

ADDIS ABBABA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE PROGRAMMES OFFICE

A HISTORY OF YELMANA DÉNSA DISTRICT
(1901- 1974)

BY
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SEPTEMBER 2015

ADDIS ABABA

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE PROGRAMMES OFFICE OF
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 2015

ADDIS ABABA

Addis Ababa University
Graduate Programs Office

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Geremew Eskezia, entitled: "A History of Yelmana Dénsa District (1901-1974)" and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in History complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Key to the Transliteration Systems

I. The seven sounds (vowels) of Ethiopic alphabet are represented as follows:

<u>Vowel</u>		<u>Symbol</u>		<u>Example</u>	
1 st order (Ge`ez)	ä	በ	Bä	በላይ	Bälay
2 nd order (Ka`eb)	u	ቡ	Bu	ቡራ	Buré
3 rd order (Sales)	I	ቢ	Bi	ቢትወደድ	Bitwäddäd
4 th order (Rabe`)	a	ባ	Ba	ባላባት	Balabbat
5 th order (Hames)	é	ቤ	Bé	ቤት	Bét
6 th order (Sades)	e	ብ	Be	ግብር	Geber
7 th order (Sabe)	o	ቦ	Bo	አቦ	Abbo

II. Consonants are represented as follows:

<u>Consonant</u>	<u>Symbols</u>	<u>Example</u>
ሸ	Š ---- ሸዋ	Šäwa
ቸ	č---- ብቸና	Bečäna
ኸ	ñ--- ኸኸኸ	ñoñño
ዸ	ž---- ገዢ	Gäž
ጸ	j--- ደጃጅ	Däjjäč
ጠ	Ṭ --- ጠና	Ṭana
ጸ	Ṗ ----- ጸወሎስ	Ṗawlos
ቀ	q ----- ቀበሌ	qäbälé
ጨ	Çhä---- ጨዋ	çhäwa
ጸ / ፀ	Ş ---- ፀሐይ	Şahayu
ሚ	mwa --- ላሚ	lamwa

III. Gemination is indicated by doubling the consonant letter

<u>Example</u>	ደጃጅ	Däjjäč
	አበደ	Käbbädä

Acknowledgements

First and for most, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to my thesis advisor, Dr. Tecele Haimanot Gebre Silassie, who has shown the interest and patience to read all the drafts of the thesis. I am very much indebted to his constructive comments, corrections and criticisms, through both the internet and telephone as well as face to face contact, which have helped me to reshape the thesis. True, too, his welcoming approach deserves appreciation as it has enabled me to communicate freely with him through the telephone about the progress of the research and borrow his personal source materials.

Secondly, I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Belete Bizuneh for lending me some of his personal books to be references in the thesis. Addis Ababa University also deserves acknowledgement as it allocated the funds to conduct my field research. The services and affectionate librarians of the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency and Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center also deserve appreciation and acknowledgement.

I am also grateful to all those who have made, in one way or another, contributions to the successful completion of the thesis. To mention but few, I have to acknowledge the contributions of the librarian of Adét Secondary and Preparatory School, *Wäyzäro* Yalga Gétahun, all my oral informants and government workers at Adét, particularly *Ato* Beruh Wubešät (Culture and Tourism) and *Ato* Gäbäyaw Dämeläw (Municipality archivist), who made archives and other source materials available to me. My thanks also goes to other individuals such as *Ato* Wärru Negatu, *Ato* Gäbrä Mäsqäl Tebäbu, *Ato* Addam Käbbädä, *Ato* Aläbäl Tayä, *Ato* Fätänä Enyāw and Meseganaw Tayä who allowed me to read and make a photo copy of their personal documents.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my gratefulness to my father *Ato* Eskäziya Addam for his constant and unreserved moral, material and financial support throughout my academic life. I am also indebted to *Sajen* Ayänāw Eskäziya and my uncle *Ato* Tämäsgän Addam and all my other family members and relatives for their continuous and unreserved moral and material support.

Preface

The district of Yelmana Dénsa has played its own part in the cultural, social, economic and political developments of the country. However, like many other districts of the country, Yelmana Dénsa has not been a focus of scholarly study so far. Therefore, the objective of current research is to reconstruct the 20th century history of the district of Yelmana Dénsa up to 1974. The study is also intended to fill some gaps in the existing literature about the rural local histories of Ethiopia.

A range of sources have been used to reconstruct the history of Yelmana Dénsa. The first way of collecting sources was intensive library research at the Kennedy and Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) libraries at the Addis Ababa University. I have also gathered information from the libraries of Bahr Dar University and Adét Secondary and Higher Education Preparatory School. Valuable information have been drawn particularly from published primary sources like the letters of Emperor Menilek to regional rulers published by Páwlos Ñoñño, chronicles, traveler accounts, and the accounts of *Fitawrari* Täklä Hawariyat Täklä Maryam, *Ras* Emeru Haylä Sellasé and *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Täsämma. Then, intensive library research enabled me to establish a general framework of the thesis. I have also got sufficient background knowledge essential to write on the history of the district of Yelmana Dénsa from 1901-1974. The second way of gathering information (data) was careful investigation of archival sources at the Yelmana Dénsa district Finance, Tourism, Information and Communication, and Municipality offices. Of the other archival sources involved in the study, those of which I have gathered from the rich repositories of archives at the National Archives and Library Agency, Däbrä Marqos University Archives and Research Center and Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Research Center (IES) are most vital. Manuscripts, letters and other sources which I have collected from individuals were also the other valuable assets of the thesis. The most

informative of them is the hand written manuscript of *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu about the genealogical links of the people of Yelmana Dénsa with the other Ethiopian peoples and the administration of *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot. The manuscript has two parts and pages in Ge'ez numerals, and hence, I have separately used them as Negatu (I) for genealogies and Negatu (II) for the part written on the period of *Ras* Haylu. One of the sources used in this study even described it as “the chronicle of *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot”. It is currently found in the hands of *Ato* Wärru Negatu who is living in Bahr Dar. Appendices III and IV of the thesis have been photocopied from the same manuscript. Others like obituaries, receipts and land related personal documents have also been voluntarily made available by individuals and used to write the thesis.

I have also systematically interviewed knowledgeable informants living in Yelmana Dénsa and elsewhere on the main themes of the study. Here, fortunately enough, I also found very essential to use the most important eye witness oral sources which I gathered in 1999-2000 for my B.Ed Thesis on the history of Adét town. I have interviewed again those who are still alive. This eased my field research and enabled me to concentrate deeply on the post liberation period for which again I could get eye witnesses. It also enabled me to appreciate the variations of oral information from one generation to another.

The data collected from secondary, archival and oral sources have been carefully selected, cross checked and examined for its authenticity. Then, the information drawn from authentic and credible sources were interpreted and analyzed so as to reconstruct the history of Yelmana Dénsa in the period under study.

The main problems I faced in the course of gathering and analyzing information (data) and writing the thesis were lack of archival materials in the study area and absence of population data on the district for the period under investigation. I have tried my best to resolve at least

the first problem by traveling to Däbrä Marqos and Addis Ababa so as to get archival sources in which I was very successful.

The thesis consists of four main chapters. The first chapter of the study surveys the pre 20th century history of Yelmana Dénsa as a background to the main themes of the thesis. The next chapter assesses the major political and socio economic issues of Yelmana Dénsa during the first three and half decades of the 20th century. The third chapter of the thesis focuses on the Italian interlude during which the socio economic, cultural and political affairs of the country in general Yelmana Dénsa district in particular was destabilized. The last chapter of the thesis also deals with the history of the district of Yelmana Dénsa during the post-liberation period in which change and continuity have been analyzed. Finally, the conclusion section of the thesis consolidates the discussions of the main themes of the thesis and gives some concluding remarks.

Abstract

Yelmana Dénsa is one of the districts of West Gojjam Administrative Zone of Amhara National Regional State. The existing literature reveals that in the past the territory of Yelmana Dénsa was an important center of economy, administration and religious activities in Gojjam at least from the beginning of the 17th century.

In the early 20th century, the importance of Yelmana Dénsa increased than ever before. During the Italian occupation period (1936-41), Yelmana Dénsa was one of the most renowned centers of patriotic resistance in Gojjam. Despite the strong resistance there, the Italians successively made Yelmana Dénsa a center of Vice Rezidenza (1936-37), Rezidenza (1937-38) and Commissionership (1939-41). The post liberation period also saw increasing changes in the traditional form of administration, taxation and urbanization in Yelmana Dénsa despite the resistance by the local population. However, socially, the centuries old forms of social relation, in which particularly occupational groups were marginalized, still continued throughout the period under study.

Therefore, this thesis has been reconstructed on the history of Yelmana Dénsa district during the period from 1901 to 1974. It will also try to fill some gaps in the existing literature and shade light on the root causes of the current social, economic and administrative problems of the district

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Chapter One

Geographical Setting and Historical Background

This introductory chapter of the thesis will try to survey the geographical setting and major political, social, and economic developments of the region where modern Yelmana Dénsa district is situated before the 20th century.

1.1. Geographical Setting

The district of Yelmana Dénsa is located in northern Gojjam. Its administrative center is Adét town. At present the district of Yelmana Dénsa is bordered by the districts of Méçha in the west, Gonj-Qollälla in the east, Qwarit and Säkäla in the south and Bahr Dar Zuriya in the north. It is also separated from South Gondar by the Abbay (Blue Nile) River in the north east.¹

The total area of Yelmana Dénsa is 999.8 square kilometers or 99,180 hectares. It is divided in to 33 rural *qäbälés*. The landscape of the district is a mixture of plains, plateaus, mountains and gorges. The district also has black, red and brown types of soil. Climatically, the southern part of the district along the Adama Mountain (24%) has higher elevation and experiences a *däga* (cold) agro-climatic condition. Much of the central and larger part of Yelmana Densa (64%) is also plain and experiences a *wäyna däga* (moderate) climate which is conducive for agricultural production. Hence, this agro-climatic zone is more densely populated than others. However, the *qolla* area of Yelmana Dénsa along the Abbay gorge in the north (12%) has the lowest altitude and experiences hot climate. By contrast, the lowest point in Yelmana Dénsa is found in the *qolla* areas with an altitude of 1,500 meters.²

¹Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, “Yä Yelmana Dénsa Wäräda Profile” (Adét, 2005 E.C.), p. 9. ; Annual Report of 2007 E.C. of Yelmana Dénsa District Finance Office to West Gojjam Zone Finance Office (Adét, *Mäskäräm* 2008 E.C.), p. 2.

²Yelmana Dénsa District Government Communications Affairs Office, “Yä Yelmana Dénsa Wäräda Gäşeta” (Leaflet, Adét, *Yäkatit*, 2004 E.C.).



Map 1: Amhara Region Administrative Boundaries

Legend

Region

Zone

Woreda

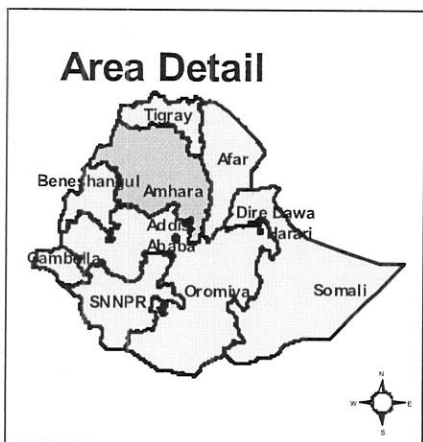
Town

Road

Lake

2

Area Detail



50 0 50 100 150 200 250 Kilometers

Map 2: The Districts of West Gojjam Zone

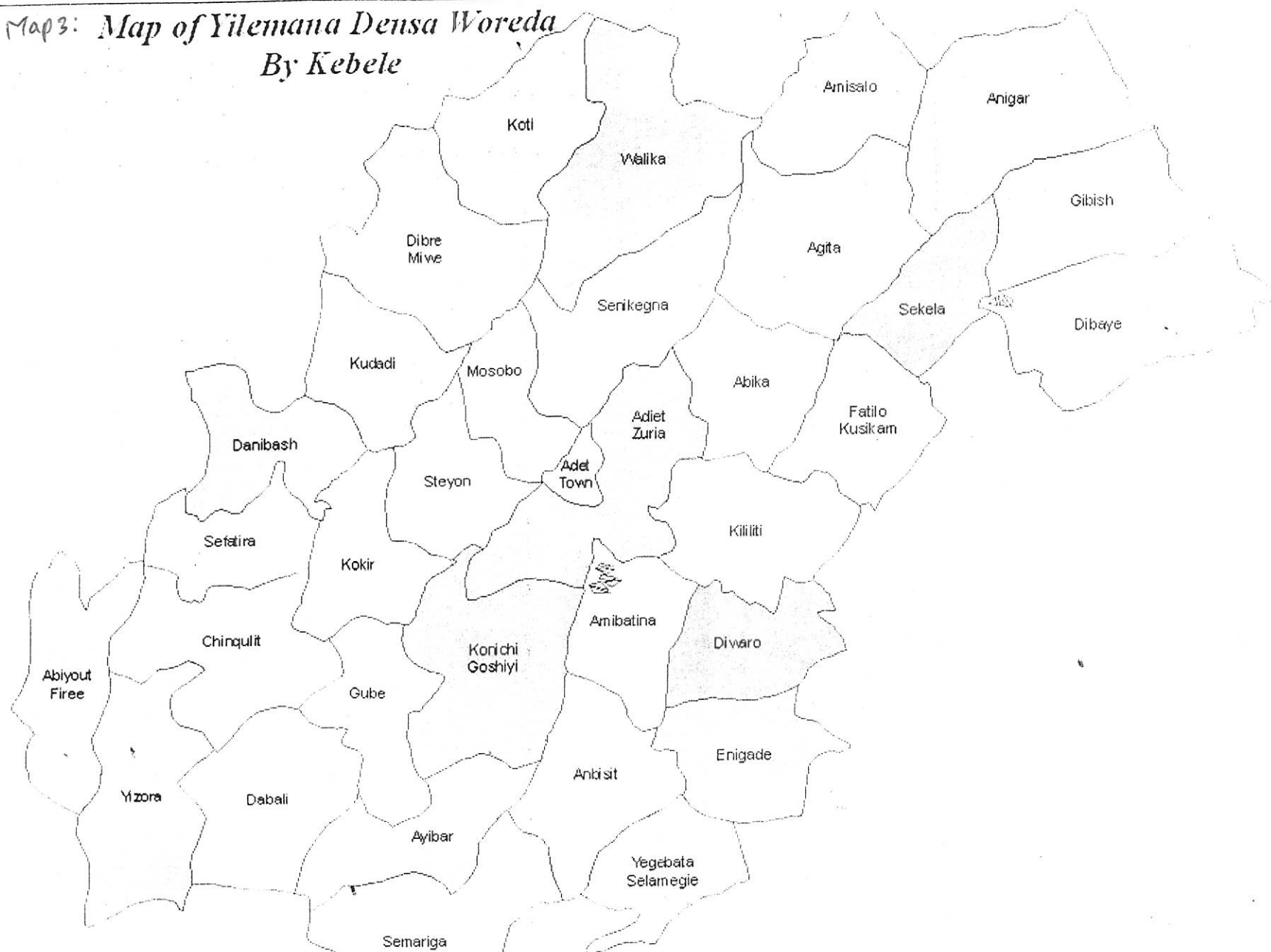


Source: Fitsum Dechasa and Fikirte Demissie “Challenges of Portable Water Supply System in Rural Ethiopia: The Case of GonjKolela Woreda, West Gojjam, Ethiopia” in *Natural Resources and Conservation Journal*, vol. 2, No 4 (2014): 59-69.

N.B. Gonj Qollälla district was a part of Yelmana Dénsa district from 1947 to 2006.



Map 3: Map of Yilemana Densa Woreda
By Kebele



0 15 3 6 9 12 K. M

Furthermore, since the greater part of the district experiences a moderate type of climate, Yelmana Dénsa receives an annual average rainfall of 1270 millimeters. The average annual temperature of the district also reaches up to 17.85⁰ Celsius. However, the low land area of the district has relatively higher temperature and lower amount of rainfall.³

The highest point in the district is the Adama Mountain with the height of 3,400 meters. The Adama Mountain is a part of the Amādamit mountain range. It divides the districts of Yelmana Dénsa, Qwarit, Méçha and Säkäla. Mount Adama also has a unique plateau landscape on top of it, which served as a regional seat of power in the past. In addition, Mount Adama is the source of almost all the perennial rivers that bisect Yelmana Dénsa or separate it from other neighbouring districts. The two main rivers that bisect Yelmana Dénsa itself are Šegāz and Šena. Šena River also serves as the natural boundary between the sub-districts of Dénsa and Yelmana. The two rivers merge at Mägānaña to the north of Adét town and flows in to the Abbay River. The other is the Ṭul River which flows in to the Abbay River between the hill of Abola and the rural town of Däbrä Mawi. On the other hand, Denj River, which rises from Adama, separates the districts of Yelmana Dénsa and Méçha and flows in to Abbay River. In addition, the small river called Berr Adama separates Yelmana Dénsa from the districts of Säkäla and Qwarit. Similarly, Yāzat River, which originates from Amādamit Mountain, forms the natural boundary between the districts of Yelmana Dénsa and Gonj Qollälla.⁴

Regarding the human setting, currently the district of Yelmana Dénsa has an estimated population of 222, 661 living in rural areas, of which 114, 472 were females and 108, 159

³Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, “Yä Yelmana Dénsa Wārāda Amäsārarāt Ena Tarik” (Adét, 2004 E.C.), p. 5. ; Annual Report of 2007 E.C. of Yelmana Dénsa District Finance Office to West Gojjam Zone Finance Office (Adét, *Mäskäräm* 2008 E.C.), p. 2.

⁴“Bä Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Yämigāñnu Wāzoč”, Wäldä Mäskäl Tariku Memorial Research Center, Institute of Ethiopian Studies (here after W. M. T. M. A. R. C., IES), Folder Number, Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat, n.d. In the north, Yelmana Dénsa is also separated from South Gondar Administrative Zone by river Abbay.

were males. In addition to this, the urban population of Adét town is also estimated to be 52,590, of which 26,638 are females and 25,952 are males. Orthodox Christianity and Islam are also the two dominant religions of Yelmana Dénsa with a distinctive majority of the former. Since the district is endowed with vast plains of fertile land, agriculture forms the major economic base of its people. The main crop types of the district include teff, barely, wheat, maize, peas, beans, potato, spices and the like. Yelmana Dénsa also has a high potential for animal rearing and honey production. Finally, sources reveal that until recent times much of the district of Yelmana Dénsa was covered with forest which was the home of varieties of wild animals. However, due to population growth and deforestation, currently only about 3% of the district is covered with forest and its wildlife is disappearing. Deforestation and land overuse have also caused chronic soil erosion in the district of Yelmana Dénsa, which has reduced its soil fertility resulting in decreasing food production.⁵

1.2. Historical Background

1.2.1. General Historical Developments in Present Day Yelmana Dénsa District to the Beginning of the 17th Century

The existing literature reveals that the Agäw people dominated the region south of Lake Tana including present day Yelmana Dénsa district during the period from the 13th to 17th centuries.⁶ It also seems that the Amädamit–Gonj areas around present day Yelmana Dénsa was an important Agäw political center in the past.⁷

⁵Annual Report of 2007 E.C. of Yelmana Dénsa District Finance Office to West Gojjam Zone Finance Office (Adét, Mäskäräm 2008 E.C.), p. 2. ; Adét Town Administration Integrated Development Plan of 2007 E.C. (Adét Town Administration Finance Office, Adét, Mäskäräm, 2008 E.C.), p.1.

⁶C. F. Rey, *In the Country of the Blue Nile* (New York: Negro University Press, 1927), p. 140.; Asrat Araya, "A History of Buré Damot Wäräda, 1936-1974" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2010), pp.7-8.

⁷Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 63, 196,202. For instance, there is still today a place called Žan Kemer (Lord of the Mound) in the same area which was the name of one of the kings of the Agäw, see Tadesse Tamrat, "Ethiopia in Miniature: The Peopling of Gojjam," *Twelfth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol.1* (Michigan State University, 1994), p. 957.

However, the Agäw people were not the earliest inhabitants of Gojjam. For instance, both Agäw and Gumuz traditions recognize that the Gumuz were displaced by the Agäw from the region south of Lake Tana as far as present day district of Mécha and the frontiers of Damot.⁸ On the other hand, Täklä Eyäsus, Fantahun and other authors argue that the Gafat were also one of the earliest inhabitants of Gojjam living on both sides of the Abbay (Blue Nile) River.⁹ They argue that from among the descendants of ancient Gafats, Sälälo occupied present day Yelmana Dénsa, Aräfa, Ačäfär and Zägé long before the coming of the Agäw.¹⁰ Therefore, it seems that later on the Agäw of Gojjam dominated the Gafat as well. In this case, Agäw traditions explain that “*La Neta Awiya*” /the Seven Houses of Agäw/ came to Gojjam from Lasta as hunters during the Zagwé period.¹¹ However, it seems more probable that they came to Gojjam as patrons of ancient Aksumite trade routes in an earlier time.¹²

The Agäws of Gojjam seem to have eventually established a kingdom of their own. However, the exact time and circumstances leading to the establishment of the Agäw state of Gojjam are not clearly known. Anyway, early Agäw kings used the royal title of *Jan* or *Žan* (Lord).¹³ In terms of religion, the Agäw of northern and eastern Gojjam were worshippers of

⁸Tsega Endalew, *Inter-Ethnic Relations on a Frontier: Mätäkkäl (Ethiopia), 1898 -1991* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp.15, 27. ; Tadesse Tamrat, “Nilo- Saharan Interactions with Neighbouring Highlanders: The Case of the Gumuz Resettlement in Ethiopia” (Addis Ababa University, Institute of Developmental Research (IDR), 1988), pp. 3-4.

