥሙ ከሠራተኛ በላይ ገዛ ስለግረገጥ በሌላይ
ሆነው ሥረው በተገ የግጥሙ ስለሆነ ከጋብት 4 ተገ 59 ዓ.ም ሹጦር በሌላይ ተከረፈተ
ለግሰለባት አገግቶ ለሁሉ ሁሉ ወደ ከዛ በገገ በተገለጸው ግደነት ወደ አድገው ከባታው ሽገጥ
የገ ላይ አገግባቱን አገግባቱ በገገ የወደውን ሩከቱ አባረው አገግባቱን አስታውቃለሁ ።

ተረ ጥር	ግዛት ግደነት	የገገዘቡ ልክ	
		በር	ሣ
✓ 1	ለአዎስት የሥረ ገሰረገጥ በተገ	35	
✓ 2	ለወቅት ሠራጫ	150	
✓ 3	ለአዎስት ሽግግራት ለአገጥ በተገ 3 በር ሄደ	15	
✓ 4	ለወበገ ህገገገ ተከፋፋ ለአዎስት ገገጥ ለአገጥ በው በተ. \$10050	7	50
✓ 5	ለሰረው ሠራጫ ሠራጫ ህገገ በተገ	15	
	የተገ የወደ ሹጦር	222	50
✓ 1	ለአገጥ ሽረር በወር ሥረው አለተ ወረከ	120	
2	ለአገጥጥ ህገገገ በሽገገጥ ሠራጫ ሠራጫ ሠራጫ ሠራጫ በወር	50	
	ጭቅጫ	170	