⁹Täkelä Eyäsus Waqejera (*Aläqa*), *Yä Gojjam Teweled Bämulu Kä Abbay Eskä Abbay*, Ed., Germa Gétahun (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2003 E.C.), pp. 42-43. ; Fantahun Birhane, “Gojjam: 1800-1855,” (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1973), p.26. See also Tadesse, “*Ethiopia in Miniature*,” pp. 954, 960.

¹⁰Täkelä Eyäsus, p.45. ; Tadesse, “*Ethiopia in Miniature...*”, p. 956.; Alula Yohannes, “A History of Dämbača Wārāda to 1991” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2010), p. 22. The other ancient personalities of Gafat were Mälälo, Däräbé and Säräbé.

¹¹Tsega, p.27. ; Tadesse Tamrat, “Process of Ethnic Interaction Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of Agäw” in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No 1, (1988), p.11.

¹²Ibid.

¹³G. W. Huntingford, *The Historical Geography of Ethiopia: From the First Century AD to 1704* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.79, 87.

mountains, rivers, and trees before they embraced Christianity.¹⁴ It also seems that the Agäw were worshippers of the *Zar* cult (Agäw sky- god) and spirits like *Ghion*.¹⁵

However, particularly from the 13th century onwards, both Zagwé and Solomonic emperors tried to extend their rule over the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam through expanding the frontiers of Christianity in to the region south of Lake Ṭana. For instance, hagiographical traditions, as cited by Taddesse, indicate that Emperor Lalibäla (r. c. 1185-1225) sent an army led by his nephew, Nä'akuto Lă'Ab, to suppress the rebellion of an Agäw ruler of Gojjam. It seems that Nä'akuto Lă'Ab succeeded in suppressing the rebellion at least temporarily.¹⁶ Furthermore, there are traditions even about new population settlement of the supporters of Lalibäla in Gojjam during the political conflicts between Emperor Harbé (r. c. 1160 - c.1185) and him.¹⁷ Sources also agree that earlier Zagwé attempts at extending their rule in the region south of Lake Ṭana were intensified under the new Solomonic rulers. In this case, the year 1316/17 was a turning point in the history of Gojjam.¹⁸ The chronicler mentions that in that year Emperor Amdä Šēyon reached the Amädāmit area where Agäw kings exercised political power. This was the first written mention of the Agäw kingdom Gojjam. Anyway, from the 1316/17 onwards Gojjam became a tributary province of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia.¹⁹

¹⁴J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p.20. For instance, the names of Agäw kings like Jan Čuhay (14th century), Žan Kemer (15th century) and geographical features like Abola Negus and Žan Kemer, denote the lords of the mound of earth and stones, see Huntingford, p. 87.

¹⁵Trimingham, pp. 27, 257.

¹⁶Taddesse, *Church and State*, p.63. In addition, according to legend, all the demons with human flesh making troubles upon Lalibäla's Sainly activities in the region were buried beneath mount Abola (Abola Negus) near Adét town with the help of Angel Ragu'él, see *Diyaqons Yaréd Gäbrä Mädhén & Alula Ṭelahun*, "Käwašära Eskä Gäragära," *Hamär Zä Orthodox* (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Mahbärä Qedusan, Magazine, Vol. 10, No. 2, *Ginbot/ Säné* 1994 E. C.), p. 22.

¹⁷Täklä Eyäsu, pp. 162-163.

¹⁸Taddesse, *Church and State*, p.190.

¹⁹Nebeyu Eyasu, "Administrative History of Gojjam: 1941-1974" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2004), pp. 7-8

However, local opposition to the expansion of Christianity and foundation of churches in the region south of Lake Tana was still considerable even after the incorporation of Gojjam in to the Christian state of Ethiopia. For instance, during the early years of Amdä Şeyon's reign a monk named Yafqränä Igzi of Gugban failed to preach Christianity outside of the Lake islands because he was resisted by the Agäw king named Widim.²⁰ Later on, in the early 1340s, another Christian monk named *Abba Zä Yohannes*, founder of the island monastery of Kebran, was imprisoned in the mountains of Amädämit by the king of the Agäw of Gojjam named Žan Čuhay. As a result, Emperor Amdä Şeyon sent many Christian soldiers in to Gojjam who set free the monk by killing Žan Čuhay.²¹

Therefore, it seems that because of the persistent resistance put up by the Agäw of west Gojjam, the influence of Christianity in the region was minimal before the beginning of the 17th century.²² By contrast, Amdä Şeyon's conquest of Gojjam seemed to have been followed by intensive evangelical activities and settlement of Christian families in eastern Gojjam particularly during the reigns of Emperors Dawit (r.1382-1412) and Yeshaq (r.1414-1428). As a result, famous monasteries like Däbrä Wärq, Däbrä Dima and Märṭolä Maryam were founded in the region during the 14th and early 15th centuries. These monasteries and Christian settlements around them seem to have then served as points of further evangelical activities in the interior of Gojjam.²³ Subsequently, other famous monasteries like Wašära Maryam, Gonj Téwodros Mika'él, and Şelalo Amanu'él were founded to the east of present

²⁰Taddesse, *Church and State*, p.191.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp.195-196.

²²Taddesse Tamrat, "A Short Note on the Tradition of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. X, No. 1 (1972), pp. 145-146.

²³Taddesse, *Church and State*, pp.202-203.; Jean Doresse, *Ethiopia: Ancient Sites and Temples* (Trans.) (London: Elek Books, 1969), pp.106, 118, 125.

day Yelmana Dénsa territory in the course of the 15th century.²⁴ Regarding this, tradition has it that Emperor Yeshaq founded the churches of Adét and Edawré in present day Yelmana Dénsa, both of which dedicated to the ark of *Abuna* Gäbrä Mämfäs Qedus commonly known as *Abbo*. Then, the emperor granted large tracts of land to both churches and the *balabbats* whom he had settled at both places.²⁵

It also seems that the Agäw of Gojjam were continuously pushed further west; themselves by pushing the Gumuz in to the hot areas of Mätäkkäl.²⁶ There was a saying in eastern Gojjam as regards to this which reads: “አገፈ ሲሰደድ አማራ ሲለምድ”/ literally, as the Agäw migrated, the Amhara owned [the land]/.²⁷ Here, in the early 16th century, Alvarez also mentioned that the most important estates of Empress Eléni was found in eastern Gojjam.²⁸ As a result of the gradual pressure from the Christian state from the east, during the period before the beginning of the 16th century, eastern Gojjam had already become a region of distinctively Christian and Amharic speaking peoples.²⁹ Consequently, the rulers of the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam during the 15th and 16th centuries assumed Christian names. Accordingly, the ruler of Gojjam during the reign of Bä`edä Maryam (r.1468-1478) was *Negus* Anbäsa Dawit³⁰, son of

²⁴Mäzämer Abbay and Däbbasu Hulgizé, “Gonj Téwodros Mika`él, Wäyzazert Kidanä Meherät and Gonj Şelalo Amanu`él” (West Gojjan Culture and Tourism Office, Bahr Dar, 1989 E. C), p.2.

²⁵Informants: Aşagré Čäkkol, Biyazne Ejegu, Tägäññä Ewnätu and Bayäh Fälläqä.; Dästa Mogäs, “Yä Adét Kätäma Tarik” (Amharic, n.d.), p. 2. ; Geremew Eskezia, “A History of Adét Town from its Foundation to 1974” (B.Ed. Thesis in History, Bahr Dar University, Department of History, 2000), p.3.

²⁶Taddesse, *Church and State*, p.27. ; Taddesse Tamrat, “Nilo- Saharan Interactions with Neighbouring Highlanders”, pp. 5-6.

²⁷Täklä Eyäsus, p. 163. ; Bälay Mäkonnen (*Liqä Heruyan*), *Etégé Taytu Bä Däberä Mäwi* (Addis Ababa: Tana Printing Press, 2003 E. C.), p. 88. It seems that the process of pushing the Agäw further west by the Amhara had already been started during the Zagwé period.

²⁸Huntingford, p. 119.

²⁹Taddesse, *Church and State*, p. 203.

³⁰*Ibid*, p.202. Şärşä Maryam and Täklä Şeyon were the other *Neguses* of Gojjam with Christian names during the reign of Lebnä Dengel, see Taddesse, “*Ethiopia in Miniature*,” p. 957.

The Gondarine period was also characterized by continuous land grants and redistributions. Emperor Susenyos and his successors took two-thirds of the lands in the region south of Lake Tana by revoking the land grants of previous reigns and allocated it among *chäwa* troops, royal relatives and the church. Because of this, a new form of land tenure began in the region where Yelmana Densa was situated.⁶⁴ In fact, provincial governors ever since the reign of Susenyos recruited part of their *chäwa* troops from among the descendants of earlier *chäwa* settlers who had already owned *rest* lands.⁶⁵

The most famous of all the land grants made by Emperor Susenyos were the lands granted to the Oromo soldiers who helped him to rise to power. Sources agree that Susenyos settled all his Oromo followers as *chäwa* regiments with *gult* land rights in Damot, Gojjam, Banja, Bälaya and Bajäna (in Lay Armaçheho).⁶⁶ Here, Aşmä Giyorgis mentions that Susenyos settled the Méçha, Qéro, Basso and other Oromo clans in the region to the south and south west of Lake Tana.⁶⁷ The Chronicler Täklä Sellasé in his part mentions that Emperor Susenyos also settled the Wärräntesä Oromo in Gänž north of modern Däbrä Mäwi.⁶⁸ The other important and well documented land grants made by Emperor Susenyos were the lands granted to his Catholic half-brother, Ras Se'elä Kerestos, in 1627, in present day Säkäla-Däbrä Mäwi area such as Mäsqäl Haş, Lëjj Ambära, Şima Ras, Käbäsa (now Jiv Asra), Qulçhi and Şalña, and in

⁶⁴Informant: Alämay Bogalä. ; Hubtamu Mengstie, *Lord, Zéga and Peasant: Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam* (Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, 2004), pp. 29-30. ; Crummey, p. 72.

⁶⁵Abir, p.197. The good example for these *chäwa* troops were the *Henaçh Hadari* in Qollälla. See Appendix II.

⁶⁶Among others see, Crummey, p.74. ; Aman, p. 336.

⁶⁷Bairu, pp. 280-281.

⁶⁸Täklä Sellasé, p. 105.

Bägémder.⁶⁹

Furthermore, *Ras* Se'elä Kerestos and his commander Asgader Amdä Eyäsus had both Amhara and Oromo *çhäwa* troops operating in Damot including present day Yelmana Dénsa against the anti-Catholic partisans.⁷⁰ Täklä Sellasé states that Asgader was a Henaçh *Azmač* (commander of the Henaçh troops) under Se'elä Kerstos.⁷¹ The Amhara *çhäwa* troops were recruited from Sayent, Wadla, Lasta and other adjoining areas.⁷² In relation to this, Täklä Eyäsus mentions the names of the localities in Damot Proper which were under the *restä-gult* supervision of *Ras* Asgader. They included Zägé as a whole, Méçha, Gafit Gäbra'él, Dehit Gäbra'él, Mändärä Eyäsus; Ayqätuba Giyorgis from Yelmana; and Yenaçh Abbo and Yenaçh Maryam from Qollälla.⁷³ *Ras* Amdä Eyäsus (Amdo) Téwodros was the other military leader of *Ras* Se'elä Kerstos.⁷⁴ Amdä Eyäsus had lands at Gafit Gäbra'él, Tängova Abbo and modern Adét localities on which he had settled parts of his *çhäwa* troops.⁷⁵ Part of *Ras* Se'ela Kerestos's troops also consisted of Muslim contingents called *Kokäb* (Star).⁷⁶ For instance, a certain Muslim named Ali who was under Asgader has been traditionally recognized as the founding father of *rest* land owning Muslims of Yelmana Dénsa. In short, it seems that *Ras*

⁶⁹Huntingford, p. 179. Täklä Sellasé further mentions that Se'elä Kerestos was also given lands from Emfraz to Qaroda in Bägémder, see Täklä Sellasé, p. 209.

⁷⁰Täklä Sellasé, p. 139. ; Pankhurst, p. 341. ; Bairu, pp. 394-395. According to the same sources, the anti-Catholics were called Damot Hadari consisting of Baher Amara, Dārara and Wušēr.

⁷¹Täklä Sellasé, p. 238. Still today the settlement of these *çhäwa* troops bears the name Yenaçh in Qollälla. See Appendix I.

⁷²Bairu, pp.879-880.

⁷³Täklä Eyäsus, p. 263.

⁷⁴Negatu (I), pp. 35, 56.

⁷⁵*Ibid.* ; Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Tāwabä Ayčäh and Ašäber Bayh.

⁷⁶Abir, p. 198. The same author states that this included Portuguese and Turkish musketeers.

Se`elä Kerestos and his commanders settled all their Amhara and Oromo *ḥāwa* troops, among others, in present day Yelmana Dénša, Méḥa, Ačāfār and Agāw Meder.⁷⁷

The Gafat were the other group of people who settled in present day Yelmana Dénša district already during the reign of Susenyos.⁷⁸ According to tradition, the leader of the Gafat of the locality of Adét during the early 17th century was a certain *Däjjazmač* Demahune. The land granted to them extended from Adét to the Šēna River in the east and Felsāta Dāber locality in the south. Negatu mentions that the land granted to the Gafat at Adét was called “የዎባቱ [ባለ] ፈረስ ሃገራት መሬት” / the land of the seven Gafat horse [men] /. This suggests that the seven Gafat families of Adét locality were originally horsemen, and hence, military settlers.⁷⁹

The Oromo, Amhara and Gafats were only the bigger settlers of Yelmana Dénša during the early 17th century. There were some other smaller and isolated groups who settled in the same district at about the same time.⁸⁰ This best exemplifies what the early 17th century Jesuit Missionary, Manoel de Almeida, remarks about the mixture of ethnic groups and languages in Gojjam. Almeida says: “...within a short distance are found one village of Damotes, another of Gafats, another of Xāoas, another of Zeites, another of Xates apart from the Agaas [Agāw],

⁷⁷Täklä Sellasé, p. 190. ; Dawit, p. 4.

⁷⁸Tadesse Tamrat, “Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of Gafat” *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XXI, November 1988, pp. 142, 145.

⁷⁹Negatu (I), pp. 36-37. An extract taken by Selashi Mengistie from the *Synxarium* at Dima Giyorgis monastery also state that *Mämeher* Tāwāldä Hešan built the church of Qwara Šēyon at Adét during the reign of Susenyos and made it a *rim* of Dima Giyorgis with 16 *amolé* (salt bar) annual tribute, see Silesh Mengistie, Appendix Number 26. *Mämeher* Tāwāldä Hešan, whose son, Täklä Hawaryat was the son in law of Emperor Susenyos, then settled his relatives from Dima as *balabbats* around the same church, see Negatu (I), p. 36. See also Gäbrä Mäsqäl Tebäbu, “Inaugural Speech on the Foundation of Šerha Šeyon Bā`ata Lā Maryam Church” (MS, Šereha Šeyon Church Foundation Committee, Adét, Mäskärām 24, 1991 E.C.).

⁸⁰This included the inhabitants of the localities of Damot Sellasé in Enzägedem and Konč Sellasé south of Adét who seem to have been an off shoot of the Damotes. But, the inhabitants of the localities of Wägdé (around Adét and Enämäsda close to Adama Mountain), Gedem and Wäläqé (in Qollälla) appear to have been originated from Medieval Amhara province during the 17th century. The *ḥāwa* called Gänž (now Gänj) also originated from the region south of the Abbay River during the reigns of Emperors Gälawdéwos and Särša Dengel.

Gongas [Šenašas] and others who are more native to the country...”.⁸¹ However, it should be noted that one of the lasting effects of the expansion of the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia, ever since the early medieval period, was the spread of Christianity and Amharic language in newly conquered areas.⁸² Thus, all the group of people who had settled in Yelmana Dénsa territory during the 17th and the 18th centuries eventually evolved in to Christian and Amharic speaking peoples, as it was the case in other parts of the Gondarine Kingdom. It seems that they intermarried with the already existing communities, and with one another, to the extent of completely losing their original identities and customs.⁸³

Gondarine monarchs since the reign of Fasiladas also redistributed land in the kingdom among their Amhara and Oromo retainers and soldiers, and the church in the region south of Lake Ṭana. To begin with, the military leaders of emperor Fasiladas, *Rasbitwäddäd* Wäldä Giyorgis in Damot⁸⁴ and *Ras* Asgader Amdä Eyäsus in Gojjam, were the two most important military leaders responsible for the same task.⁸⁵ In connection to this, oral tradition states that: “ፋሲለ ሲሰጥ፡ ወልደ ጊዮርጊስ ሲያሰማራ”/as Fasil granted, Wäldä Gyorgis distributed the land /.⁸⁶ Regarding this, Aman suggests that Wäyzäro Adi (Ady) was one of the wives of Emperor Fasiladas and mother of Inqoyopä Šeyon (Säbelä Wängél after 1686).⁸⁷ According to tradition,

⁸¹Tadesse, “Ethiopia in Miniature,” p. 960.

⁸²Crummey, p. 21. Today there are places in Yelmana Dénsa namely Zéit, Šat, Ašemän, Šäwa Méda and so on which indicates the admixture of different group of peoples in the district in earlier times.

⁸³*Ibid.* ; Geremew, p.6. The other areas included Semén, Bägémder and Gojjam.

⁸⁴Negatu (I), p. 21. ; Zelalem Abera, “Adét: A Historical Survey to 1991” (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2000), p. 2. ; Geremew, pp. 9-10

⁸⁵Habtam, p.31. ; Täklä Eyäsus, p. 263.

⁸⁶Informants: Yärom Alämu, Aššageré Čäkkol and Täwabä Ayčäh. ; Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, “Yämäsheb Habetoč Ṭenatawi Märäja”, p. 7.

⁸⁷Aman, p.344. The same author describes Wäyzäro Ady (Adi) of being a daughter of a *Wagšum* of Lasta (Zagwé).

the church of Adét Hanna and the approximately seven *gaša* lands around it called Gomängé belonged to *Wäyzäro* Adi.⁸⁸ Many localities of Gänž and Qollälla were also the *gult* (fiefs) of her daughter, Inqoyopä Şeyon, better known by the name Säbelä Wängél.⁸⁹ Besides, Inqoyopä Şeyon's husband, *Däjjazmač* Wällé, definitely an Oromo by origin, was made governor of Damot which he ruled until he rebelled in 1686.⁹⁰ Tradition has it that Säblä Wängél built houses made of stone and lime at her fiefs at Safetämäññ in Ganž and Gemb Kidanä Meherät near Fasilädäs locality in Qollälla.⁹¹ In addition, she built the church of Wäyzazet Kidanä Meherät in Qollälla and granted lands to it.⁹² The 18th century Scottish traveler, James Bruce, describes about this fact like:

*The county round Ibaba [Yebaba] is the most pleasant and fertile not of Maitsha [Mécha] only, but of all Abyssinia [Ethiopia], especially that part of Colala [Qollälla] between Ibaba [Yebaba] and Gojam, where the principal Ozoros [Wäyzäros] have houses and possessions, called Goult [gult] or fiefs, which they have received from their respective ancestors when kings...*⁹³

Undoubtedly, Bruce's description includes princess Säbelä Wängél, her mother, *Wäyzäro* Adi and other lesser *gult* owning *Wäyzäros*. These *gult* lands were free from state taxes, tributes and other exactions. In relation to this, tradition says: “በወይዘሮ የለ ግብር፤ በሰማይ የለ ፆድር” /there is no tribute among the *Wäyzäro* as there is no land in the sky/.⁹⁴

⁸⁸Informants: Dämellāw Ayälä, Bayäh Fälläqä and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam. ; Wärqenäh Gétahun, “Yä Adét Tarik” /History of Adét Town/, Amharic, n.d. ; Yelmana Dénša District Culture and Tourism Office, “Yämäscheb Habetoč Tēnatawi Mārāja”, p. 7.

⁸⁹Informants: Alāmay Bogalä, Dämellāw Ayälä and Aššageré Čäkkol. ; Merid Welde Aregay, “Some inedited Land Charters of Emperor Särsä Dengel”, pp. 91, 95. See Appendix I.

⁹⁰Aman, p.344.

⁹¹Informants: Alāmay Bogalä, Dämellāw Ayälä and Aššageré Čäkkol.

⁹²*Ibid.* ; Mäzämer and Däbbasu, p. 30.

⁹³Bruce, Vol., IV, p. 25.

⁹⁴Fantahun, p. 25. This was what was called *Yäwäyzäro Agär*. Täklä Sellasé remarks that *Ras* Se'elä Kerstos strongly requested to take hold of these lands, but his request was out rightly rejected by Emperor Susenyos, Täklä Sellasé, p. 213.

Similarly, among others, the locality of Adét extending up to the parish of Šeggāz Eyāsus now came under the *gult* jurisdiction of *Rasbitwāddād* Wāldā Giyorgis, mentioned above. Tradition has it that Wāldā Giyorgis exchanged the land at Adét by his land at Deredra Abbo in modern Méçha district with the earlier Oromo *gult* land owners. Anyway, Wāldā Giyorgis built the monastery of Adét Mādhané Alām in the middle of the 17th century. Then, he made his four sons namely *Däjjazmačes* Wäsānsägād, Mika`él, Zā Mälākot and Gālawdéwos *restā-gult* land owning *Gābāzes* (secular protectors of the monastery) in perpetuity. Likewise, Wāldā Giyorgis made his four sisters namely Éksosawit, Wālātā Hawaryat, Fasikawit and Gistawit monastic *restā-gult* landowners. *Rasbitwāddād* Wāldā Giyorgis also gave land to a Muslim named Ali, described above, at Ereberēb in the southern parts of the parish of Adét. Therefore, these nine intermediate ancestors were traditionally called “ስምንቱ ወግዴዎች፤ ዘጠነኛው አሊ”/ the eight Wāgdé, the ninth Ali/. This was because Wāldā Giyorgis and his sisters maternally belonged to Wāgda in Amhara Saynt. Then, Wāldā Giyorgis granted several *rim* lands, including the large tracts of land of *Wäyzäro* Adi at Adét Hanna (Gomängé), to the monastery of Adét Mādhané Alām. Here, it should also be noted that the name Adét is derived from the name of *Wäyzäro* Adi (Ady).⁹⁵

Emperors Eyasu I and Bākafa (r.1706-1730) continued the Gondarine tradition of land redistribution. Among others, Eyasu I settled several Oromo clans as *çhäwa* regiments in present day Yelmana Dénsa, Méçha and Ačäfär districts.⁹⁶ Likewise, on coming to power Emperor Bākafa made land grants in areas of Dénsa, Gänž and Damot to *çhäwa* regiments,

⁹⁵Täklä Eyāsus, p. 200. ; Negatu, pp. 16, 23, 25. ; Wārqnäh Gétahun. “Yä Adét Tarik”/, typed, n.d. p. 1.; All my informants also recite this tradition. They claim that the sons of Wāldā Giyorgis were born from different mothers. There was also a nephew of the *Rasbitwāddād* namely Lud Ṭerito who had a *rest* land at Adét. Informants also claim that the chief of the Oromo clans of Adét locality named Bušaša was addicted to tobacco smoking and found the locality of Derdera more favourable for growing this myrrh.

⁹⁶Pankhurst, pp.317 - 319.

royal relatives, churches and *zälans* (nomads).⁹⁷ Sources indicate that Bäkafa was born in the locality of Adét by the granddaughter of *Rasbitwäddäd* Wäldä Giyorgis namely *Wäyzäro* Maryamawit Mika'el.⁹⁸ Hence, Bäkafa claimed parts of Dénsa and Gänj as: “ፖስቦን ለነጭ ፤ ሳፍተመንኝ ለጠጅ /as Mosäbo is good for white teff [Eragrotis teff], Safetämänn is good for mead [honey].⁹⁹ Besides, Emperor Bäkafa built the church of Fatman Mika'el at the southern end of the parish of Adét and granted lands to it on which he settled four *balabbats*. Then, Bäkafa made this newly constructed church a *qefäf* or *rim* of the monastery of Adét Mädhané Aläm¹⁰⁰ with a total annual tribute of 60 *madega* (jar) of grain.¹⁰¹

1.2.3. The Predominance of the Oromo and the Emergence of Yelmana Dénsa as A Distinct Administrative Unit: c.1700-c.1770,

As mentioned above, Emperor Susenyos had begun the process of settling Oromos in the region south and south west of Lake Ṭana extending to include present day Yelmana Dénsa district. In addition, Negatu indicates that one of *Rasbitwäddäd* Wäldä Giyorgis's war commanders and brother-in-law in Adét locality was *Fitawrari* Dissassa who was an Oromo by origin. Furthermore, tradition has it that Emperor Fasiladas settled ten Gutta Oromo clans in Sarka around modern Däbrä Mawi.¹⁰² The process of settling peaceable Oromos as military regiments

⁹⁷Negatu (I), pp.33, 65-66; Informants: Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Sentayähu Ayaléw and Dämelläw Ayälä.

⁹⁸Täklä Eyäsus, p. 200. ; Negatu (I), pp. 33-34. ; Täklä Şadiq, p. 233. ; Aman, p. 366. ; Informants: Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Sentayähu Ayaléw and Dämelläw Ayälä. The same sources indicate that Emperor Bäkafa built a small royal residence near the compound of his mother, Maryamawit, at Ereberb in Adét locality.

⁹⁹Informants: Sentayähu Ayaléw, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Täwabä Ayčäh. ; Negatu (I), p. 66.

¹⁰⁰Negatu (I), pp. 33-34. ; Informants: Täwabä Ayčäh and Zälläqä Allälleññ. These sources indicate that there were dwellers in the same locality by the time Bäkafa settled his own *balabbats* on it namely Bilänno, Mären, Gitto and Buşeyä. These were probably elements of Oromo Settlers of an earlier time.

¹⁰¹Negatu (I), pp. 33-34.

¹⁰²Negatu (I), pp. 31-32. ; Informants: Biyazné Ejegu, Fäntahun Enyāw. The ten Oromo family names were Akäyu, Nunnu, Čhanné, Boru, Waqo, Yēlo, Daddu, Bédéşšo, Kito and Alélu. ; Täklä Şadiq also simply states that Fasiladas fought with the Oromo around Lake Ṭana and in Damot by then, see Täklä Şadiq, p. 155.

in Yelmana Dénsa and other areas of the Gondarine kingdom also continued by Eyasu I and his successors. Bruce describes that Eyasu I and his successors brought several Oromo clans from south of the Abbay and settled them along the Abbay river in Gojjam and in the region south and southwest of Lake Ṭana as military regiments. Here, Bruce provides us particular references to the Ilma and Dénsa (also called Álmana Dénsa) Oromo clans who were made *ḥäwa* settlers in modern Yelmana Dénsa by Eyasu I in the late 17th century.¹⁰³ As usual, the tribute obligation of these *ḥäwa* regiments was offering military service to the Gondarine state. According to tradition, the district name of Yelmana Dénsa comes from the names of these two Oromo clans-Ilma and Dénsa. Informants claim that each of the two Oromo clans originally consisted of 500 horsemen originating from Gendä Bärät area south of the Abbay River.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, because of the increasing settlement of various Oromo clans in it, a new ethno-geographical and administrative unit called “Méḥa Proper” emerged out of “Damot Proper” in the region to the south and southwest of Lake Ṭana. Méḥa Proper took shape apparently during the early 18th century. Bruce mentions that Méḥa Proper extended from the Abbay River in the west to Abäya River in the east and from Lake Ṭana in the north to Jämma River in the south and to Agäw Meder in the southwest. The capital of Méḥa proper was Yebaba, which was one of the largest towns of the Gondarine kingdom. The town had a daily market and presumably a large population. However, in earlier times Yebaba was the capital of the whole region comprising Gojjam, Damot and Agäw Meder.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Bruce, Vol. III, pp. 421, 545-546 and Vol., IV, p. 23. ; Bairu, p. 878. See also Pankhurst, pp. 315-317. The place called Dénsa Edari, which surrounds the vast field in Dénsa near the hill of Galla Wäldé, was probably the corruption of Dénsa Hadari (the *ḥäwa* troops of Dénsa).

¹⁰⁴Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Alämay Bogalä, Fäntahun Enyäw, and A`emro Šefäraw.

¹⁰⁵Bruce, Vol. IV, pp.23-25. See picture one above.

As mentioned above, Yebaba was the seat of an official called Yebaba *Azaž* (governor of Yebaba). The Yebaba *Azaž* was a trusted official accountable to the *Rasbiwäddäd* of the Gondarine emperor.¹⁰⁶ The 19th century British envoy to the court of *Ras* Ali II (r.1831-1853), Walter Plowden, also agrees with Bruce's description about the geographical extents of "Méçha province," the warrior character of its people and the office of Yebaba *Azaž*. Plowden further remarks that the Amharic language of the people of Méçha, including Yelmana Dénsa, had much resemblance with the language of the Oromo south of the Abbay River. This reveals that the different Méçha Oromo clans settled in the province of Méçha had already been assimilated with the already existing Christian and Amharic speaking population.¹⁰⁷

Besides, the 18th century was marked by the steady growth of the influence of the Oromo of the kingdom, including those from Méçha province, in the Gondarine politics. To begin with, the unlawful assassination of Eyasu I in 1706 aroused much indignation among his loyal supporters in Méçha, Agäw Meder, Gojjam and Damot. In September 1707 they crowned a certain Bärbela Wärräñña with the potent name of Emperor Amdä Şeyon at Yebaba. However, after three weeks Amdä Şeyon was slain at the battle of Qäbäro Méda near Yebaba by the imperial force commanded by Emperor Täklä Haymanot's (r.1706-1708) governor of Gojjam, *Ras* Darmän. This battle caused heavy casualties on both sides. Among others, many prominent leaders of the *Qebat* (Uncion) faith from Gojjam were slain.¹⁰⁸ The soldiers of Darmän also killed the Agäw chief named *Azaž Čuhay* and many of his fighters. However, according to

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.* ; Bäläy, p. 54.

¹⁰⁷Walter Plowden *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868), pp. 251-252. Popular tradition also recognizes the region "ከ አበያ እስከ በላያ", extending from Abäya River near Moṭa town to Bäläya, as one *Agär* (territory or country), see *Diyaqons* Yaréd Gäbrä Mädhén & Alula Ṭelahun, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸Crummey, p. 91. ; Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 530-531.; Taddesse, "Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration....The Case of Agaw", p. 17. For the name Amdä Şeyon see also, Aman, p. 363. ; Täklä Şadiq, pp. 213-214. For the name Bärbela Wärräñña see Täklä Eyäsus Waqejra, "Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter 20" (MS, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, No. 254) pp. 135-136.

Bruce, the greatest loss on the side of the rebel army fell up on “the common men of Ilmana Dénsa” (now Yelmana Dénsa).¹⁰⁹ Thereafter, a relative of Amdä Şeyon namely *Däjjazmač* Wäldä Abib became a rebel in Méçha and Damot areas. Other loyal supporters of Eyasu I such as the Agäw nobles were also waiting for the coming of an opportune time to avenge his death.¹¹⁰ In June 1708, Emperor Täklä Haymanot marched to what Bruce describes “...the country called Idi [Ady]”¹¹¹(now Adét) to attack *Däjjazmač* Wäldä Abib. However, a pre-planned conspiracy made by the Agäw nobles at Adét ended up in the assassination of Emperor Täklä Haymanot at Azäna Mika`él in Agäw Meder.¹¹²

Likewise, in March 1710 *Däjjazmač* Tigi assembled many Oromo fighters and rebelled in Gojjam against the next Emperor, Téwoflos (r. 1708-1710). He proclaimed a certain pretender at Yebaba. However, Tewoflos’s *çhäwa* troops defeated Tigi at Yebaba. Tigi’s Oromo troops took shelter in a sanctuary church called Däbrä Säma`et, near Yebaba. The church was set on fire by *näft* (gun) under the order of the emperor. Those Oromo fighters inside the church were apparently entirely perished, but the pretender permanently escaped, while Tigi was killed at Wäramit near Lake Ṭana. Tradition further states that following this event, Téwoflos rebuilt the church with stone and lime and then renamed it Däbrä Mäwi (Mountain of Victory).¹¹³ However, Bruce describes that the church had originally been built and named so by Eyasu I

¹⁰⁹Bruce, Vol. II, p. 530. ; Dässé Qäläb, *Tarikä Nägäst* (Addis Ababa: The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Mahebarä Qedusan, 2007 E.C.), p. 296. For *Azaž Čuhay*, see Täklä Eyäsus, “Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter 20”, pp. 135-136. ; Taddesse, *Ibid*.

¹¹⁰Täklä Şadiq, pp. 214-215. ; Aman, p. 363.

¹¹¹Bruce, Vol. II, p. 531.

¹¹²Täklä Şadiq, pp. 214-215. ; Aman, p. 363. However, for Bruce the purpose of the emperor’s march in to Adét was to hunt the buffalo, see Bruce, Vol. II, p. 531.

¹¹³Dässé Qäläb, pp. 300-301. ; Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 536-537. Tradition further states that the church was completed during the reign of the next emperor, Dawit III (r. 1711-1717).

following his victory over the Oromo fighters in the plain of Mécha.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, at the beginning of the reign of Bäkafa (r.1721-1730), the Oromo cavalry of Ilmana Dénsa commanded by *Azaž* Benyam Anṣanyos (the Yebaba *Azaž*) played a principal role in the suppression of the rebellion of Black troops called Wulaj and Känisa in Gondar in 1721.¹¹⁵ Moreover, Wärräñña Wašo was the famous Oromo courtier of Emperors Bäkafa and his son Eyasu II (r.1730-1755). Bäkafa appointed Wärräñña governor of Buré-Damot and Agäw Meder with the title of *Qäññazmač*.¹¹⁶ After the death of Bäkafa, due to her political genius, Mentewab also appointed Wärräñña governor of Buré Damot and Mécha Proper in 1730 with the title of *Däjjazmač*. Commanding the cavalries of Ilmana, Dénsa, Mécha, Mačakkäl, Buré-Damot and Jawi Oromos, *Däjjazmač* Wärräñña crushed several rebellions during both reigns in the north as well as the south. Among others, Wärräñña played a principal role in the suppression of the rebellions in Lasta (1725), Mécha (1730), Agäw Meder, and Gondar (1733).¹¹⁷ According to Bruce, Wärräñña bitterly crushed the Oromos of Mécha province at the battle of Adama in Dénsa in 1730.¹¹⁸

To elaborate further Wärräñña's role in suppression of the rebellion in Gondar, as an example, it seems that some sections of the people of the Gondarine kingdom were unhappy with the dominant political position of the family from Qwara in Gondar led by Empress Mentewab.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴Bruce, Vol. II, 536.

¹¹⁵Däссé Qäläb, p. 315. ; Pankhurst, pp. 361-362. ; Täklä Ṣadiq, p. 242. The other troops involved in the suppression of these rebel troops in Gondar were the Ṣänqäñña (the Woeful) *čhäwa* of Bäkafa. Bäkafa recruited Oromo contingents, for instance, from the Mécha of Buré Damot and armed them with muskets, see Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 47.

¹¹⁶Pankhurst, pp. 318-319. ; Asrat, pp. 13-14.

¹¹⁷Pankhurst, p. 319. ; Asrat, p. 14.

¹¹⁸Bruce, Vol. III, p. 579.

¹¹⁹Täklä Ṣadiq, p. 257.

Therefore, from December 17, 1732 to January 1, 1733, a pretender named Hezkeyas, accompanied by *Fitawrari* Tänsé Mammo (the Yebaba *Azaž*) and his Oromo fighters from Méçha besieged the royal palace at Gondar. It seems that Menetewab's relatives could have suppressed this rebellion¹²⁰ only after the arrival of Wärräñña at the head of a huge Oromo cavalry. Under Wärräñña's command were *Azaž* Giyorgis Anṣanyos at the head of Ilmana, Dénsa and Méçha; and *Däjjazmač* Wällé and *Fitawrari* Tämbé at the head of Buré-Damot and Jawi Oromo cavalries, respectively. Finally, the battle of Fenṭer was fought near Gondar on January 1, 1733, till the evening with firmness.¹²¹ Bruce claims that the rebels were finally overcome after Wärräñña had ordered all his Oromo cavalries of "Ilmana, Dénsa and Méçha to leave their horses and charge the enemy on foot".¹²² Hezkeyas was captured and imprisoned at Wähni Amba. However, his commander, Tänsé (Tänsay) was hanged in Gondar. In this way, the mighty Oromo cavalry from the southern part of the kingdom saved Emperor Eyasu II and Empress Mentewab.¹²³

Wärräñña was given the post of Yebaba *Azaž* including the territories of Ilmana and Dénsa in addition to the governor ship of Damot and Agäw Meder in return for his active roles in the suppression of the rebellion in Gondar.¹²⁴ Wärräñña was also given the rank of *Fitawrari* and commanded the disastrous expeditions of 1742 and 1744 against the kingdom of Funj (Sennar) in the Sudan.¹²⁵ This military expedition is traditionally known in Yelmana Dénsa as *Yä Bäläw*

¹²⁰Crummey, 102-103.

¹²¹Crummey, p. 102. ; Asrat, p. 14. ; Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 624-625. ; Täklä Şadiq, pp. 257-260. However, for Bruce the date for the battle of Fenṭer was January 20, 1735.

¹²²Bruce, Vol. II, p. 627.

¹²³Täklä Şadiq, p. 260. ; Bairu, pp. 426-427. ; Asrat, p. 14.

¹²⁴Bruce, Vol. II, p. 624. Today, there is a place called Wašo Bär (the gate of Wašo) near Yebaba.

¹²⁵Asrat, p. 14. ; Pankhurst, p. 443. ; Crummey, p. 98.

Zämäčä (the Bäläw Campaign).¹²⁶ Eventually, for his bravery and faithful works to the Gondarine state, Emperor Eyasu II made Wärräñña the governor of all the southern provinces comprising Damot, Méčha, Agäw Meder and Bägémder with the rank of *Däjjazmač*.¹²⁷

- Furthermore, *Däjjazmač* Wärräñña was, as one of the most influential persons of the period, permitted to grant *gult* governorships to his soldiers in the provinces under his rule. In addition, Wärräñña brought new Oromo fighters from Gendä Bärät and Amuru areas south of the Abbay River and granted *gult* lands to them.¹²⁸

Däjjazmač Wärräñña died in 1763 while fighting against the Agäw peoples led by Nanna Giyorgis.¹²⁹ His son, *Däjjazmač* (later *Ras*) Fasil, succeeded him as governor of Damot in 1764. Fasil took this post by killing the new appointee of Mentwab, *Däjjazmač* Ešäté Märqoréwos, at a battle.¹³⁰ Besides, informants state that one of Fasil's seats of power was at the plain on the top of Adama mountain in Dénsa.¹³¹ Like his father before him, Fasil brought new Oromo fighters from Gendä Bärät and Amuru areas and granted to them *gult* lands in Damot, Agäw Meder and Méčha. The *gult* lands continuously granted to Oromo courtiers and soldiers in the provinces of Méčha, Buré-Damot, Agäw Meder and Bägémder since the 17th century have come to be identified by the name *Yä Galla* [Oromo] *Serrit* (the lands granted to the Oromo) or *Yä Galla* [Oromo] *Wäld* (the lands of Oromo descent). Like the case of Gondarine Emperors before them, oral tradition states that: “ወሬኛ በቀመረዉ ፤ ፋሲል በደለደለዉ.” / as Wärräñña

¹²⁶Negatu (I), p. 28, 95.

¹²⁷Pankhurst, p. 319. ; Asrat, pp. 14-15.

¹²⁸Asrat, p.15.

¹²⁹Pankhurst, 320.

¹³⁰Bruce, Vol. III, p. 533. ; Pankhurst, p.321.

¹³¹Informants: Taddäsa Endaläw, Daññaw Taddäsä and Lemäneh Baläw.

granted, Fasil redistributed [the land]/.¹³² In this case, as indicated above, informants invariably state that Yelmana Dénsa was originally the *gult* land of “the one thousand Oromo horsemen who were settled there during the 17th century”. They evidenced this event, among others, by the name of Šeggäz (that which was ruled by one thousand [*čhāwa*]) river which bisects the territory of Dénsa in to two parts.¹³³

Moreover, the influence of the Oromos of south and southwest of Lake Ṭana at the court of Gondar reached its peak under *Ras* Fasil. Commanding his strong Oromo cavalry *Ras* Fasil also participated in the early power struggles of the *Zāmānā Mäsafent* (Era of Princes).¹³⁴ In 1769 *Ras* Mika`él *Sehul* of Gondar defeated Fasil first at Azäzo near Gondar and then at Fageta in Agäw Meder.<sup>135</sup> Fasil retreated in to the Oromo lands across the Abbay River and returned to Damot as Mika`él withdrew from the region.¹³⁶ Similarly, Bruce provides a witnessing account that, like *Ras* Fasil, an Oromo chief of Ilmana Dénsa named Wodajä Asahel “...had an invincible hatred to *Ras* Mikael”. Thus, *Ras* Mika`él made devastating campaigns against Wodajä and Fasil as far as Agäw Meder.¹³⁷

¹³²Asrat, pp. 15-16. For instance, there is a hill called Galla Waldé in Dénsa. Informants: Lemāneh Balāw, Fantahun Enyāw, Bayāh Fälläqā, Tāwabā Aycāh. For the case of Gondarine emperors refer to note number 86 above. In addition, it was said “ፋሲለ ሰገለተው ፤ እያሱ በመተረው”/as Fasiladas granted the land and measured by Iyasu /, see Tecle Haimanot Gebre Silassie, “The Waito of Lake Ṭana: An Ethno- History” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1984), p. 28.