ከዛ በላይ በተለከተው ግደነት ወደ ሆኖ አገግባቱ ህገ

ከሰጥታ ገር ።

ገለባጭ ።

ለቤተ ርሰት ሄደ ቤተ
አረቢ አበባ

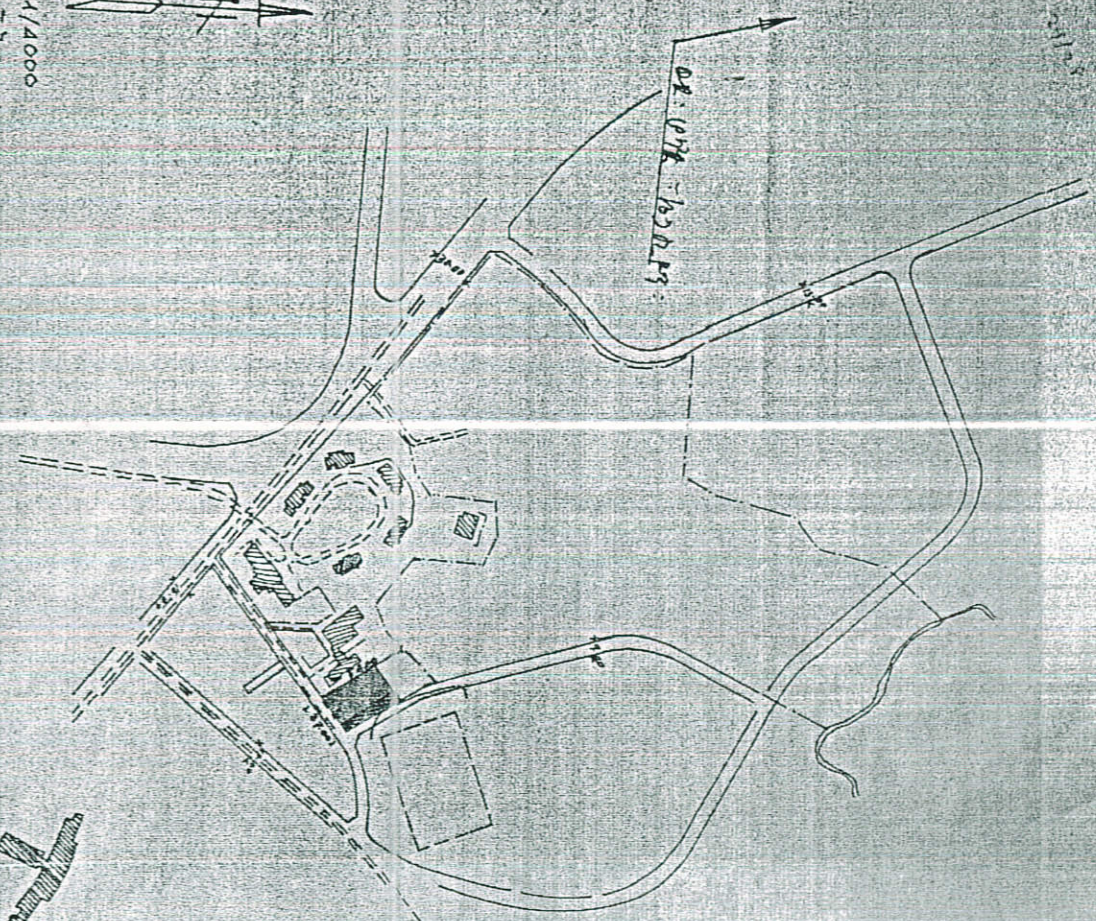
የገገዘቡ ልክ
ገገገገ
ገገገገ

በር ህገ ሥራጫ አባገረ
በላገገ ገገ

በተገገ ገገ ሥራጫ ቤተ ርሰት
ጭቅጫ ለ/ቤተ



ANNEXE 52

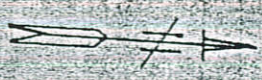


0244.1/4000

ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ШНТ

Хотобуе: 9мрррррр, 2000м/м.

ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ИТМРРРР, 00996, 02772.



Робот: 0мр ррррр
ИФМН:

ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ШНТ, 003728.
 ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ШНТ, 003728.
 ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ШНТ, 003728.
 ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ШНТ, 003728.
 ИФМН, ЕЦЕБТ, ШНТ, 003728.

№	№	№	№	№	№	№		№		№		№	
						№	№	№	№	№	№	№	№
32	45906	5	1960	№8. №14.02. 1-005	500	PHL 8-90C	2	1000	150	850			
33	"	8	"	№10778. Q.h.h	500	26860.26914	2	1000	100	900			
34	"	"	"	№022. 7027. K	500	26859	2	1000	50	950			
35	"	"	"	№327. Q.h.h	500	26860	2	1000	50	950			
36	"	"	"	№022. 809.02	500	26865	2	1000	1000	00			
37	"	"	"	№1478. 0021. Q	500	26978	2	1000	1000	00			
38	"	"	"	№094. 702. 702021. K.h	500	26928	2	1000	750	250			
39	"	"	"	№081. 900. 02. 7024. 2	500	26933	2	1000	1000	00			
40	№081. 90	"	"	№81. 702. 002. 4. 7	500	26929	2	1000	1000	00			
41	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
42	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
43	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
44	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
45	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
46	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
47	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
48	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
49	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
50	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
51	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
52	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
53	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
54	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
55	№022. 20	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
56	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			
57	"	"	"	№022. 20. 7024. 2	500	26940	2	1000	1000	00			

Handwritten signature or initials.

ጥደታ 35



ንግሥት ገጽ 8703-8-56

አዲስ አበባ ጳጳራት ቤቅ ገንቢ ገ/ሥነ ጥናት

የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ገንዘብ ማገገሚያ

የክፍያ ማገገሚያ

27/192

ገደብ:

ሶስት መቶ ስምንት ሺህ ስምንተኛው ክፍያ

የሥራ ሰራተኛ

ገደብ:

አዲስ አበባ ገንቢ ገ/ሥነ ጥናት የሥራ ሰራተኛ የገንዘብ ማገገሚያ ቤቅ ገንቢ ገ/ሥነ ጥናት ስም ገንቢ ገ/ሥነ ጥናት ስም ገንቢ ገ/ሥነ ጥናት ስም



የሥራ ሰራተኛ

የገንዘብ ማገገሚያ

የገንዘብ ማገገሚያ

የገንዘብ ማገገሚያ

27-11-54

የገንዘብ ማገገሚያ

ገንቢ:

አዲስ አበባ ገንቢ ገ/ሥነ ጥናት

የሥራ ሰራተኛ

የገንዘብ ማገገሚያ

የቆዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ
በገ አድራጎች ድርጅት

22/97 ቁጥር 1899/4/5/72
No.