¹³³Informants: All my informants recite this tradition, but their most preferred date for this event is the reign of Fasiladas. For a similar rule of one thousand *čhāwa* cavalry led by *Ras* Asgader over eastern Gojjam during the reign of Fasiladas see Habtamu, p.31; and for the name of a similar river called Šeggäz in eastern Gojjam see Huntingford, p. 198.

¹³⁴Asrat, p.17. ; Täklä Šadiq, p. 276.

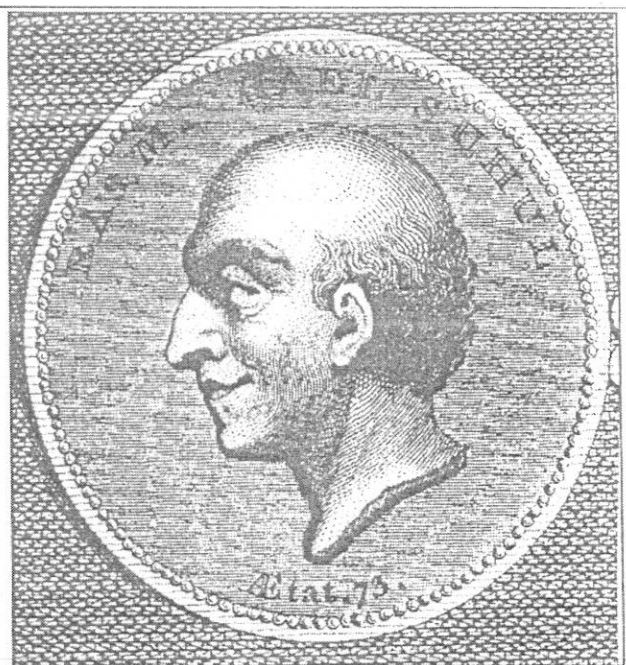
¹³⁵Pankhurst, p. 322. ; Asrat, pp. 16-17. *Ras* Mikaél was a Tegrean lord who came to Gondar in 1767 at the head of a huge army with the invitation of Empress Mentewab to counter the challenge of the Wällo family.

¹³⁶Asrat, p. 17.

¹³⁷Bruce, Vol. III, p. 421. ; see also Pankhurst, p. 323.

picture 2:

SOURCE : Pankhurst, R. The Ethiopian Border Lands.
Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1997,
PP.322 & 323



Ras Mika'él Sehul, the "astute" (1688-1775), ruler of Tegray and sometime master of Gondär, whose rise to power curtailed increasing Oromo influence at the capital.

From J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*.



"Woodage Asahel" a late eighteenth century Oromo chief, and would-be king-maker: an engraving based on a sketch by James Bruce's Italian draftsman Luigi Balugani.

1. 2. 4. Yelmana Dénša District During the *Zāmānā Mäsafen* (Era of Princes, 1769-1855) and After: c.1770s – c. 1900

In 1775 *Ras* Fasil died while fighting with a coalition of Amhara nobles. Following this event, the territories of Yelmana Dénša, Méčha, Agäw Meder and Damot came under the rule of new powerful lords of the period namely *Ras* Kenfu Adam¹³⁸ and his half-brother, *Däjjazmač* Haylu Adära.¹³⁹ The brothers partly belonged to the territory of Yelmana Dénša. Haylu Adära was the great grandson of *Rasbitwäddäd* Wäldä Giyorgis, the founding father of the parish of Adét, and Kenfu Adam was the son-in-law of *Ras* Fasil Wäräñña.¹⁴⁰

Däjjazmač Haylu and *Ras* Kenfu actively participated in the politics of the *Zāmānā Mäsafen* until the beginning of the 1780s. The short royal chronicles of *Däjjazmač* Haylu Ešäté indicate that in 1777 Emperor Solomon II (r. 1777- 1779) made Haylu Adära governor of Gojjam and Kenfu of Damot.¹⁴¹ However, it seems that this soon led to the battle of Sabisa Bär between the half-brothers on the one hand and Haylu Yosédéq (r.1770-1794) of Gojjam on the other in which the former emerged victorious.¹⁴² It was the order of the day that on July 17, 1779 Kenfu and Haylu Adära jointly proclaimed Täklä Gyorgis, nick named *Fešamé Mängest*, Emperor at Yebaba.¹⁴³ But, after some eight months, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis learned that Kenfu had

¹³⁸Täklä Šaqiq, p. 290. For the death of *Ras* Fasil see, Marcus, P. 53.

¹³⁹Informants: Dämellāw Ayälä, Fäñänä Aynalām and Bayäh Fälläqä; Negatu (I), pp. 28, 95. *Ras* Kenfu Addam was the husband of Yodit Fasil. He was also an Agäw descendant of Eyasu I: Amätä Sellasé Eyasu I →Éliyas Gora (*Däjjazmač*) who married Mentwab Čuhay→Terngo→Kenfu Addam and Haylu Adära. Amätä Sellasé herself was born by a woman of Gendä Bärät. Adam Sändi died in one of the Bälāw Campaigns mentioned above and then Terngo was married to *Däjjazmač* Adära, see Negatu (I), pp. 28 and 95.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁴¹H. Weld Blundell, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 330. ; Geremew, p. 15. ; Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Tägäññä Ewnātu, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam and Dämellāw Ayäla. ; Negatu (I), p. 67.

¹⁴²Blundell, p. 332.

¹⁴³Blundell, pp. 231, 234. ; W. E. A. Budge, *A History of Ethiopia: Nubia & Abyssinia (Two Vols.)* (Oosterhout N: B-Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1970), p. 477.

intended to enthrone Solomon once again. Nonetheless, the then ruler of Bägémder, *Däjjazmač* Mäbaras Bāwqātu, defeated the half-brothers at the battle of Maryam Wuha in May 1780, and handed them over to the emperor.¹⁴⁴ The chronicler further states that the brothers escaped from prison late in that year, but were recaptured around Dangela in June 1781.¹⁴⁵ Then, according to oral tradition, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis took them in to captivity for three years and punished them by blinding one of the eyes of each one of them. Hence, their *rest* lands in Adét and Gänj localities of Yelmana Dénsa were traditionally known as “የ ዐይን ዋጋ” /reparation for the eye/.¹⁴⁶

Since the early 1780s *Ras* Haylu I of Gojjam gave continued military assistance to Emperor Täklä Giyorgis I against *Ras* Ali I (Ali Gwangul) of Yäjjū (r.1784-1789),¹⁴⁷ and the Emperor reciprocated this by recognizing Haylu as the governor of Gojjam and Agäw Meder.¹⁴⁸ The next Emperor, Hezkeyas (r.1789-1794), also made *Ras* Haylu I the governor of the whole river peninsula of Gojjam together with the post of Yebaba *Azaž*.¹⁴⁹ At this point, informants almost invariably claim that *Däjjazmač* Haylu Adära founded the famous Saturday market popularly known as Haylu Gäbäya (Haylu market) at Adét following his release from prison by Emperor Täklä Giyorgis in 1784.¹⁵⁰ However, the secondary literature mentions *Ras* Haylu I of Gojjam

¹⁴⁴Blundell, p. 254.

¹⁴⁵Blundell, p. 266.

¹⁴⁶Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Tägäññä Ewnātu, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam and Dämelläw Ayäla. ; Negatu (I), p.67. The chronicler simply states that the emperor leniently blinded the two captives; see, Blundell, p. 268.

¹⁴⁷Fantahun, pp. 1-4. ; Dawit, p.6.

¹⁴⁸Fantahun, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Informants: All of my informants agree on it.

as the founder of the same market place.¹⁵¹ Anyway, Haylu Gäbäya seems to have become a famous regional market since then.¹⁵²

However, *Ras* Haylu I died in 1794 and Gojjam was repartitioned into its former administrative units because his descendants disputed among themselves. In fact, in the afterwards, each of the lords of Gojjam and Damot had the ambition to rule the whole river peninsula of Gojjam as a single political entity. For instance, Goššu Zäwdé of Damot (r. 1823-1855) in his an undated letter to Pope Gregory XVI, introduced himself as: “the *Däjjazmač* of Gojjam proper, of Damot, and of Mécha, and ...of the Galla [Oromo] lands south of the Abbay River...”¹⁵³ This explains that the province of Mécha including the territory of Yelmana Dénsa was under the domination of the lords of Damot and Gojjam during the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries.¹⁵⁴

Like other parts of northern Ethiopia, Yelmana Dénsa also suffered from the fighting and political struggles among the lords of Bägémder, Damot and Gojjam during the late 18th and first half of 19th centuries. The lords of Gojjam and Damot did not obey to the Yäjjju lords. This led to devastating wars among them. Thus, the district of Yelmana Dénsa, because of its location between Bägémder and Damot, was one of the important battle grounds of the period. For instance, Goššu of Damot and *Däjjazmač* Maru of Dämbya made an alliance against the Yäjjju lord, *Ras* Yemam (r.1825-1828). This led to the battle of Kosso Bär close to Adama

¹⁵¹ Abdussamad Hajj Ahmad, “Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1882-1935” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1980), p. 29; Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, “Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wäradä”, p. 3.

¹⁵² Abdussamad, pp. 29. ; Geremew, pp.15-16. By contrast, the value of Yebaba as a royal residence and important market center gradually diminished and eventually the town itself disappeared during the *Zämäna Mäsafent*, see Geremew, p. 16.

¹⁵³ Dawit, p. 6. ; Sven Rubenson, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence* (Addis Ababa; Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1976.), pp. 100-101.

¹⁵⁴ Dawit, pp. 5-6. ; Nebeyu, pp. 8-9.; Asrat, pp. 18-19.

Mountain in November 1827. Goššu fled to the mountains of Damot before the beginning of the engagement. However, Maru alone fought against Yemam and lost both the battle and his own life. He was buried at the monastery of Wašära Maryam.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, *Ras Dori* (r.1831) made a campaign in to Damot and Gojjam in 1831 to get the submission of their rulers, *Däjjazmačes* Goššu and his son, Berru, respectively. Nevertheless, Goššu and Berru jointly defeated Dori at the battle of Amädamit. In anger, Dori pillaged the territory of Yelmana Dénša and returned to Däbrä Tabor.¹⁵⁶

However, the next Yäjju lord of Bägémder, *Ras Ali II* (r.1831-1853), was able to get the submission of *Däjjazmač* Goššu in 1841. Late in that year, *Däjjazmač* Berru temporarily defeated his father, Goššu, over the control of Damot. *Ras Ali II* took this as an opportunity and made a campaign against them. He camped at a hill called Mänta Däber, about 15 kilometers east of Adét, and summoned the father and son for submission to him.¹⁵⁷ According to Täklä Eyäsus, "... *Däjjazmač* Berru refused to submit and went up to Somma Amba. But *Däjjazmač* Goššu submitted because he would not like to break his allegiance...*Däjjazmač* Goššu ...became loyal to *Ras Ali* ..." ¹⁵⁸

In addition, Plowden, who was at Färäs Wägga near Däbrä Mäwi by the time of *Ras Ali*'s 1841 campaign in to Gojjam, describes that the then *Azaž* of Yelmana Dénša, *Fitawrari* Gäbrä Eyäsus, was in a strong rivalry with the *Azaž* of modern Méčha district namely *Däjjazmač* Asäné Deräs over the traditional office of Yebaba *Azaž*. *Azaž* Gäbrä Eyäsus

¹⁵⁵Täklä Šadiq Mäkuriya, *Ašé Téwodros Ena Yä Ethiopia Andenät* (Addis Ababa: Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1981 E. C.), p. 53.

¹⁵⁶Täklä Šadiq, *Yä Ethiopia Tarik*, p. 320. ; Täklä Eyäsus, "Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter 22", p.172.

¹⁵⁷Plowden, p. 261.

¹⁵⁸Täklä Eyäsus, "Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter 22" p. 178. ;Shiferaw Bekele, "The State in the Zämänä Mäsafent (1786-1853): An Essay in Reinterpretation" *Kassa and Kassa: Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV, 1855-1889*, Taddese Beyene, R. Pankhurst and Shiferaw Bekele (eds.) (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1990), p.43.

was backed by Berru Goššu of Gojjam, and Asäné by *Ras* Ali II of Bägémder. Plowden also witnessed that Gäbrä Eyäsus and his troops assisted Berru in ravaging Däbrä Tabor¹⁵⁹ on 7 February 1842.¹⁶⁰ Informants confirm the description of Plowden about the rivalry between Gäbrä Eyäsus of Yelmana Dénsa and Asäné of Méçha districts by the poems which run:

እናንተ ዴንሠኞች ክረምት አትወደዱ፤
ያሰኔ ይመጣል ማቱ ነጎድጓዱ።¹⁶¹

The free English translation of this couplet is:

*You the Dénsas you should not like the coming of rainy season, the [month of]
June will come in to you with thunder storms.*

እናንተ ሜጨኞች ዳጉላ ያላችሁ፤
ገብሬ ድሀ አደግ ነዉ ጤፍም አይላችሁ።¹⁶²

The free English translation of this couplet is:

*You the Méçhännās with the crop of millet, Gäbré [Gäbrä Eyäsus] is so poor
that he will not give you teff.*

During the second half of the 19th century, Emperors Téwodros II (r.1855-1868) also attacked and looted the territory of Yelmana Dénsa mainly the locality of Adét and that of Qollälla simultaneously. He burnt the monasteries of Adét Mädhané Alämand Şelalo Amanu'él and looted their ecclesiastical properties.¹⁶³ In addition, the emperor looted the monastery of Gonj Téwodros Mika'él. In this Regard, Pankhurst argues that Emperor Téwodros II looted the ark

¹⁵⁹Plowden, pp. 253-254, 275.

¹⁶⁰Rubenson, p. 93.

¹⁶¹Informant: Zälläqä Allälleññ. Asäné was finally captured and publicly hanged at Gärägära in May 1858 by Emperor Téwodros, see Zänä`Ab (*Däbtära*), *Yä Téwodros Tarik*, Enno Littman (Publisher) (Princeton: Princeton University, 1902), pp. 33-34.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*

¹⁶³Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Alämay Bogalä, Dämelläw Ayäla, Yärom Alämu, Zälläqä Allälleññ and A`emro Şefäraw. ; Mäzämer and Däbbasu, p. 14.

of *Mädhané Aläm* (Savior of the World) from Adét in an earlier time and in 1865 he put it in the newly founded church of Däbrä Tabor Mädhané Aläm.¹⁶⁴ In relation to this, informants claim that the emperor took seven clergy from Adét into captivity, including a certain *Aläqa* Haylä Maryam who is believed to have brought the ark back in to Adét after seven years of captivity.¹⁶⁵ Besides, several of the verses about Emperor Téwodros are said to have been made by one the captives from Adét area namely Wätäzér Fänta.¹⁶⁶ Among others, this woman made the following verse:

እንግዲህ ለታቦት አልሠጥም ስለት፤
አዴት መድሃኒዓለም ነደ አገኘሁት፡፡¹⁶⁷

The English translation of this couplet is:

I shall not henceforward make vows to the tabot, for I have found Adét Mädhané Aläm burnt down.

Administratively, *Ras Adal* (*negus* Täklä Haymanot since 1881) Täsämma (r.1874-1901) was the first ruler of Gojjam who effectively ruled the whole river peninsula of Gojjam and the territories of northern Wälläga since about 1874.¹⁶⁸ Instead of the traditional “Proper” system discussed above, *Negus* Täklä Haymanot divided Gojjam into smaller territories called

¹⁶⁴Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopia Towns from the Mid Nineteenth Century to 1935* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985), p. 67.

¹⁶⁵Informants: Bayäh Fälläkä, Alämay Bogalä and Zälläqä Alläleññ.

¹⁶⁶Bälay Mäkonnen (*Liqä Heruyan*), *Yäqenē Kāwakebt* (Addis Ababa: Ṭana Printing Press, 1990 E.

C.), pp. 88-94.; Wäldä Maryam (*Aläqa*), “Yädagmawi Téwodros Negusä Negäst Tarik, first edited by Mondon-Vidailhet, 1897” in *Ašé Téwodros Bäsostu Qädämt Šähaft*”, Täsfayä Akalu, editor (Addis Ababa: Far East Trading Ltd., 2004 E. C.), p. 67. The second author does not describe her by name. Instead, he simply refers to her as a professional mourner from Méçha (Gojjam).

¹⁶⁷Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä and Dämelläw Ayälä. ; Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns*, p. 67. ; Täklä Šadiq, *Ašé Téwodros Ena Yä Ethiopia Andnät*, p. 246.

¹⁶⁸Šemäläš Bäkälä, “Yä Bahr Dar Kätäma Ašcher Tarik” (A typed material in the hands of the writer, Bahr Dar, N. D.), p. 3. ; Dawit, p. 7. ; Rey, *In the Country of Blue Nile*, pp. 235-236.; Gebru, p. 163.

Endärasé whose rulers were directly accountable to him. Accordingly, during the last quarter of the 19th century, Yelmana Dénsa, Gonj Qollälla and Méçha were the three neighbouring districts independently accountable to Däbrä Marqos.¹⁶⁹ Thus, below *Negus* Täklä Haymanot, there were local rulers such as *Däjjazmač* Yegzaw Engeda of Yelmana Dénsa,¹⁷⁰ *Fitawrari* Mäšäša Wändé of Gonj Qollälla¹⁷¹ and *Däjjazmač* Šefäraw Emeru of Méçha districts. The hereditary rulers of Yelmana Dénsa still retained the traditional title of Yebaba *Azaž*.¹⁷² On the other hand, in 1896 the third son of *Negus* Täklä Haymanot, *Däjjazmač* Seyum (r. 1896-1900), was appointed governor of Méçha district up on his marriage to Askälä Maryam Mängäša.¹⁷³

Finally, economically, the Saturday weekly market of Adét, popularly called Haylu Gäbüya and the annual three days market called *Teqemt Sellasé*, held at Färäs Mäsk in the parish of Zäre`a Beruk south of Adét, were the most important attractions of merchants as far north as Asmara and as far south as the Oromo territories south of the Abbay river during the late 19th and early 20th centuries¹⁷⁴, as will be more elaborated in the next chapter of the thesis.

¹⁶⁹Seltene Seyoum, "A History of Bahr Dar Town, 1936- 1974" (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1988), p. 70.

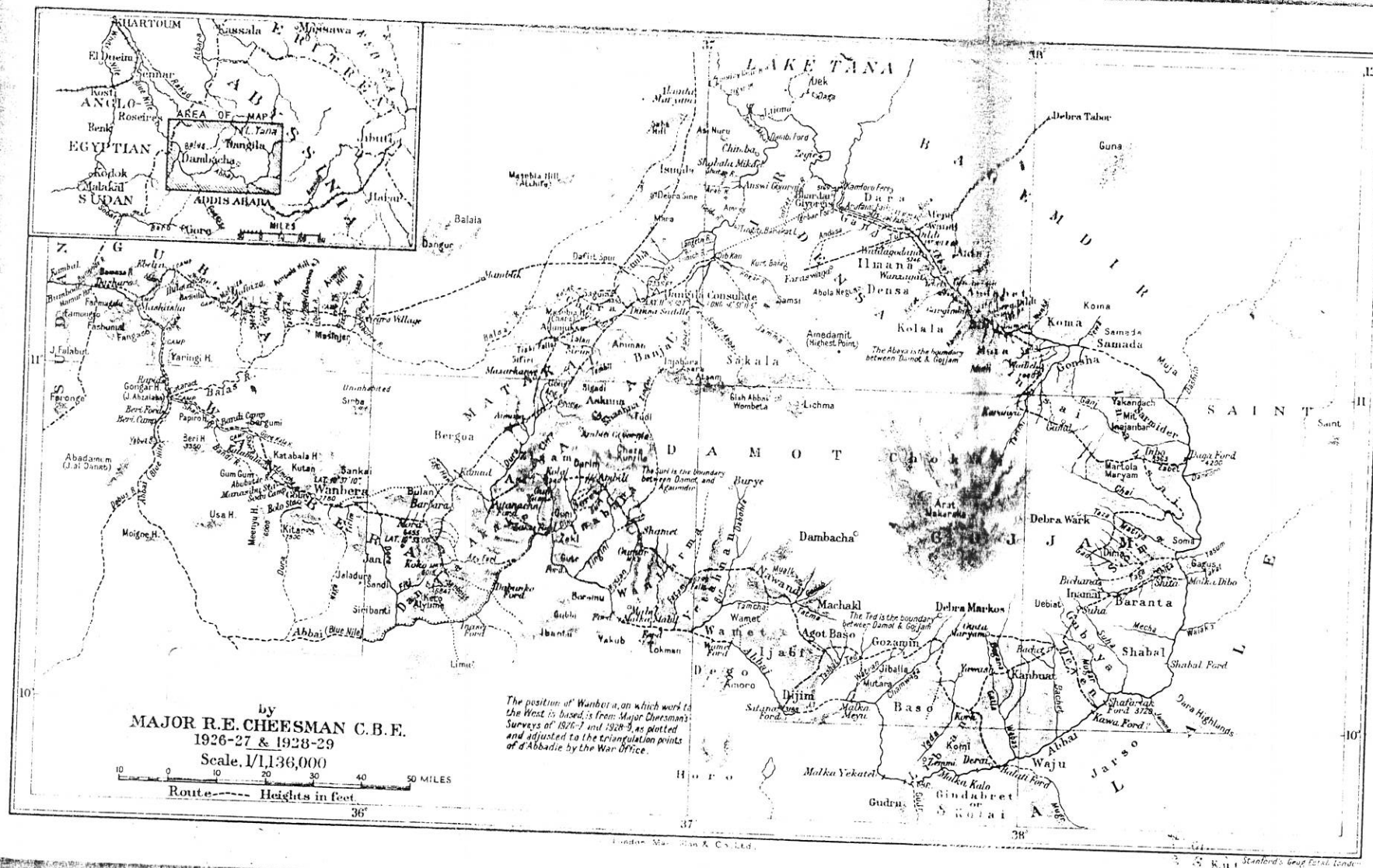
¹⁷⁰Bälay, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 36.

¹⁷¹Pawlos Nöñño, *Ašé Menilek Bähagär West Yätätafačwačäw Däbedabéwoč* (Addis Ababa: Aster Nega Publisher, 2003 E. C.), p. 218. This is a letter, No 772 which was addressed to *Ras* Mängäša Atikäm concerning *Fitawrari* Mäšäša of Qollälla, dated *Säné* 20, 1899 E. C.; and Letter No., 990, dated to *Teqemt* 9, 1900 E. C. was also directly addressed to *Fitawrari* Mäšäša himself, see Pawlos, p.272.

¹⁷²Dawit, p. 7

¹⁷³Bairu Tafla, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XI, No. I (1973), p. 44. ; Täklä Eyäsus, "Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter, 46", p. 377.

¹⁷⁴Among others, see Abdussamad Hajj Ahmad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam," pp. 29-30.



Map 4: The Location of Yelmana Densa by the Early 20th Century

Source: Cheesman, Robert Ernest. Lake Tana and the Blue Nile. London: Frank Cass, 1968.

Chapter Two

Yelmana Dénsa District: 1901-1936

The year 1901 was a turning point in the history of Gojjam in general and Yelmana Dénsa district in particular. This was because in that year the famous *Negus* of Gojjam, Täklä Haymanot, died, and Emperor Menilek II repartitioned the province among new rulers. Therefore, this chapter of the thesis will assess the major political and socio-economic developments in the district of Yelmana Dénsa from 1901 to the coming of Fascist Italians in 1936.

2.1. Administrative Conditions in Yelmana Dénsa District During the Period of *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot: 1901; 1907-1932

Emperor Menilek's intention was to replace the hereditary rulers of Gojjam by rulers appointed directly by himself.¹ Accordingly, in 1901 Menilek made *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša Atikäm governor of Damot, Agäw Meder, Mécha, Yelmana Dénsa, Ačäfär, Wändegé and Qwara. Yet, the Emperor also gave the governorship of Gojjam Proper to *Dajjazmač* Seyum (*Ras* Haylu since April 1909), son of *Negus* Täklä Haymanot. However, *Dajjazmač* Seyum was soon imprisoned at Afqära in Mänz because of his false accusation on *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša. *Ras* Bāzabeh Täklä Haymanot (r. 1902 - 1905) replaced Seyum up on his marriage to Zänābā Wārḡ Mika'él. In 1906 Menilek released Seyum and in the next year reinstated him as governor of Gojjam Proper.²

During the first decade of the 20th century, Yelmana Dénsa was thus an independent district

¹Gäbrä Sellasé, p. 294. ; Gäbru, p. 163. ; Nebeyu, pp. 9-10. ; Dawit, p. 8. ; Asrat, p. 22.

²*Ibid.* ; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia: A New Political History* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 136. ; Bairu Tafla, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", p. 44; Täklä Şadiq Mäkuriya, *Aşé Menylek Ena Yä Ethiopia Andnät* (Addis Ababa: Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1983 E. C.), p. 663. For the change of the name and rank of *Dajjazmač* Seyum see note number 8 below. Zänābāwārḡ died in April 1904 out of child birth difficulty; and Bāzabeh in August 1905.

governed by its hereditary officials called *endärasé* with the traditional title of Yebaba *Azaž*. *Däjjazmač* Yegzaw Engeda was the ruler of the district by then.³ The *endärasé* was accountable to *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša whose seat of power was at Buré. He was assisted by the *gultä gäž* and *čheqa šum* (village chief) to maintain law and order, collect the tithe, and other tributes. Each of these local officials had his own numerous *gult* lands from which he received tribute in lieu of salary from the peasants who worked on them.⁴ Here, some of the letters of Emperor Menilek II addressed to Mängäša explain that the central state was collecting significant amount of tribute in the form of honey, grain and other things from Yelmana Dénsa and other territories around it. It also seems that the local rulers of Yelmana Dénsa and other adjacent territories over exacted the population in order to get the favours of the emperor. For instance, the *endärasé* of Yelmana Dénsa over exacted the population under the order of *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša.⁵ Sources also indicate that *Fitawrari* Mäšäša Wändé of Gonj-Qollälla offered even religious relics like *Tarikä Nägäst* (History of Kings) from the monastery of Wäyzazert *Kidanä Meherät* to Emperor Menilek.⁶

However, Emperor Menilek II seemed to have been cautious. Among others, in a letter dated *Hidar* 8, 1898 E.C. [November 17, 1905] Menilek admonished Mängäša for over exacting the people of Yelmana Dénsa and Méčha after hearing their appeals through their representatives who travelled to Addis Ababa in November 1905. The response of the emperor reads as:

³Negatu (I), p. 46. ; Bälay, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 36. According to the second author, *Däjjazmač* Yegzaw Engda married the step daughter of *Wäyzäro* Yäwbдар Kābeté (mother of Empress Taytu) namely *Semāññ Haylu*.

⁴Informants: Biyazné Ejegu, Aššagré Čäkkol and Zälläqä Allälleññ. ; Dawit, p. 9. ; Nebeyou, pp. 10-11.; Mahtämä Sellasé Wäldä Mäsqäl, *Zekrä Nägär* (Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Salam Printing Press, 1922 E. C.), p. 152. For *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša see also Asrat, p. 23. Asrat mentions that June 28, 1901 as the date on which Mängäša came to power.

⁵Pawlos, p. 54 and 407. The first letter is quoted below, and the second letter, dated *Ginbot* 23, 1900 E. C., was also written at Enčotčto. See Appendix II.

⁶Mäzämer and Däbbasu, p. 32.

የሜጫና የዴንሳ የይልማና ሰው ተሠብስበው መጥተው ጮሁልኝ...ሜጫ ና ይልማናን እንዲህ አድርገህ ታስጨንቀዋለህን። እኔስ ጋሻ ስደድልኝ ማለቴ እዚያ አገር ጋሻ ስርጓጅ ብዙ ነውና በጥቂት ዋጋ ይገኛል ብዬ ገዝተህ እንድትሰድልኝ ነው እንጂ ከመኳንንቱ ከባላገሩ የጋሻ ፈሰስ ጥለህ መቸ አስመጣልኝ አልኩህ ነጭ ማርም ስደድልኝ ማለቴ የዚያ አገር ሁሉ ማር መልካም ነውና ላንተ ከሚገባልህ መርጠህ ላክልኝ አልኩ እንጂ ነጭ ማር ካላማጣችሁ እያልክ ደህወን የምታስጨንቀው በምን ነገር ነው። የዛሬ ደህ የለው... እንዲህ አርገህ ደህወን ብታስጨንቀው ምን ትጠቀማለህ ይህ ሁሉ የጨዋ ልጅ ሽማግሌ እንግዲህ ተመልሰን አገራችን አንገባም የራስ መንገሻንም ፊት አናይም እንደወጣን እንቀራለን ብሎ ከዚህ መጥቶ ያለቅሳል ይህንን እግዚአብሔር ይወደዋልን... አሁንም እዚህ ቀደም እንደነበሩ እንደ ጥንታቸው ይኑሩ እንጂ ቀድሞ ያልነበረ ነገር አትንካ። ነገር ግን ደብዳቤም ብልክብህ ብመክርህም አትሰማኝም ተመክረህ አትድን እንግዲህ ሁለተኛ እንደዚህ ያለ ነገር የሰማሁ እንደሆነ መንገሻ ሙት ማርያምን... ይህንን ደብዳቤ በእነሱ እጅ ከመስደድ ብዬ በእቃ ቤቱ በቢያድግልኝ እጅ ነው የሰደድኩልሁ።⁷

The English translation of this quotation is:

The people of Mécha, Dénša and Yelmana together came and cried to me...Why do you make the people of Mécha and of Yelmana worry? I requested you to send me shields only by purchasing it at low price from craft workers of your territory. But I did not order you to levy a tax of shield on the nobility and peasants alike. I [also] requested you to send me 'white honey' from your own revenue. But, I did not order you to oblige the poor to pay tax in 'white honey'. The poor of these days has nothing extra...What benefits can you obtain from worrying the 'poor like this? These numbers of genteel elders are crying and telling me that they never return home to see the face of Mängäša. Can you believe that God favour such an activity? Let them live as before. Do not request them to bring new things [tributes]! But you do not listen to me! You do not learn from my advices! Mängäša, I said upon St. Marry! You should not repeat the same mistake. I have sent you this letter in the hands of my treasurer, Biyadgeleññ, instead of them [the applicants]....

In April 1909 Emperor Menilek made *Däjjazmač* Seyum Ras Haylu of Gojjam and Damot by an imperial proclamation. Hence, all the official letters of Menilek addressed to *Däjjazmach* Seyum in the afterwards described him by the name *Ras Haylu*.⁸

⁷Pawlos, p. 54.

⁸Pawlos, p. 543. This proclamation is dated to *Miyaziya* 15, 1901 E. C. For the other letters concerning the name *Ras Haylu* and the demotion of Mängäša from the governorship of Damot, see Pawlos, pp. 555- 556, 585- 586. *Däjjazmač* Seyum preferred the name *Ras Haylu* in commemoration of *Ras Haylu* the Great of Gojjam (r. 1774 – 94). Greenfield and Negatu also used the term *Le`ul Ras* as the title of *Ras Haylu*, see Appendix IV.

Sources also reveal that in October 1910 *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša died⁹ and Agäw Meder, Yelmana Dénsa, Mécha, Ačäfär, Wändegé, Qwara and Aläfa were given to *Däjjazmač* (later *Ras*) Käbbäda Mängäša. However, in 1911 Käbbädä was removed from power, and Yelmana Dénsa, Mécha and Ačäfär were given to *Ras* Haylu. Agäw Meder, Qwara and Aläfa were also transferred to *Ras* (later *Negus*) Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyä of Bägémder, who ruled them until his death on March 3, 1918. Hence, *Ras* Haylu became the ruler of the whole river peninsula of Gojjam by 1918 following the death of *Negus* Wäldä Giyorgis.¹⁰

Ras Haylu divided the province of Gojjam in to 14 administrative units called *wäräda* (district), each of which was divided in to *meslänéwoč* (equivalent to sub-districts). Each district was put under the governorship of *Ras* Haylu's *Endärasé*. The term *mesläné* was also used to describe the title of governors of each *mesläné* (sub-district).¹¹ Accordingly, Yelmana, Dénsa, Lejj Ambära, Gänj, Yewodi and Zägé Medrä- Bäd *meslänéwoč* were brought under the district administration of Yelmana Dénsa with its center at Adét. This apparently took place by 1911.¹²

However, beginning from his designation as the ruler of Gojjam in 1901 *Ras* Haylu carried out *šum šeer* (promotion and demotion). He removed his father's officials and appointed his own favorites. Among others, Haylu replaced the hereditary ruler Yelmana Dénsa, *Däjjazmač* Yegzaw Engeda, by one of his favourites, *Fitawrari* Amära Täsämma in 1911.¹³ He also made

⁹Nebeyu, p. 10.

¹⁰Negatu (II), p. 5. In 1925 *Ras* Haylu also received the territory of Ašefa along Sudanese boarder in the west; see Rey, *In the Country of the Blue Nile*, p. 136.

¹¹Nebeyu, p. 11. ; Dawit, p. 8.

¹²Negatu (II), p. 7. ; Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ and Fäṭänä Aynaläm.

¹³Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Aläbäl Tayä, Biyazné Ejegu, Bayäh Fälläqä and Fäṭänä Aynaläm. ; Seltene Seyoum, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam, 1936-1941" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1999), p. 25. ; Negatu (I), p. 68.

Qäññazmač Negatu Säyfu of Zära Beruk the secretary of Amära.¹⁴ Moreover, *Ras* Haylu exploited the traditional rivalry between the rulers of Yelmana Dénsa and Méçha districts. Therefore, in July 1920 Haylu ordered *Fitawrari* Amära Täsämma to attack the *endärasé* of Méçha district, *Däjjazmač* Šefäraw Emeru, also named Šifé *Abba Gumäd* (literally, Father of the Cutter), because of his reluctance to pay tribute to the *Ras*. *Fitawrari* Amära defeated and captured *Däjjazmač* Šefäraw at the battle of Senkwa Giyorgis in Méçha. At times popular parlance dignified *Fitawrari* Amära by the following verse:

ያ አመራ አባ ገልብጥ የራስ ቀኝ እጃቸዉ፤

ማክሰኞ ተነስቶ እርብ ያዘላቸዉ፡፡¹⁵

The rough English translation of this couplet is:

Amära Abba Gälbeṭ (literally, Father of the Mower) the right hand man of the Ras, made a campaign on Tuesday and captured the enemy on Wednesday.

Following the fighting between the two *endärasés*, *Ras* Haylu made his sons, *Fitawraris* Admasu and Täsämma, governors of Ačäfär and Méçha districts, respectively.¹⁶ On the Day of Saint John in September 1923 *Fitawrari* Amära died and *Qäññazmač* Negatu became the *endärasé* (governor) of *Ras* Haylu over Yelmana Dénsa including the sub districts mentioned above.¹⁷

The *endärasé*, *mesläné* and other officials below them such as the *gultä gäž* and *çheqa šum* served *Ras* Haylu as administrators, judges and tax collectors. They were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and proper functioning of Haylu's *hudads* (estates) in the district. The *gultä gäž* were the rulers of parishes in the district. In their absence, the *çheqa šum*

¹⁴Negatu (I), p. 37. ; Negatu (II), p. 17. See Appendix III.

¹⁵Informant: Zälläqä Allälleññ. *Abba Gumäd* and *Abba Gälbeṭ* were the horse names of *Däjjac* Šefäraw and *Fitawrari* Amära respectively. Šefäraw was exiled to Addis Ababa in the afterwards.

¹⁶Dawit, p. 10.

¹⁷Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Biyazné Ejegu and Fäṭänä Aynaläm. ; Negatu (II), pp. 54, 67.

(village chiefs) administered their respective parishes efficiently. In addition, the *gultä gäz* and the *cheqa šum* were responsible for the collection of *asrat* (tithe). Together with the district governor, the *gultä gäz* was also expected to accompany *Ras Haylu* in a campaign at the head of his own soldiers. In return for their services the *endärasé*, *meslänés*, *gultä gäz* and the *cheqa šum* were given several *gult* lands. These local officials were also generally free from government taxes. Besides, the peasants under their jurisdiction were expected to provide them offerings on special occasions like X-Mass and Easter.¹⁸ Likewise, great monasteries of Yelmana Dénša like Adét Mädhane Alām, Däbrä Mäwi Maryam and Agetta Eyäsus owned vast *gult* lands known as *qefäfs* over which they had the autonomy to administer justice and collect tribute. The management of their widely scattered *qefäfs* (monastic *gult* lands) was held by succeeding lay *gäbäzs*, *liqärä`eds* and *liqähe`rans*, respectively.¹⁹

However, *Ras Haylu* notoriously violated the traditional land tenure and local administration systems. To begin with, Haylu appropriated particularly fertile lands from *restä gult* owners including the monasteries of Adét, Däbrä Mäwi, Qollälla, Zägé and other areas using various means including his office. Then, he converted these lands into his own *hudad* farms (estates) and sold the produce. *Ras Haylu* also constructed temporary store houses at each *hudad* farm. According to Negatu Säyfu, the localities of Yelmana Dénša which had Haylu's store houses were Adét, Adét Hanna, Ereberēb, Zäre`a Beruk, Mändändärä Eyäsus, Šewäqēt, Däbrä Mäw`i, Färäs Wägga, Yebaba and Enägadé, and in Qollälla.²⁰ Besides, peasants were obliged by

¹⁸Dawit, pp. 8- 9. ; Nebeyu, p. 10. ; Donald N. Levine, *Wax & Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1972), pp. 57 – 58.

¹⁹ Negatu (I), p. 25. ; Bälay, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. ; Informants: Ašagrē Čäkkol, Tägäññä Ewnätu, Biyazné Ejegu and Gäbäyāhu Qāññä. There were also other *gult* owning monasteries like Zägé Giyorgis.

²⁰Negatu (II), p. 15. ; Marcel Griaule, *Burners of Men: Modern Ethiopia*, E. Gile Rich (Trans.) (London: J. B. Lppin Cott Company, 1935), p. 127. Documents explain that *Ras Haylu* appropriated lands even from the great monasteries of Däbrä Wärq and Dima, see Pawlos, pp. 607 and 610. ; “The appeal of the clergy of Dima to Emperor Haylä Sellasé”, date *Ginbot* 1, 1945 E. C., W.M.T.M.A.R.C., IES, Folder Number, Gojjam *Täqlay Gezat*, File number 2163). ; Sileshi, pp. 36-37. *Ras Haylu* particularly renamed the marshy locality of Ereberēb as Salayš.

responsible local officials such as the *mesläné*, *hudad endärasé* and *cheqa šum* to work on *Ras Haylu*'s estates. Every peasant had to work in *Haylu*'s estates in monthly rounds as scheduled by these officials. Peasants carried out plowing, planting, weeding and harvesting of *Haylu*'s estates.²¹ Informants state that the immense amount of teff produced *each* year from *Haylu*'s estates in *Yelmana Dénsa* was usually stored in the big store house at *Adét* until it was sold by his agents during the rainy season at relatively higher prices. The store house of *Ras Haylu* at *Adét* was popularly called *Yä Haylu Jemruk* [*gumruk*].²² *Ras Haylu* also had other similar residential and store houses in *Yelmana Dénsa* at *Däbrä Mäwi*, *Adét Hanna* and *Zägé*.²³

Furthermore, *Ras Haylu* made several localities of *Yelmana Dénsa* and other adjacent territories *ganägäb* (personal *gults*) territories. They were *Ambatna*, *Safetämäññ*, *Walka Šeyon*, *Mändärä Eyäsus*, *Dängya Bét*, *Korč*, *Yädawré* (*Edawré*), *Enägadé*, and *Wäyzazeret* (in *Qollälla*) and three parishes in *Wanzayä* east of *Bahr Dar* across the *Abbay River*.²⁴ These *ganägäb* territories of *Yelmana Dénsa* and other areas were run by the *gult endärasés* (superintendents) and their secretaries who were accountable to the *Yelmana Dénsa* district *endärasé*. The *gult endärasé* (also called *asaraš*) of *Ras Haylu* had the right to take one third of the local taxes and court fees collected in the areas under his jurisdiction. Similarly, the secretary of a *gult endärasé* had the right to collect a *qunna* of grain from each harvest of each peasant in his *gult* territory. In addition, he received a monthly salary of two *madegga* of grain, one *madegga* of teff, two *amolés* (salt bar) and four *qunna* of pepper, and an annual payment

²¹Negatu (II), pp. 16- 17. ; Dawit, pp. 11-12.

²²Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Addam Käbbädä and Fäñänä Aynaläm. ; Negatu (I), p. 37.

²³Bäläy, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 75. ; Informants: Biyazné Ejegu, Zälläqä Allälleññ, Tafärä Ejegu and Haylu Meteku.

²⁴Negatu (II), p. 16.

of 10 Maria Theresa thaler for clothing.²⁵ Further, large number of labourers particularly slaves and other low status people who worked on Haylu's estates were paid some amount of grain, *amolé*, pepper and Maria Theresa thaler for their maintenance.²⁶ Criminals, except murderers, were also required to pay for their crimes through working on *Ras* Haylu's estates.²⁷ However, *Ras* Haylu commuted death penalties of murderers to life sentences and jailed them in a special prison called ጸግመላሽ /avenger/, for instance, those at Ereberab and Adét Hanna. Nevertheless, in rare cases *Ras* Haylu also cruelly punished recalcitrant criminals including his own *šums* (officials) through burning them alive in honey soaked muslin.²⁸

The highest point of *Ras* Haylu's control over the *meslānēs* of Yelmana and Dēnsa came in 1925 when he took the traditional office of *gābāz* of Adét locality for himself ostensibly by force. He delegated this traditional office to one of his loyal servants, *Qāññazmač* Negatu Säyfu. Here, *Ras* Haylu's main interest was to control fully the land resources and the famous Saturday market of Adét by violating the sanctuary status of the monastery of Adét Mādhané Alām. In the next year, *Ras* Haylu constructed a small palace and houses with other functions on the churchyard to the west of the monastery of Adét Mādhané Alām. He also confiscated the vast fertile teff growing land at the confluence of Šeggāz and Šēna Rivers to the northern of Adét town. As a compensation *Ras* Haylu repaired and decorated the monasteries of Adét and Däbrä Mäwi.²⁹ Marcel Griaule, the leader of the French anthropological mission, who

²⁵Negatu (II), pp. 16-17.