አዲስ አበባ 12806: 19 ትን ደንብ 19
Addis Ababa

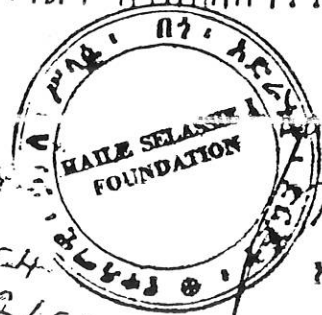
**HAILE SELASSIE I.
FOUNDATION**

የፖ.ቤት ማ.ብ. } 704
P.O. Box }
አልባ } 11445
Tel. } 12781
12782

ለገርማዊ ቶገህዬ ቢተርስት ጽሕፈት ቤት

አዲስ አበባ

በገርማዊ ቶገህዬ ሰፊ ንርታ በሰበታ ዘገማ
አገዳሪ ለታዘዘው ያስውረገ ጎጠኝ ከሆነ በሬጎ ዘገባ
ጠን ሌላ አሁንም ከሊቀ ሥልጣናት ማጠቃለያም ወርቅኑህ
አገደንቀበለው ይታዘዘው ውስጥ \$100.000 ለገደ ወጥ
ሺህ/ዩኒቨርሲቲ በመርሐ አውራገ ጎጠኝ በ/927 ሂሳብ
ውስጥ ገቢ ስንደረገልን አድርጎብላለን።



23.11.54
1405/12/54

ገለበጭ /

ለአበ ሀብተ ማርያም ወርቅኑህ

የመገበረ ፀበቅ ጎጠኝ ጎጠኝ ሥላሴ ገዳም ተጠባባቂ
10/10/1954 አዲስ አበባ::

የቀዳሴ ሥላሴ ሥላሴ
በግ አድራጊነት ደርጅታ

አዲስ አበባ መስጫ ገንቢ ተገቢ ገንቢ ግ. ም.
Addis Ababa 19

HAILE SELASSIE I.
FOUNDATION

87

የፖ.ቤት ግ. } 704
P.O. Box }

ስልክ } 1415
Tel. } 2781
2782

28/197

ለከቡር በላቲን ጌታ ቡርሃነ ሥላሴ አበቁረ

ዓገን ወወባኛ ቆይታ ቤት አበል

አዲስ አበባ

ከቡር ሆይ :-

ለወርሰ ዕውረን ትምህርት ቤት ወርሃ አገዳሪን ከቤተ ርስት ገብቶ ቤት ወደ ሆስ \$ 15,000 / አሥረ አቆስት ሺህ ዓሊን ለቡር / ገን ያለጠገ ከገርግዳ ቻገሆይ ጠገንና ከሰዓት በኋላ ለከቡር ነገግ የተሰጠውን ትክክል አያስታወሱት ?

ገንዘብ \$ 15,000 / አሥረ አቆስት ሺህ ቡር / በደርጅቱ ገንዘብ ያቸ በአቶ በዓነ አገጣጥሞ አጅ አገዳሪነት ወይን ወወባኛ አሰ ይዘን ዓለከናቸው ወሆኑን በግክብር አሰሰሰላሁ ::

ከከቡር በላቲን ጌታ

[Handwritten Signature]
አበባ ወወባኛ
አ ሰ ገ ጌ

ገለበጭ
22
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049
117/156

ደርጅቱ ዓረፍገሰ ከዓለ
ለአቶ በዓነ አገጣጥሞ
ደርጅቱ ገንዘብ ያቸ
አዲስ አበባ

የወቅታዊ ጤና ሥራ
የሰነድ አገልግሎት ቤቅ

ቁጥር : 1303/8/5

አዲስ አበባ ህዳር ፳፭ ቀን ፳፻፲፯ ዓ.ም

H. I. M. HAILE SELASSIE I.
WELFARE TRUST

የጽ/ቤት ቁጥር : 704
P. O. Box A

ስልክ : 2781
Tel. 2782

ለገጠሞች ጥገናና ልማት ስራ ለጠቅላይ
አገልግሎት

ለዓይነት ሥራዎች ጥገናና ልማት ስራ ለጠቅላይ ገንዘብ
አገልግሎት ቤቅ ለገንዘብ ልማት ስራ ለጠቅላይ ገንዘብ
\$18.000 ለሥራ ስራዎች ስራ ለጠቅላይ ገንዘብ ልማት ስራ
ተቀባይ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ
ሰጠዎታል :: =====

ጠቅላይ ገንዘብ
[Handwritten signature]

ገንዘብ :

ለገጠሞች ጥገናና ልማት ስራ ለጠቅላይ ገንዘብ ልማት ስራ	233.56
ለሌሎች ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ	135/