²⁶*Ibid.* ; Abdussamad, "Trade and politics in Gojjam," p. 63.

²⁷Rey, *In the Country of the Blue Nile*, p. 138. Both Rey and Negatu describe that *Ras* Haylu did not believe in the practice of cutting off the limbs of criminals.

²⁸Griaule, pp. 115, 131, 181, 182. ; Greenfield, p. 137. For the name of the prison mentioned here see Negatu (II), p. 19. Today cow boys perceive that the forests and trees of these prison places as shelters of Satan.

²⁹Informants: Many informants. ; Negatu (II), p. 13. *Ras* Haylu also decorated the monasteries of Agetta and Šelalo. At present the fertile land which was confiscated by Haylu is the area where the Adét Agricultural Research Institute is located. See Appendix III.

stayed for some times with *Ras* Haylu at Adét in 1929 describes that Haylu had chosen Adét as his second capital and had the plan to develop it. Griaule further witnesses that *Ras* Haylu received his mission at Adét at the head of troops of 500 men “all of them wore *khaki* and leggings, and carried guns”.³⁰

The court of *Ras* Haylu followed the pattern of the court of the central government. He had his own treasurer with the title of *Azaž*, military commander, *wämbärs* (judges) and a chamberlain entitled *Ligaba*. Hence, the palace compound of *Ras* Haylu at Adét provided treasury, residence, banquet hall and others functions. Regarding this, the diagram below drawn by Mission Griaule in 1929 elaborately explains the structure *Ras* Haylu’s court at Adét.³¹

Ras Haylu made administrative and judiciary activities including *šum šeer* of local officials in his stay at Adét. For instance, as will be more elaborated below, he promoted local *čheqa šums* of Yelmana Dénsa and other places in to the rank of *Grazmač* and assigned them to carry out various responsibilities. Similarly, *Ras* Haylu reorganized the administrative structure of the churches of the district under study. Here, ten or so neighbouring churches of each sub district were put under the supervision of a *Liqä Kahenat* (superior of the clergy).³² Haylu also promoted other church officials by receiving appointment fees.³³ Further, the business minded *Ras* of Gojjam designated a *Grazmač* over craft workers, a *Liqä mäkwas* over the *Azmari* (minstrels) and *Amina* or *Hamana* (dawn time singers) of each sub district of Yelmana Dénsa. Obviously, the most important task of these local officials was the collection of taxes for *Ras*

³⁰Griaule, pp. 181. See also Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, “Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wärađa”, p. 4.

³¹Greenfield, p. 136. ; Nebeyu, p. 10. ; Griaule, many pages. For the diagram of *Ras* Haylu’s court at Adét, see R. Pankhurst, *State and Land in Ethiopian History* (Addis Ababa: Haile Sellasie I University Press, 1966), p. 112.

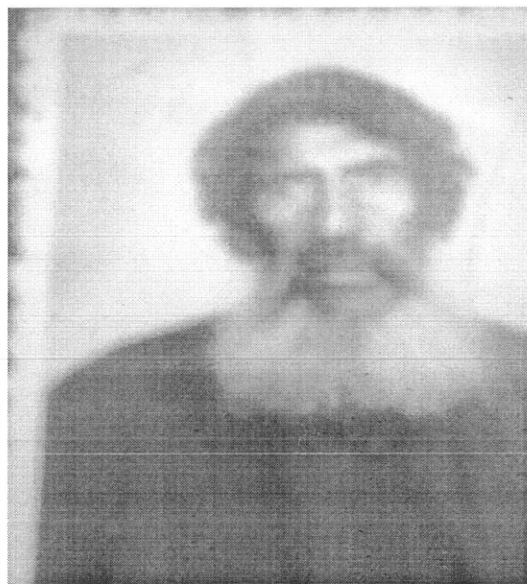
³²Negatu (II), pp. 13, 20. See Appendix IV.

³³*Ibid.* ; Nebeyu, p. 11.

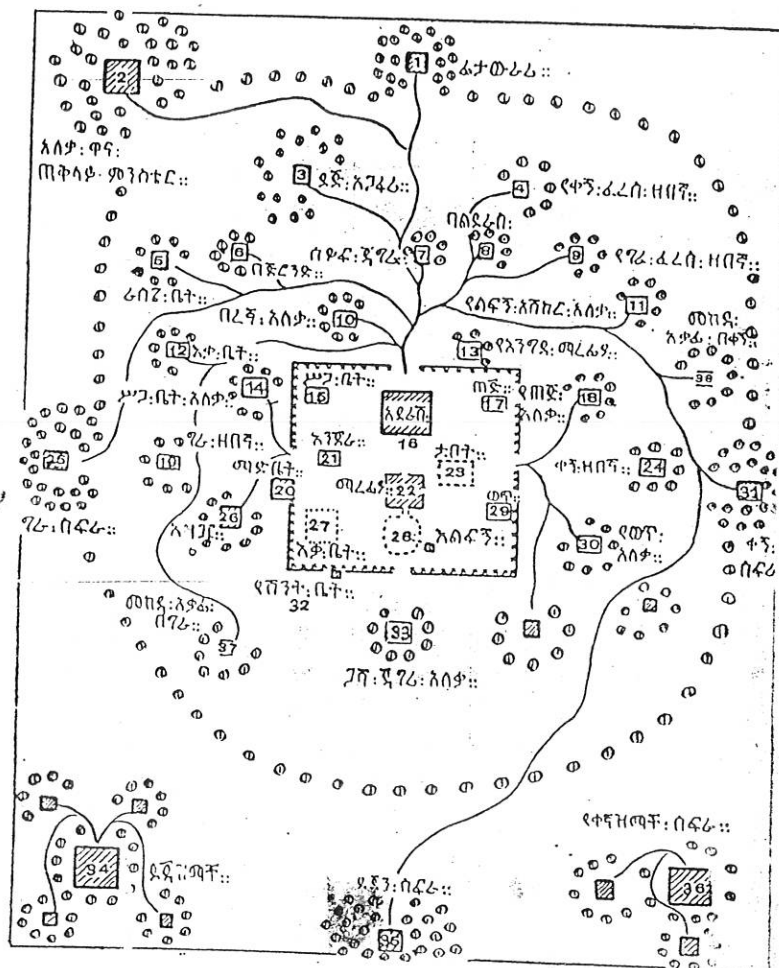
Picture 3: *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot and his local agent of Yelmana Dénsa District and Adét town



Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot



Qäññazmač Negatu Säyfu at his old age

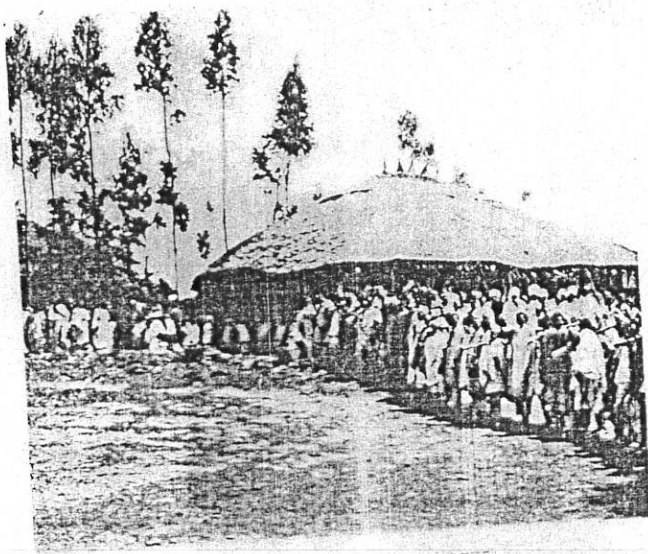


The camp of Ras Haylu Takla Haymanot at Adet in 1929.

1. The chief of the advance guard.
2. The principal chief.
3. The director of the gate.
4. The cavalry guards of the right flank.
5. The advance house.
6. The treasurer.
7. The sword bearers.
8. The chief of the stables.
9. The cavalry guards of the left flank.
10. The chief of the porters.
11. The chief of the household servants.
12. The treasury or magazine.
13. The rest house for strangers.
14. The chief of the meat house.
15. The meat house.
16. The reception hall or tent.
17. The *täjä* or mead house.
18. The chief or the *täjä*.
19. The guards of the left.
20. The house for the preparation of flour.
21. The *enjera*, or bread house.
22. Rest house.
23. The *tabot* or "holy of holies".
24. The guards of the right flank.
25. The camp of the left flank.
26. The chief of the servants.
27. The treasury.
28. The residence.
29. The kitchen.
30. The chief of the kitchens.
31. The camp of the right flank.
32. The latrines.
33. The chief of shield bearers.
34. The commander of the advance guard.
35. The rear-guard.
36. The camp of the chief of the right flank.
37. The holders of the cushions of the left.
38. The holders of the cushions of the right.

Source: R. Pankhurst, State and Land in
Ethiopia History, 1966

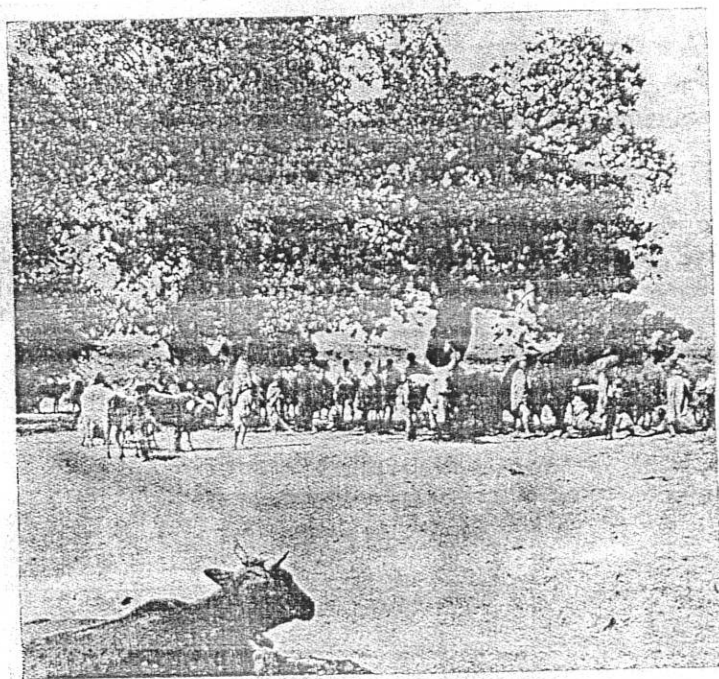
picture 4:



Banquet Hall

The camp of Räs Haylu at Adet in 1929

picture 5:



CATTLE MARKET, ADDIET

source Griaule.M.The Burner of Men.1935

Haylu.³⁴ In the absence of *Ras* Haylu from Adét, the administration was run by his *endärasé*, first *Fitawrari* Amära and after 1923 *Qäññazmač* Negatu. Particularly the financial duty, for which Haylu gave much attention, was entrusted to his loyal servant, *Fitawrari* Kassa Engeda, the secretary of Negatu. There were also a number of other business agents of Haylu assigned by him to run his tavern houses at Adét including drinking houses and butcheries like Mulat and Gulelat. Then, the major duty of Haylu was supervising his business establishments and farming estates all over Gojjam.³⁵

The period of *Ras* Haylu was marked by considerable growth of trade and commerce in Yelmana Dénsa and Adét town as it was true in other parts of Gojjam. However, *Ras* Haylu tried to discourage the trade in slaves through highly taxing the traders particularly after his tour in Europe with *Ras* Täfäri Mäkonnen in 1924.³⁶ *Ras* Haylu helped the town of Adét to grow by constructing large number of tavern houses and butcheries on the southern side of Haylu Gäböya. In connection to this, Abdussamad says: "The princes of Gojjam needed the development of market centers like Adét, Buré, Dangela and Moṭa. They also encouraged artisans to produce craft goods and merchants to conduct trade. However, society set boundaries between respectable and disrespeckable jobs."³⁷ Informants also state that *Ras* Haylu and his officials at Adét encouraged the local people to consume *ṭälla*, *aräqi*, *ṭäjj* (mead)

³⁴Negatu (II), pp. 19-20.

³⁵Informants: Many informants; Seltene Seyoum, "A History of Bahr Dar Town, 1936-1974" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1988), p. 63. ; Geremew, p. 30. For *Ras* Haylu's supervision of his estates and business establishments see, Griaule, pp. 7, 182.

³⁶Informants: Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Aläbačäw Wagaw. ; Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wārāda", p. 4. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam" p. 70.

³⁷Abdussamad Hajj Ahmad, "Basso: Commercial Enter pot of Gojjam (1841- 1889)" *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Seminar of the Department of History* (Addis Ababa University, Awasa, 8-12 July 1987, 1989), p. 2. See also Bairu, "Two of the Last Provincial Rulers" p. 39.

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³⁴Negatu (II), pp. 19-20.

³⁵Informants: Many informants; Seltene Seyoum, "A History of Bahr Dar Town, 1936-1974" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1988), p. 63. ; Geremew, p. 30. For *Ras* Haylu's supervision of his estates and business establishments see, Griaule, pp. 7, 182.

³⁶Informants: Fäṭānā Aynalām, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Aläbačāw Wagaw. ; Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wārāda", p. 4. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam" p. 70.

³⁷Abdussamad Hajj Ahmad, "Basso: Commercial Enter pot of Gojjam (1841- 1889)" *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Seminar of the Department of History* (Addis Ababa University, Awasa, 8-12 July 1987, 1989), p. 2. See also Bairu, "Two of the Last Provincial Rulers" p. 39.

and meat from Haylu's tavern houses. Besides, *Ras* Haylu personally advised *māšāta* ladies and craft workers to improve their little business. He also introduced eucalyptus tree, the name of a quarter in Addis Ababa, Arada, and night time curfew into Adét town.³⁸ One of my informants expressed the growth of Adét town by then and the attraction of the rural people of Yelmana Dénsa towards it by the following verse:

በሳምንት በሳምንት አዴት እየወጣሁ፤
መዳኛ የሌለው ህመም ይዝ መጣሁ፡፡³⁹

The rough English translation of this couplet reads:

I went to Adét [town] every week and, as a result, I have been caught by an incurable disease [love].

Finally, *Ras* Haylu made contacts with some Italian agents at Adét particularly in the late 1920s, as will be more elaborated in chapter three of the thesis. This led to the quarrel between *Ras* Haylu and *Ras* Tāfāri (later Emperor Haylā Sellasé). Then, in 1930, under the order of *Ras* Tāfāri, a huge army commanded by *Šalāqa* Säyfu took *Ras* Haylu from his camp at Dābrä Māwi in to Addis Ababa never to return again.⁴⁰ *Ras* Haylu's rule was unpopular throughout Gojjam, especially among the clergy and local nobility who had lost their political and economic privileges. Emperor Hayllä Sellasé took this into his own advantage. Among others, in 1931 the inhabitants of Zāgé peninsula presented a case against *Ras* Haylu to the Emperor. In the same year, in the name of punishing *Ras* Haylu, Emperor Haylā Sellasé converted the territories of Zāgé and Yelmana Dénsa in to crown lands and put them under an imperial

³⁸Informants: Alāmay Bogalä, Fäṭānā Aynalām, Alābačāw Wagaw and Addam Käbbädä. ; Negatu (II), p. 17. For the eucalyptus trees see also Griaule, p. 112.

³⁹Informant: Addam Käbbädä

⁴⁰Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 16- 20. ; Nebeyu, pp. 12-13. Informants: Haylu Meteku and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam.

appointee named *Däjjazmač* Mäsfen Gämmäč.⁴¹ In 1932 *Ras* Haylu was detained and *Däjjazmač* Sebhata Yegzaw was installed as the *endärasé* of Yelmana Dénsa, as will be discussed below.⁴²

2.2. Taxation and Other Tributes of *Ras* Haylu: 1901; 1907-1932

As indicated above, *Ras* Haylu's rule over Gojjam was marked by excessive taxation and exploitation of the people of Gojjam in general and Yelmana Dénsa district in particular. The *Ras* made his utmost efforts to boost his revenue. Apart from land tax, Haylu received revenues in the form of tributes, taxes, fees and bribes. To begin with, *asrat* (tithe) was collected by *Ras* Haylu's officials such as the *mesläné*, *gultä gāž* and *cheqa šum*. Initially, *asrat* was collected in kind by groups of Haylu's tax collectors (including the *cheqa šums*) in each sub district. They were called *asäfari* (measurers) who were shortly afterwards renamed as *gotära asekäfač* (assessors of the granary). The *asäfari* retained a third of the amount of the tithe and was allowed to collect two *qunna* of grain from each peasant for his service. For that reason, *Ras* Haylu's tax collectors were sometimes called *yä golqunna šums*.⁴³

Later on, however, *Ras* Haylu found this system of tax collection inefficient and the collectors corrupted. As a result, Haylu changed the payment of *asrat* into cash. He imposed 8800 Maria Theresa thaler on the district of Yelmana Dénsa alone consisting of the *meslänés* of Dénsa, Yelmana, Gänj, Yewodi, Lëjj Ambära and Zägé Medrä-Bäd. Seven elders were elected at the district, *mesläné* and village levels to assess the wealth of their inhabitants. Then, the amount

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 26. *Ras* Emeru Haylä Sellasé (*Leul*), *Kayähut Kä Emastawsäw* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2001 E.C.), p. 245.

⁴³"Bahr Dar Center of Edegät Bäheberät Amätawi Report, *Ter* 1967 E. C. – *Säné* 1968 E. C." (Bahr Dar, *Säné* 1968 E. C.), pp. 61-62. ; Negatu (II), pp. 5-6. For *Ras* Haylu's officials see also Dawit, p. 9. ; Nebeyu, p. 11. The report of Bahr Dar Edegät Bähebrät is located at the Ethiopian Collection Section of the Library of Bahr Dar University.

of *asrat* imposed by Haylu was divided among *meslānēs* and villages according to their wealth.⁴⁴ A peasant who owned a pair of oxen was required to pay at least two Maria Theresa thaler, two pairs of oxen three and so on. *Asrat* was still collected by the *yä golqunna šums* who were also given some localities as *gult* for their service.⁴⁵

It seems that the local peoples of Yelmana Dēnsa were happy with the conversion of taxes into cash because they could now harvest their crops without waiting for the coming of tax assessors.⁴⁶ Any extra amount of money collected in an area was also shared by the *meslāné* and his secretary. Here, the *endūrasé* of Yelmana Dēnsa since 1925, Negatu Säyfu, remarks that the new system could not prevent corruption by tax collectors, and hence, the amount of tax collected from his district usually dwindled to 6,000 Maria Theresa thaler.⁴⁷ *Ras* Haylu also received taxes of different other forms from all adults corresponding to their occupations. The most unpopular tax was *yäçhes geber* (hat tax) which was later on changed in to *yäqula geber* (head tax) paid by all adults. Besides, Haylu took *yäqänd geber* (tax per head of cattle) and *ambo geber* (tax on mineral waters). *Yä qänd* and *yä ambo gebers* were collected by local *Grazmačes* promoted by Haylu for the same purpose. *Mäšäta* ladies and widows were also required to pay a tax called *yä gofäre* (hair tax).⁴⁸ In addition, *Ras* Haylu promoted local *çheqa šums* to the rank of *Grazmač* and assigned them to collect market dues from the attendants of Adét, Agetta, Färäs Wägga, Yezora, Enägadé, Gonj, Zägé and other market places of the

⁴⁴Negatu (II), pp. 6-7.

⁴⁵“Bahr Dar Center of Edegät Bäheberät”, p. 61.

⁴⁶Negatu (II), pp. 6-7. ; Abdussamad, “Trade and Politics in Gojjam”, p. 33.

⁴⁷Negatu (II), p. 8. See also “Bahr Dar Center of Edegät Bähebrät”, p. 61.

⁴⁸Abdussamad Hajj Ahmad, “Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and World Economy, 1901- 1935” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Urbana, History, Illinois, 1986), pp. 71-73. ; Nebeyu, p. 11. ; Asrat, 26. ; Dawit, pp. 10-11. ; Habtamu, p. 190. ; Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Alāmay Bogalä and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam. *Yäqänd geber* was also called *yäçhera geber* (tail tax).

district. Further, *Ras* Haylu brought the craft workers of each *mesläné* of Yelmana Dénša such as tanners, weavers, black smiths and jewelers under a *Grazmač* and required them to pay taxes entitled *yäkasma* (peg tax), *yägwdegwad* (hole tax), *yädäbälanssa* (smiths tax) and *yämanaḥiya* (bellow tax), respectively.⁴⁹

The amount of all the above taxes varied from person to person according to their status and amount of wealth. For instance, as indicated above, ordinary people like *mäsäta* ladies, minstrels and *Aminas* or *Hamanas* (dawn time singers) were required to pay one Maria Theresa thaler, and craft workers two Maria Theresa thaler, per year. Market day taxes known as *yädelal* (brokerage tax) were usually two Maria Theresa thaler per mule or donkey load.⁵⁰ Monasteries, mineral waters and the Angar (in Yelmana) and Wanzayä (in Bägémder) hot springs were also expected to pay a share of the amount they collected.⁵¹ By contrast, the taxes of *Ras* Haylu were relatively higher for higher status people and ecclesiastical leaders. Moreover, soldiers were quartered in peasant houses to enforce Haylu's different form of taxes.⁵²

One of the other sources of Haylu's revenue was called *yä mäššomiya* (appointment fee) demanded from all his officials. To begin with, *Ras* Haylu appointed *yägolqunna šums*, new *gultä gäžs*, and recognized hereditary *gultägäžs* by receiving appointment fees from all of them.⁵³ Besides, Haylu received appointment fees from *Wämbärs* (local judges), ecclesiastical officials, *Liqämäkwases*; and the *Grazmačes* of craft workers, cattle herders and market day

⁴⁹Negatu (II), p. 13. ; Tecle Haimanot, pp. 44-45. See Appendix IV.