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ፕረላ፡ ፳



ንግሥት፡ ባህሪ-፳-፪

ገዢ ጠባብ ደብዳቤ፡ ርብርብ፡ ፳፻፲፱፡ ፳፻

የኢትዮጵያ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ መንግሥት፡

የጽሕፈት፡ ሚኒስቴር፡ ።

፳፻፲፱

ጉዳይ፡

አቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ቤተ፡ ርስት፡ ድህረ፡ ሰነድ፡

አዲስ፡ አበባ፡

ከአቡነ፡ ዲዮርስ፡ ሐውልት፡ ቦታ፡ ገቢ፡ ርስት፡
ቦታ፡ ካጌ፡ የተሠለወ፡ ቤት፡ ስሌቶ፡ አቅጣጫ፡ ካኪባካ፡
ገዳም፡ አቅምህርት፡ ካሌቶ፡ አገዳሙ፡ ስሌት፡ አቶ፡
ሌገሱ፡ እንዲሁም፡ ቀረ። ከየተጠራቀመ፡ አወዳሪነት፡
በገዳሙ፡ ውስጥ፡ አሚዳረገው፡ ድርጅት፡ እንዲረዳ፡
ቦታው፡ ስለሆነ፡ አቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ስሌት፡
ሌገሱ፡ ድርጅት፡ በርስዎች፡ እንዲሰጥ፡ መታዘዙን፡
አስታውቃለሁ።



ሰነድ ስም፡ ገረ፡

Handwritten signature and official stamp.

A.A.B.S.P.P. of I. I.M. Hailo Belachew | 15-9-50 No 1774

፳፻፲፱

190/11-5

ገዢ፡

አዲስ፡ አበባ፡ ከተማ፡ ግዛት፡ ድህረ፡ ሰነድ፡

አዲስ፡ አበባ፡



አዲስ አበባ

ቀን : 1997 ዓ.ም.

የኢትዮጵያ : ንጉሠ : ነገሥት : መንግሥት :

የጽሕፈት : ሚኒስቴር :

12 - 10 57

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ጉዳይ :

ከቀዳማዊ ኃይለ-ሥላሴ ቤተ ርክቶ ይ/ቤት

ከዲ.ክ.ባ



ጉዳይ = የገቢዎች ስርዓት ለማሻሻል የሚደረግ

32004 ርክቶ ሆስፒታል ስራ ለማራገፍ

ከቀዳማዊ ወይን ሆስፒታል መሥሪያ ቤቅ ስራ ለማራገፍ

ቀዳሚያ ስራ ለማራገፍ

ገቢዎች ስርዓት



ሰራተኛ ገቢ : ማርያም
ዋና ጸረክኛ

A.A.B.S.P.L. of B.I.M. Halle Saha Co. T. N. Ha. 27. 1997

ጉዳይ

ከዲ.ክ.ባ ገቢዎች ስርዓት

ከቀዳማዊ ኃ/ሥላሴ ቤተ ርክቶ ወይን ወይን ወይን ወይን ወይን

ከዲ.ክ.ባ

የቀዳማዊ ጌደላ ሥላሴ በጎ ሰድራጎት ድርጅት

የበላይ ጠባቂዎች

- ለዑሉ የእ.ግ.ኃ. ሙ. አላጋ ግራሽ
- ብዑሶ ግብርና ገቢ ገዢ ግብርና ገቢ
- ለዕለት ተናገሮች ግራሽ ጌደላ ሥላሴ
- ብዑሶ የሐረር ጸሐፊ
- ለዑሉ የሐረር ሙሥናን
- የሕግ ሙወሰኛ ምክር ቤት ፕረዚዳንት
- የጽሕፈት ሚኒስትር
- የእ.ግ.ኃ. ሙ. ጠቅላይ ፍርድ ቤት ፕረዚዳንት
- የሙ. ፀ. ቅድስት ሥላሴ ካቲሮራ ለስተዳዳሪ
- የቶ. ጌ. ሥ. ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕረዚዳንት



ክ. ተገቢ 10/59 ዓ.ም

ቁጥር 3836/4/16/16

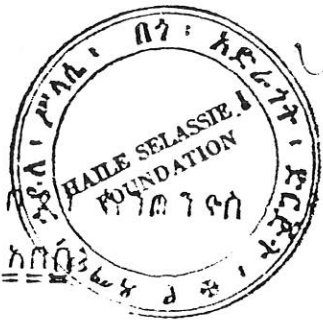
የሰላክ ቁጥር 13045-7
 የፖሊስ ገጠን ቁጥር 704
 ቱሌገራት ፊደል ፊደል
 ፊደል ለሰባ