⁵⁰Negatu (II), p. 13. ; Dawit, p. 11. *Ras* Haylu also collected *Yä Bär tax* (gate tax) at bridges from merchants.

⁵¹Negatu (II), pp. 13-14. The traditional title of the official of the *Ambo* before the period of *Ras* Haylu was *Blatta*.

⁵²Dawit, p. 11.

⁵³Nebeyu, pp. 10-11. ; Negatu (II), pp. 8-12.

tax collectors.⁵⁴ People were also expected to pay fees to *Ras* Haylu so as to get military ranks like *Fitawrari*, *Balambāras*, *Šambāl*, *Qāññazmač* and so on.⁵⁵ Likewise, a *Nāgadras* was expected to pay an appointment fee usually amounted to 2000 Maria Theresa thaler. All the officials of *Ras* Haylu mentioned above were responsible for the collection of his taxes. They were given *gults* in their respective localities and entitled to receive offerings from peasants on special occasions in return to their service.⁵⁶

Finally, as mentioned above, part of *Ras* Haylu's revenue also came from the confiscation of the properties of murderers and those persons without offspring. Haylu confiscated land, wealth and slaves using various means including his office.⁵⁷ For instance, the alleged reason for the confiscation of the entire property of a murderer and his relatives up to the seventh line was "to discourage such a crime."⁵⁸ He also confiscated slaves in Zägé⁵⁹. Furthermore, according to Abdussamad, *Nāgadras* Abdulqader Aman of Adēt died in April 1927, and Haylu "...took 86 head of cattle, 46 slaves, 32 *wächäfo* (wetterly) and *wejegra* (Fusil Gras) rifles, 32 London made swords, 66 mules loaded with ivory and civet, 13000 thalers, 1800 jars of butter and honey" from his house at Mändära Eyäsus.⁶⁰

⁵⁴Negatu (II), pp. 8-12. ; Abdussamad, "Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and World Economy", p. 87.

⁵⁵Negatu (II), p. 14. ; Dawit, p. 11. ; Asrat, p. 26.

⁵⁶Dawit, p. 9. ; Nebeyu, p. 11.

⁵⁷Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Tägāññä Ewnātu, Addam käbbädä and Alämay Bogalä. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 62. ; Crummey, p. 232.

⁵⁸Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Addam käbbädä and Alämay Bogalä. ; Negatu (II), p. 21.

⁵⁹Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 30.

⁶⁰*Ibid.* Here, *Nāgadras* Alqader's grand son, *Ato* Nuré Muhammad states that the alleged reason for the confiscation his grandfather's entire property by *Ras* Haylu was that the latter claimed that it was the property of the state because Alqader was one of his most important trade agents. The family of the *Nāgadras* unsuccessfully accused Haylu to the central state.

In general, through taxation, *hudad* farming, appointment and court fees, trade and commerce as well as confiscation of property Ras Haylu became one of the wealthiest persons in Ethiopia.⁶¹ Sources agree that no significant amount of revenue was sent to the treasuries of both the central state and church.⁶² Instead, Haylu invested much of his revenue in Addis Ababa in cinema, night clubs, taxi service and the like.⁶³ Consequently, according to Bahru, Ras Haylu alienated a large section of the people of Gojjam including the clergy by over taxing them and amassing land which was later on used by Emperor Haylä Sellasé as a propaganda to accuse him.⁶⁴

2.3. The Socio-Economic Condition of Yelman Dénsa District: 1901-1936

This sub section of the thesis will assess the economic and social conditions of the people of Yelmana Dénsa during the period from 1901 to 1936 by taking land tenure, trade, handicraftsmanship and local social organization in to consideration.

2. 3. 1. Land Tenure

During the early 20th century, there were three forms of land tenure in Yelmana Dénsa. They were *rest* (communal), church and state tenures. To begin with, parishioner villagers owned *rest* land in each locality or parish of Yelmana Dénsa. This land right was claimed to have originally been inherited from founding fathers or mothers of each village or locality mostly during the Gondarine period. Therefore, in the twentieth century *rest* landowners of Yelmana

⁶¹Bahru Zewde, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia (1916-1935)" *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XVII (November 1984), p.18. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 58. ; Greenfield, p. 137.

⁶²Nebeyu, p. 10. ; Negatu (II), pp. 13, 20.

⁶³Informant: Alämay Bogalä. ; Bahru, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia", p. 18. ; Crumme, p. 232. ; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*(Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), p. 98.

⁶⁴Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 144.

Dénsa were often described as *balabbats* (literally, those who have fathers). *Rest* lands owned by *balabbats* were managed by family elders in each locality of Yelmana Dénsa district.⁶⁵

The other form of land tenure in Yelmana Dénsa during the same period was church tenure. There were two forms of church tenure. The first was what is variously mentioned in the literature as *sämon*, *rim* or *qefäfs*. Church lands of this form were under the *gult* supervision of the big monasteries of Yelmana Dénsa like Adét Mädhane Aläm and Däbrä Mäwi Maryam, which had the autonomy to administer justice and collect tribute from the peasants who worked on them. According to *Liqä Heruyan Bälay*, Däbrä Mäwi annually received 800 *madegga* of grain and 400 *amolé* from its twenty-two *qefäfs* (monastic *gult* lands).⁶⁶ Similarly, informants explain that the monastery of Adét Mädhane Aläm received large quantities of grain and *amolé* each year from its eighteen *qefäfs*.⁶⁷ Until the time *Ras* Haylu these and the other monasteries of Yelmana Dénsa had sanctuary status and were directly accountable to Däbrä Marqos. However, *Ras* Haylu violated their traditional rights and rearranged their ecclesiastical administration chiefly to make it suitable for the collection of taxes. He also began to take a share of their revenues.⁶⁸ The second form of church tenure was called *yäsendé märét* (wheat land) or *yämäsqäl märét* (Cross-land) which was common to all the churches in Yelmana Dénsa. For instance, Adét Mädhane Aläm obtained large quantities of grain from its *yäsendémärét* (wheat land) located to the east of Adét at the locality of Dängäz (in Yelmana). Similarly, Däbrä Mäwi Maryam had approximately four *gaša* of *yäsendémärét*. Parishioner

⁶⁵Refer to note numbers 86- 90, 95, 99 and 137 of chapter one of the thesis. As an example see also Appendix V.

⁶⁶Bälay, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. The author further explains that 800 *madegga* is equivalent to 40 quintals.

⁶⁷Informants: Aššageré Čäkkol, Tägäñña Ewnätu, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Bayäh Fälläqä and Dämelläw Ayälä. ; Zelalem, pp. 2-3. ; Geremew, p. 22. ; Negatu (II), pp. 33-34.

⁶⁸Negatu (I), p. 25.

villagers directly cultivated these church lands for its maintenance. These church lands were also free from the payment of the state *asrat* (tithe).⁶⁹

As indicated above, the third form of tenure in the district of Yelmana Dénsa during the period was state tenure. This mainly included the number of *hudads* (estates) and *gults* of Ras Haylu and his officials at all levels. As mentioned earlier, Ras Haylu notoriously appropriated lands in Yelmana Dénsa, converted them into his own estates and sold the produce. Haylu also had several *ganägäb* (personal *gults*) territories in Yelmana Dénsa. In addition, Ras Haylu took lands for irrigation purposes and started to construct small dams across the Šena (at Gomängé), Šeggäz (around Adét) and Tul (at Gwaya Qiṭa and Tämamañ) rivers. State tenure in Yelmana Dénsa also included the *gult* lands of Ras Haylu and his officials. Under the *gult* system, Ras Haylu's officials collected tributes from each village and retained a share of it in lieu of salary. They were also given several *gult* lands in return for their services.⁷⁰ Like *rest* land rights, *gult* rights were hereditary in Yelmana Dénsa before the period of Ras Haylu. They were often described by the term *restä-gult*. However, in the 20th century Ras Haylu began to appoint his own favourites as *gultägäz* or *gult endärasé* particularly for the *ganägäb* localities mentioned above. In fact, he did recognize some of the hereditary *gultä gaž* or *balä gult*.⁷¹

For the majority of the villager parishioners of Yelmana Dénsa, including *rest* land owning Muslims, *rest* land was the basis of their livelihood. *Rest* owners used it for various purposes including farming, grazing, dwelling, gardening and renting. Land was also a source of revenue for the state, churches, monasteries and their officials and servants. Any extra land of the

⁶⁹Bälay, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. ; Negatu (I), pp. 33, 34, 37. ; Geremew, pp. 22-23, 24. For the term *qefäf* among others see Sileshi, pp. 31, 36, and for the names of church tenure see among others Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institution of African Studies), pp. 19-20 and for the term *rim* see Crummey, many pages.

⁷⁰Negatu (II), pp. 8-11. ; Nebeyu, pp. 10-12. ; Dawit, p. 9. See also Crummey, pp. 194, 232.

⁷¹Negatu (II), *Ibid.* ; Nebeyu, pp. 10-12.

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⁶⁹Bälay, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. ; Negatu (I), pp. 33, 34, 37. ; Geremew, pp. 22-23, 24. For the term *qefäḥ* among others see Sileshi, pp. 31, 36, and for the names of church tenure see among others Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institution of African Studies), pp. 19-20 and for the term *rim* see Crumme, many pages.

⁷⁰Negatu (II), pp. 8-11. ; Nebeyu, pp. 10-12. ; Dawit, p. 9. See also Crumme, pp. 194, 232.

⁷¹Negatu (II), *Ibid.* ; Nebeyu, pp. 10-12.

balabbats, churches and monasteries of the district were usually rented to those in need under different tenure⁷² arrangements most commonly on the basis of share cropping.⁷² Here, informants state that there were also many rent free dependents who settled on *rest* lands of *balabbats* or on *rims* of monasteries with the obligation of supplying labour services to the land owner.⁷³ However, like other parts of the country, *rest* land owners of the district had tribute or service obligations to pay either to the state or the church. For instance, in the parish of Adét land was traditionally believed to have belonged to the monastery of Mädhane Alām and often described as *yägädam rest*. Hence, owners of this *gädam* land had service or tribute obligations.⁷⁴

In short, based on customary laws and oral traditions the land related rights mentioned above remained to be the bases of the local socio economic development of the district under investigation.⁷⁵

2. 3. 2. The Development of Trade in Yelmana Dénsa

In addition to cultivating the land, some people of the district of Yelmana Dénsa, particularly Muslims, earned their income through the participation in short-and long distance trade. Some Christian merchants also participated in long distance trade during the early 20th century. The existence of the famous Haylu Gäböya at Adét and the annual market place called Teqemet Sellasé held for three days at Färäs Mäsk (in Zära Beruk) to the south of Adét attracted merchants as far north as Asmara and as far south as the Oromo territories south of the Abbay river. In other words, Adét was one of the market towns of Gojjam which tapped most of the

⁷²Informants: Gäböyāhu Qāññā, Fātānā Aynalām, Addam Käbbädä and Tafärä Ejegu. ; Geremew, p. 23.

⁷³Informants: Gäböyāhu Qāññā, Addam Käbbädä and Täwabä Ayčäh. ; Negatu (II), pp. 19, 20.

⁷⁴Informant: Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Tägāññā Ewnātu and Aššageré Čäkkol. ; Geremew, p. 23. For instance, the Gafats of Adét were traditionally recognized as: “*bäqedasé yätäsäru*” /those whose tenure arrangement was based on giving religious services/.

⁷⁵Zelalem, p. 4. ; Geremew, p. 25.

regional trade.⁷⁶ The first market place was sometimes known as the “market of Gojjam” and the second the “market of Ethiopia,” which explains their fame and importance.⁷⁷ In addition, there were rural markets in Yelmana Dénsa like Yezora, Agetta, Färäs Wägga, Enägadé and Gonj (in Qollälla) which were visited by local merchants.⁷⁸

The most important caravan merchants of Yelmana Dénsa during the early 20th century included *Nägadras* Abdulqader Aman, Fänta Negusé and Ali Ahmad (later *Nägadras Hajj*), *Grazmač* Asäggé Yemär, Zarihun Ali, Qäçhenu Adäm, Muhé Adäm⁷⁹ and *Abba Wäldä Eyäsus*.⁸⁰ According to Abdussamad, the Saturday market of Adét popularly known as Haylu Gäbäya was “...an important enterpôt for imported goods from Arabia, Egypt, India, etc., and *amolé* from Tegräy...” Abdussamad maintains that Haylu Gäbäya was full from about October 23 to the end of December. This was chiefly because the people of the neighbouring areas of Adama, Amädamit, Yelmana, Dénsa, Qollälla and Méçha brought agricultural products to the market during this harvesting season.⁸¹ In addition, the craft workers of Adét and rural localities like Agetta, Goššäyä, Däbrä Mäwi and others supplied their products to the same market. Hundreds of merchants from Agäw Meder and Däga Damot also visited the weekly Saturday market of Adét to sell their horses and mules. These merchants in turn took *amolé* and skin

⁷⁶Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Fäñänä Aynaläm, Gäbäyähü Qäññä and Aläbačäw Wagaw. ; Abdussamad, “Trade and politics in Gojjam”, pp. 27-30.

⁷⁷Informant: Läggsä Qalu. He was a skin merchant from Šeré (Tegräy) who settled at Adét shortly after 1941. He declares that he had heard about the fame of the markets as young boy before 1936.

⁷⁸Informants: Addam Käbbädä and Fäñänä Aynaläm.

⁷⁹Informants: Admasu Gugsä, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Fäñänä Aynaläm.; Zelalem, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁰Informant: Zälläqä Allälleññ.

⁸¹Abdussamad, “Trade and politics in Gojjam”, pp. 29-30. ; Geremew, p. 23. ; Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Fäñänä Aynaläm and Gäbäyähü Qäññä.

works from Adét market to their respective areas.⁸² Merchants from Bägémder were also particularly interested in mules from the market at Adét.⁸³

The most important items that were brought to Adét across caravan routes via BahrDar and Alata were cloth, *zäha* or *buti* (yarn), perfume, firearms, metallic objects and utensils. These goods mostly came from Asmara or Massawa and the Sudan.⁸⁴ In addition, *amolé* from Tegray (through Lasta); and gold, ivory, civet, coffee, slaves and others from south of the Abbay found their way to Adét during the period. The main trade items obtained from Yelmana Dénsa needed by both local merchants and those from other places included honey, butter, spices, pepper, hides, skins, craft works and items brought from south of the Abbay river.⁸⁵

Because of the development of trade during the period, Adét town was connected with different other towns by a network of trade routes. The route from Moṭa and Däbrä Wärq was extended to Addis Ababa. The Buré-Amädāmit line also connected Adét with Gemja Bét, Enjibara, and Dämbäṣṣa and beyond. Likewise, the route from Färäs Wägga was extended to Dangela, Bahr Dar and Zägé and Mätämma. The route from Alata also reached Bägémder, which extended to Gondar. Most of these routes were also used by long distance merchants; that is, to and from Mätämma, Asmara, and the region south of the Abbay River.⁸⁶

⁸² Abdussamad, Ibid.

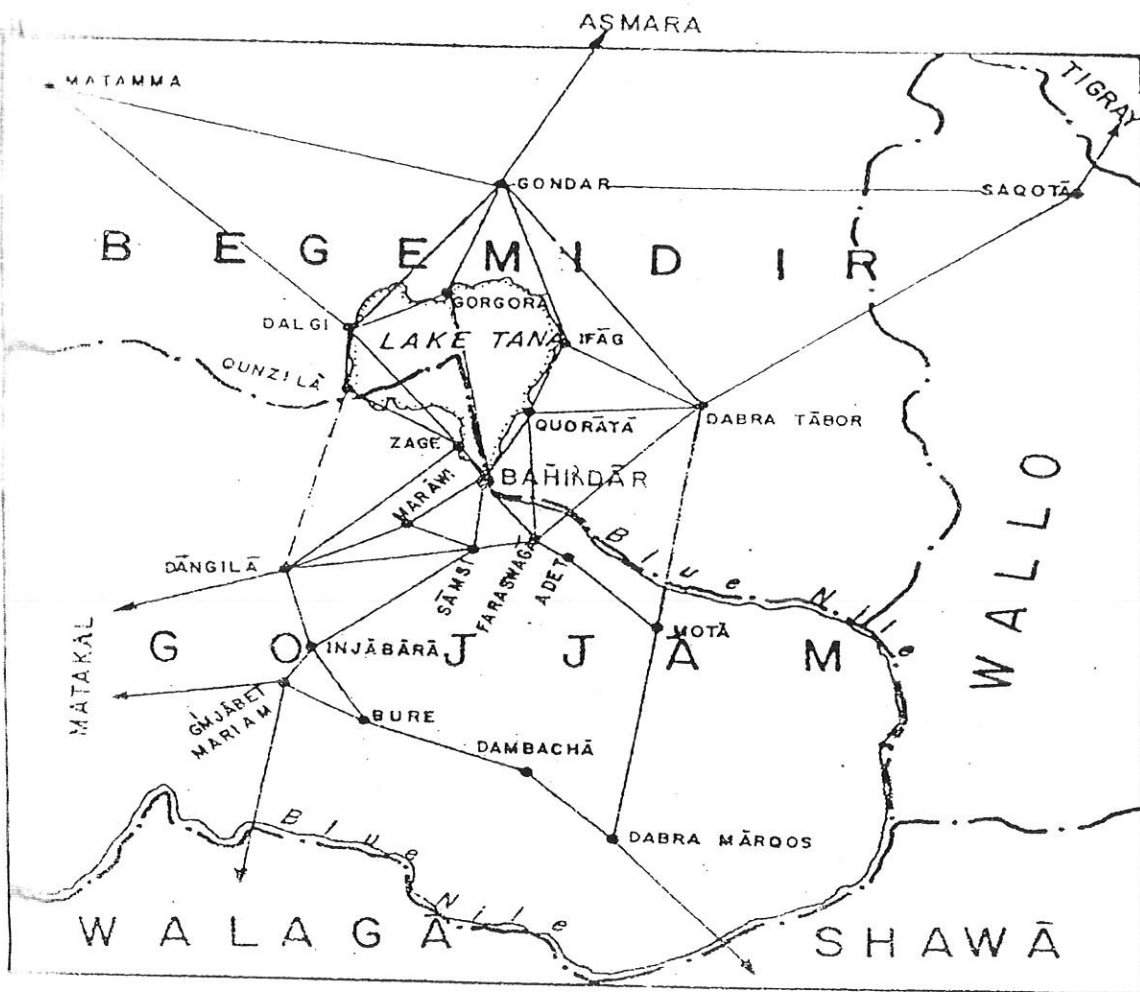
⁸³ Informant: Fäṭānā Aynalām. ; Geremew, pp. 19-20.

⁸⁴ Informants: Gäbäyāhu Qānna, Bayāh Fälläqā and Adduṇa Ayečäh. ; Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wārāda", p. 4. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 16.

⁸⁵ Informants: Fäṭānā Aynalām, Gäbäyāhu Qāññā, Bayāh Fälläqā, Zälläqā Allälleññ and Adduṇa Ayečäh. See also Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", pp. 59, 68.

⁸⁶ Informants: Fäṭānā Aynalām, Gäbäyāhu Qāññā, Bayāh Fälläqā, Zälläqā Allälleññ and Adduṇa Ayečäh; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 27. See the map of the major trade routes in Gojjam during the late 19th and early 20th centuries attached below.

Map 6: Trade Route until 1935



Source: Seletene Seyoum, "A History of Bahir Dar Town, 136-1937," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988), p.26.

Legend

—▶ Trade Route

● — Administrative boundary

20 0 20 40 60 80 Km



Scale

As mentioned above, the presence of the three days annual market of Tēqemet Sellasé was a great advantage for the development of long distance trade in Yelmana Dénsa during the early 20th century. Informants invariably state that merchants from Šäwa, Bägémder, Tegray and other parts of Gojjam came to Adét starting from the eve of this annual market with countless trade items. Among others, merchants from Däbrä Marqos area brought jewelry. The main reason for this was the large quantity of production of luxury goods by the “work shop” organized by *Ras* Haylu near Däbrä Marqos. Likewise, those merchants from Bägémder were very interested in the horses, mules and donkeys sold at the markets at Adét. Long distance merchants stayed at Adét town for about two months until they completed the selling and buying of the necessary trade items.⁸⁷ On the other hand, the people of Adét were noted for the hospitality they offered to merchants who stayed in the town. Particularly, the presence of *mäšäta* ladies and abundance of food and drinks eased the stay of merchants in Adét. This could be illustrated by the popular song first versified by merchants from Däbrä Wärq and Bičäna in their stay at Adét, whose statements run:

አዴት ከከተማወ ከጥጉ ደርሽ፣
ወይ አለመታደል መጣሁ ተመልሽ።⁸⁸

The English translation of the couplet reads:

I went to Adét, but unfortunately I came back instead of living there permanently.