27/197

የሐክቡር ሰላቴን ጌታ በርሃነ ሥላሴ አበደረ
አዲስ አበባ

ሰኞ 3 ቀን 1959. ዓ.ም. በቁጥር 358/53/59
 ለአዎን ደስታ የደገገኛችን ትምህርት ቤት ስለሚገኘው አገደ ተጭኖ
 አጭብሶ የጸፈውን ዘገ ለርባን በጣክር ተጠቅሞት ገቢ፡፡
 የተፈቀደው የ\$13.736 አገደብ ለአቶ በዳን አገ
 ጠገኛን ከዚህ ጭስታወቅ ጋር የሌለውን ትምህርት ቤት
 ስጦት፡፡=====

ገልበጥ፡



ከጣክር ሰላቴን ጌታ

Handwritten signature

አበደ ሥላሴ
የዳ ስስተዳዳሪ

\$13-736-
 በወጪ ግዢ ገቢ ቁጥር
 62881
 ግዢ ሆረሳ

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 8-11-59

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28/197

ከፊ. ያቀረጠው የጸሐ. ሥላሴ. የገጠ. አድራጊ. ድርጅት. ደ/ገጠ. አስተዳዳሪ. አቶ. ተገራሪ.
 ሽራው. ገጠማዊ. ጓጉሠ. ገደማት. ለኩራኩ. ሌክ. ጠገን. ሆስፒታል. ማህበረ. የተገዛውን. ስንሲዎን.
 አንድረጠው. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ.
470/24/53 ለገጠማዊ. ደ/ገጠ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ.
 ስንሲዎን. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. የተገዛውን. ስንሲዎን. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. የተገዛውን. ገጠማዊ.
 ቀን 9. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ደ/ገጠ. ገጠማዊ.

1.	የ \$ 2000	ገጠ	ስንሲዎን	የገጠማዊ	ወርቀት	ገጠማዊ	258	የተገዛውን	1
2	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	259	"	1
3	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	260	"	1
4	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	261	"	1
5	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	262	"	1
6	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	263	"	1
7	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	264	"	1
8	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	265	"	1
9	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	266	"	1
10	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	267	"	1
11	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	268	"	1
12	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	269	"	1
13	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	270	"	1
14	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	271	"	1
15	" 2000	"	"	"	"	"	272	"	1

ገጠማዊ የ \$30,000 ሽራው ገጠማዊ ስንሲዎን. አሥራ አምስት. የገጠማዊ ወርቀት ቀን.
 16 ስፊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ.
 17. የገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ.
 1946. ደ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ.
 ገጠማዊ ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ. ገጠማዊ.



93

ዘቤተ ርስቲ ገቢ ላይ በገርግዳነታቸው ልዩ ችርታ ወዲ የሆነ የተሰጠውን ገንዘብ ዝርዝር የሚገልጹ ተዮሮ የተሰጠው ነው ።

ከተኩት 1/47 ዓ.ም ኦሰክ ነጃሴ 30/56 ዓ.ም ድረስ በየጊዜው የወጣ ገንዘብ ፣

ተረተር	የወጥው	ዓይነት	የገንዘቡ ልክ	
			ብር	ሣ
1	ለበጎ አዳኞች የተሰጠ አክሲዮን በገንዘብ		1111.033	40
2	ረዳቱ ለሌላቸው ልጆች ለትሎህርት ቤት የተከፈለ		2.200	
3	ለፕላንቶች የወር ተለብ		618.405	
4	ረዳት ለሌላቸውና ጤናቸው ለታወቀ ልጆች ት.ቤት ግራም		192.950	20
5	በየወከንዳት በገንዘብ ግዛት ያከናወኑ ለታሠሩ ግሰፈቻ		2.075	
6	ለቤተ ክርስቲያን ግሰፈጃ ወርኛ		678.124	69
7	ተው ተከፊዳ ለው ወገኖች ለሆስፒታል የተከፈለ		4.490	66
8	ለፕላንቶች በየጊዜው የተሰጠና ለዱሃ ሃይማኖት የተሰጠ		209.840	
9	ለ-ጠበቅ ወርኛ የተሰጠ		37.647	70
			2.856.665	

1170.አይደም

Declaration

I the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my work and that all sources used for writing up it have been dully acknowledged

Name Wagan Bogair

Sign Jayash

Date of Submission June, 2016

Declaration

I the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my work and that all sources used for writing up it have been dully acknowledged

Name Wagan Bogale

Sign Zayaphu

Date of Submission June, 2016