Conversely, merchants from Adét and other localities of Yelmana Dénsa visited the weekly markets of Dangela, Sigadi (in Mätäkkäl), Dämbäçha, Däbrä Marqos, Däbrä Wärq and Märṭolä Maryam towns.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Informants: Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Gäbäyāhu Qāññä, Bayäh Fälläqä, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Adduñä Ayečäh.; Geremew, pp. 19-20. For the “workshop” at Däbrä Marqos, see Habtamu, pp. 191-193.

⁸⁸Informant: Tafärä Ejegu. Informants such as Tafärä Ejegu, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Menalä Tezazu mention Etitu Wäldé, Etitu Bisäwer, Yeššamu Berru and Tēnayä Berru as some of the most important *mäsäta* (local drinks) sellers of Adét during the period.

⁸⁹Abdussamad, “Trade and Politics in Gojjam”, p. 31.

As noted above, considerable number of merchants of the district, particularly Muslim merchants also participated in long distance trade as far as Asmara in the north and as far as the territories south of the Abbay River in the south. Local merchants and their *gorädämans* (loaders and unloaders) headed by their *Nägadras* usually started their journey by the middle of November and reached Asmara after two months of travel. Then, they returned home and reached Adét at the beginning of April.⁹⁰ Interestingly, workers temporarily employed by the Italians in Tripoli were able to return home safely accompanying long distance merchants of Yelmana Dénsa. Other local long distance merchants also travelled as far south as Jimma.⁹¹ The most famous of all the *Nägadrases* during the period of Ras Haylu was *Nägadras* Abdulqader Aman (Alqader) of Mändärä Eyäsus to the west of Adét.⁹² He could bring 300 to 400 mules' load of *Yäbäher eqa* (goods imported by sea) and other items from Asmara.⁹³ The people of Yelmana Dénsa were happy the moment Abdulqader returned to Adét usually at the beginning of April for commodities would be cheaper and available by then. They expressed their excitements by the following verse:

አዴት ከከተማው ሲደርስ አልቃድር፣

በደስታ ይሞታል የዴንሳ ባላገር፣

ይለወጥ ነበረ ዘጠኝ ጫወ. ባንድ ብር።⁹⁴

The English translation of this verse is:

When Abdulqader returned to Adét, the peasants of Dénsa became very happy because it was possible to exchange nine amolé with one Maria Theresa thaler.

⁹⁰Informants: Fäṭānā Aynalām, Gäbäyāhu Qāññā and Aläbačāw Wagaw. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", pp. 37-38.

⁹¹Informant: Zälläqä Allälleññ

⁹²Informants: Many informants. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 30. ; Geremew, p. 19; Zelalem, pp. 17-18.

⁹³Asrat, p. 26.

⁹⁴Zelalem, p. 18.

Ras Haylu himself actively participated in the trade in Gojjam through his trade agents. Haylu was also a major trade partner of the Italians in Eritrea and the British in the Sudan.⁹⁵ Informants remembered that Haylu exported whatever items he could get from Yelmana Dénsa including bulls, cotton cloths, coffee, bean, pea, pumpkin and cartridge in to Mätämma and Massawa.⁹⁶ Besides, as mentioned above, *Ras* Haylu constructed 50 room tavern houses at Adét and sold meat, *enjära* and drinks. Haylu levied a special honey tax on peasants and sold *ṭäjj* at Adét.⁹⁷ Some informants comment that Haylu's avarice for money manifested itself not only in receiving a tax of one Maria Theresa thaler from a handicapped beggar, but also in the sale of the *enjara* supplied to him by the local people as *mäten*.⁹⁸

2. 3.3. Handicrafts man ship

In addition to merchant community members, there were several other professional groups scattered throughout the district of Yelmana Dénsa during the period under study. Because they lacked *rest* lands, handicraft workers practiced their jobs or manufactured various locally made articles using crude implements in their isolated dwelling sites.⁹⁹ Many of them practiced their hereditary professions in Adét town. Usually, handicraft workers exchanged their products with the agricultural products or sold them to long distance merchants. They also supplied their products to local rulers, churches and monasteries as part of their tribute obligation.¹⁰⁰ Some of

⁹⁵Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 17.

⁹⁶Informants: Alämay Bogalä and Zälläqä Allälleññ.

⁹⁷Informants: Many informants.

⁹⁸Informant: Alämay Bogalä and Ašäber Bayh.

⁹⁹Informants: Gäbäyāhu Qāññä, Aläbačäw Wagaw, Adduña Ayečäh and Yärom Alämu. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 27.

¹⁰⁰Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", pp. 28-30.

the important handicraft specializations practiced at least in the *meslānēs* of Yelmana and Dénsa are discussed below.

To begin with, tanning, flying and leather working were practiced, among others, at Qwara Şeyon, Gafat and Ayqä Tuba surrounding Adét town; Wäybāññ and Jangäbbär in Däbrä Mäwi; Teru Çhäbba, Yaqorāñç, Menaqäbäç, and Goşşäyä. The tanners of these and other localities of Yelmana Dénsa manufactured different articles from locally obtained skins and hides.¹⁰¹ They mainly manufactured sleeping skins, thongs, ropes, bags, belts, saddles, bridles, shields and so forth. Handicraft workers of Yelmana Dénsa largely depended on the Saturday market of Adét to sell their products. Hence, according to Abdussamad, Adét was famous among long distance caravan traders particularly for its supply of *anqäleba*.¹⁰² In addition, female house hold members of tanners particularly those in Adét ran open market day dealings through binding parchment scrolls and house hold utensils.¹⁰³

Likewise, other localities like Fatman, Jangäbär, Ambatna, Sänqäñña and Goşşäyä were noted for the presence of black smiths in them during the period. Individual smiths also ran their business in other isolated homesteads, mostly as dependents of land owners.¹⁰⁴ Like tanners, black smiths manufactured agricultural implements, household utensils and ecclesiastical articles, including the plough, axe, swords, knives, spear heads, bells and nails.¹⁰⁵ Iron bead was brought to Adét from Massawa, Mätämma, Gondar and Addis Ababa by long distance

¹⁰¹Informants: Addam Käbbädä and Tāwabä Ayčäh. ; Geremew, p. 23. Leather working is still being practiced in these localities.

¹⁰²Informants: Fätänä Aynaläm and Zälläqä Allälleññ. ; Abdussamad Hajj Ahmad, "Gojjam, Trade, Early Merchant Capital", p. 203. ; Abdussamad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", pp. 27-30. *Anqälba* was a leather sheet used by women to carry babies.

¹⁰³Informants: Adduña Ayečäh, Fätänä Aynaläm and Tafärä Ejegu.

¹⁰⁴Informants: Tāwabä Ayčäh and Eskäziya Addam. ; Geremew, pp. 21, 22, 23.

¹⁰⁵Abdussamad, "Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital", p. 203.

merchants.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, jewelers such as copper and silver smiths of Goššäyā, Šeggāz, Adét and other localities of Yelmana Dénsa manufactured crosses of different shapes and sizes, and different kinds of jewels which were highly demanded by female inhabitants of the district and merchants. They also manufactured paraphernalia for horses and mules. These human and animal ornamentations were so popular in Yelmana Dénsa that a jeweler had a less pejorative identification, *anṭerāñña*, than a black smith, the *däbälanssa*. Besides, local jewelers purchased some quantities of jewels from long distance merchants and sold them at local markets.¹⁰⁷

Muslim weaver and merchant farmers also had clustered villages throughout Yelmana Dénsa during the early 20th century. Mändärä Eyäsus, Adét, Ereberb, Ayqäṭubba, Agetta, Wänäba, Yebaba and Ali Mäsek (in Qollälla) were the major dwelling sites of the Muslims of the district.¹⁰⁸ Although many of the Muslims of Yelmana Dénsa practiced some farming and long distance trade, other social groups of the district always identified them as *šämmäné* (weaver).¹⁰⁹ In fact, there were also Christian weavers in the district, who were accorded the same identification. Some of the important sites of Christian weavers were Ambatna, Adét, Däbrä Mäwi, Jangäbär and Goššäyā. Christian weavers were more favoured than their Muslim counter parts by the neighbouring Christian farming households. This was chiefly because the garments woven by Christian weavers were believed to have curative value through satisfying the spirits called *Zar* and *Wuqabé*. At any rate, Muslim weavers of the district manufactured varieties of textiles that were highly demanded by local peoples and merchants. Weaving was

¹⁰⁶Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Gäbäyāhu Qāñña and Bayäh Fälläqä.

¹⁰⁷Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Gäbäyāhu Qāñña and Bayäh Fälläqä. ; Geremew, pp. 19-20. ; Negatu (II), p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Informants: Sentayāhu Ayaléw, Adduñä Ayečäh, Yärom Alämu and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam; Zelalem, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹Negatu (II), p. 19. ; R. Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935* (Addis Ababa: Haile Sillase I University Press, 1965), p. 38.

carried out using materials of foreign as well as local origin. For instance, long distance merchants brought *zäha* or *buti* (yarn) to the market at Adét from faraway places like Asmara and Mätämma. Muslim women also practiced spinning from raw cotton supplied by the peasants of Yelmana, Qollälla, Mécha and Bägémder. In fact, this traditional spinning was skillfully also practiced by Christian women for the manufacture of their personal garments.¹¹⁰ In relation to the manufacturing of cloths, it should also be noted that *Balambaras* Wärqnäḥ Kassa of Ayqätubba (north east of Adét) introduced some sewing machines before the Italian occupation period.¹¹¹ In addition, Muslim women particularly of Adét and its surroundings supplemented their household incomes by retailing spices, pepper, salt, razor blades, perfume and other things at the market of Adét.¹¹²

Furthermore, pottery making was practiced by female peasants of Danbaš, Daval, Deguṭit, Yezora (Däräqé), Goššäyā, Jangäbar and other places of Yelmana Dénsa. But, better quality utensils made of pottery manufactured in the neighboring districts of Qwarit and Ṭaliya-Lejj Ambära were sold at the weekly Saturday market of Adét.¹¹³ Pottery makers of the district manufactured varieties of cooking and food receptacles and other utensils from locally obtained clay mud.¹¹⁴ Other peasant women of the Däga (high land) areas of Yelmana Dénsa and Däga Damot were also suppliers of baskets of different sizes.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰Informants: Fätänä Aynalām, Tafärä Ejegu and Gäbäyāhu Qāññä.

¹¹¹Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 59. ; Informant: Addam Käbbädä.

¹¹²Informant: Addam Käbbädä, Adduṇa Ayečäh and Gäbäyāhu Qāññä.

¹¹³Informants: Addam Käbbädä and Tafärä Ejegu. Still now the main suppliers of pottery for the market of Adét are those mentioned here.

¹¹⁴Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, p. 276.

¹¹⁵Informant: Addam Käbbädä and Täwabä Ayčäh. However, nowadays basket production has considerably reduced in Yelmana Dénsa and adjacent areas due to shortage of bamboo trees.

2. 3. 4. The Social Condition of the People of Yelmana Dénsa District

During the early 20th century, Yelmana Dénsa district, like other parts of Gojjam, had a distinctively ranked society based on land ownership and *gult* administration rights. It was also composed of both Christian and Muslim parishioner members with a distinctive Christian majority. The most important social components of the district under investigation are discussed under this sub section of the thesis.

2. 3. 4. 1. Local Rulers and *Balabbats*

As mentioned above, based on customary law and oral tradition land ownership and local administrative rights were always reserved for *balabbat* families of Yelmana Dénsa. By contrast, landless members of the villages or parishes were *chesäñña* (dependents or tenants) of the *balabbats*. A new comer to a parish could become a *balabbat* through marriage, but only if he or she belonged to a socially recognized family. Therefore, local rulers formed the upper echelon of the people of Yelmana Dénsa during the early 20th century followed by *balabbats* including the clergy.¹¹⁶

Sources indicate that local officials were highly respected by the local people in general using honorific titles like *gétoč* (our lord) or *gétayä* (my lord); and *emäbétitu* or *emmété* (my lady) for his wife.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, *balabbat* families were generally dignified by different honorific terms like *yäsäw lej* (laity), *telq säw* (great man) and *yäçhäwa lej* (courteous). More specifically, tribute paying parishioner members of the district were identified by particular terms corresponding to their jobs. They included *kahenat* (clergy), *çhäwa* (courteous) or *balagär* (peasant) and *chesäñña* (dependent or tenant). The clergy of big monasteries of

¹¹⁶Informants: Gäbäyāhu Qāññā, Aššageré Čäkkol, Fäṭānā Aynalām and Zälläqā Allälleññ. ; Negatu (II), pp. 8-12.

¹¹⁷Informant: Addam Käbbädä. See also Hoben, p. 199; Levine, pp. 80, 156, 254.

Yelmana Dénša district were also identified by the term *mahebäroč* (monastic communities).¹¹⁸ Christian family heads had voluntary religious associations during the period under study known as *mahebär* held once each month in commemoration of Saint Mary, Saint George, *Mädhané Aläm*, Archangels *Gabra'él* and *Mika'él* and so forth. Further, it was socially obligatory for each of the households of the parishes of the district to prepare a ceremony in the name of a particular *tabot* (ark) once every year and feed relatives, the clergy and passers-by. In return for managing the social and religious affairs of local communities of each parish, the clergy were also beneficiaries of religious feasts collectively known as *māharra* which included *sānbäté*, *kerstenna* (baptism), *täzekar* or *yämut amät* (memorial feast of the anniversary of the dead) and the like.¹¹⁹ Finally, *Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot* introduced in to Yelmana Dénša what has been termed *fenṭer* (drink after doing a business). This was a supply of one *madegga tālla* (a jar of local beer) to elders who arbitrated disputes or negotiated the exchange of cattle and pack animals.¹²⁰

2. 3. 4. 2. The Social Status of Occupational (Professional) Groups

Regardless of their services and the tributes they paid to local ecclesiastical and secular rulers, professional groups were commonly considered as complementary social categories. As it was true in other parts of the country, local co-resident farming community members of Yelmana Dénša invariably looked down upon crafts men, merchants and other professionals. In other

¹¹⁸Geremew, pp. 24-25. See also Hoben, pp. 201, 204. Here, it should be noted that particularly some of the big monasteries of Yelmana Dénša were very important centers of religious learning since earlier periods. They had famous *māmebers* or *mārigétas* (instructors) during the early 20th century like *Mārigéta Gété Adegäh* of Adét, *Liqä Heruyan Zägäyā Gäbrä Sellasé* of Däbrä Mäwi, *Qésä Gäbäz Haddis Kidanat* of Šelalo and *Ma'ebäl Dässé* of Gonj, see Bälay, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, pp. 76-80. ; Levine, p. 8. See also Appendix VI.

¹¹⁹Informant: Čäre Agāññ and Addam Kābbädä. See also Fantahun, p. 66. ; Habtamu, pp. 76-77.

¹²⁰Informant: Addam Kābbädä and Tāwabä Aycäh.

words, professional groups were socially marginalized. As a result, various terms with pejorative meanings were accorded to them.

To begin with, although they were Christians, except the Muslims of the district, professionals were considered as religiously “impure”.¹²¹ Craft workers were identified by a generic name of *ṭäyb* or *ṭäbib* (plural, *ṭäbiban*).¹²² Black smiths were identified by the name *däbälansa* or *aräbäñña*¹²³ instead of “the worker in iron”.¹²⁴ Similarly, pottery makers were mentioned by the name *fälašä*¹²⁵ instead of “potters”.¹²⁶ Further, tanners of the district were commonly identified by the term *faqi*¹²⁷ instead of “the worker in leather”.¹²⁸ Weavers were also indiscriminately called *šämmané* with pejorative implication.¹²⁹ In the past, the inferior position of a merchant of Yelmana Dénsa manifested itself by insulting phrases accorded to him like *māṣhañña näkaš* (biter of the leather rope).¹³⁰ No matter how large *rest* lands a craft worker might own, he could never be accorded socially honorific titles described above.¹³¹

Moreover, professional groups of the district under investigation were more secluded in case

¹²¹Hoben, p. 204. ; Muse, p. 89. Traditionally, the prestigious occupations were farming, administration, the church and the military.

¹²²Hoben, pp. 201, 204. ; Levine, pp. 70-71.

¹²³Negatu (II), p. 19.

¹²⁴2 Chron. 24: 12.

¹²⁵Informants: Addam Käbbädä and Täwabä Ayčäh. Alternatively the term *Šähälä Säry* was also used by other local peoples, among others see, Tecle Haimanot, p. 43. Nowadays, the term *šähälä säry* is being used instead of the term *Fälašša*.

¹²⁶Jer 18: 2-6. ; 1Chron. 4: 23.

¹²⁷Informants: Many informants. ; Negatu (II), p. 19.

¹²⁸Ibid. ; Mathew 9: 35- 38.

¹²⁹Negatu (II), p. 19. ; Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, p. 45.

¹³⁰This statement is a derivative of Pankhurst, p. 45. I personally heard the insult some times in the past.

¹³¹Hoben, p. 128. ; Levine, p. 71.

of marriage than other social affairs.¹³² Regarding this, Negatu mentions that while giving traditional titles like *Grazmač* and *Liqämäkwas*, Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot strictly forbade the marriage relations between professional groups and the farming *balabbats*.¹³³ Nor could they were allowed to have a seat alongside the *balabbats* at special occasions like public feasts and gatherings. This was chiefly because of not only the low status accorded to them but also the fear of their “evil eyes”.¹³⁴ Hence, a range of sources explain that the belief in the *buda* syndrome was psychologically damaging to occupational castes in general.¹³⁵ It has been believed that the *buda* could kill others and their animals or destroy their crop through the evil eye. For that reason, members of other cognate groups particularly women and children had to cover their faces in the presence of a *buda*.¹³⁶

2.4. Yelmana Dénsa District During the Period of Ras Emeru Haylä Sellasé: 1932-1936

The year 1932 was a turning point in the history of Gojjam in general and Yelmana Dénsa in particular. This was because Gojjam lost its autonomous status and the dynasty of *Däjjazmač* Yosédéc (18th century) of Gojjam ended in 1932. Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot and Ras Täfäri were in dispute particularly in the late 1920s. In 1930 Ras Haylu was taken to Addis Ababa under the order of Ras Täfäri (later Emperor Haylä Sellasé) and never returned again.¹³⁷ Later

¹³²Negatu (II), p. 19. ; Informants: Täwabä Ayčäh, Eskäziya Addam and Tazäbäw Täräfä

¹³³Negatu (II), p. 19.

¹³⁴*Ibid.* See also Hoben, pp. 203, 204.

¹³⁵Muse, pp. 15, 77-80. See also Wäldä Maryam (*Aläqa*), p. 92. ; Plowden, pp. 259-260. Here, Wäldä Maryam, in his explanation about Emperor Téwodros's stay at the locality of Abola to the north of Adét town, states that: “...አቦላ ማለት ንጉሥ የቡዳ ሁሉ ማለት ነው”/Abola means a king including the Buda/.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

¹³⁷Dawit, p. 12. ; Asrat, p. 27. ; Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam”, p. 12.

on, in June 1932 a case which was used as a pretext to confiscate the entire property of *Ras* Haylu and bring the province of Gojjam under the direct central government control was brought to the Emperor. Here, *Ras* Haylu was allegedly accused of guilty of involving in the escape of *Lej* Eyasu from prison at Feččé. Under the final verdict of Emperor Hayla Sellasé, *Ras* Haylu was sentenced to life imprisonment and his entire property was confiscated.¹³⁸ At Adét *Ras* Haylu's property was auctioned at lower prices by his trade agents like *Fitawrari* Kassa Engeda and *Atos* Mulat, Gulelat, Terunäh Käbbädä and Aššagré Terunäh.¹³⁹

In place of *Ras* Haylu, *Däjjazmač* Emeru Haylä Sellasé, a cousin of the Emperor, was promoted to the rank of *Ras* and was appointed governor general of Gojjam *Awrajja* (province). However, *Ras* Emeru's rule in Gojjam was preceded by an interim administration of *Käntiba* Mätäbé Däräso from the *gebbi* (compound) of *Ras* Haylu at Däbrä Marqos. It seems that the major task of Mätäbé was to facilitate the registration and transfer of the wealth of *Ras* Haylu from Gojjam into Addis Ababa.

The new administrative arrangement of the Emperor aroused wide opposition from many notables and clergy of Gojjam. They claimed that the actions taken by the emperor were against tradition.¹⁴⁰ The Gojjamés opposed the situation from two grounds. The first was that Gojjam was the domain of the descendants of *Däjjazmač* Yosédéq as recognized by the Gondarine

¹³⁸Märsé' é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos, "Selä *Ras* Haylu Nebrät Mäwāräs Ena Däbrä Marqos Bätänäsaw Amba Gwaro Bezu Säw Mägodatu" (Manuscript, Amharic, n.d.), Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency (here after N. A. L. A.), Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number, 33.13.; Täklä Hawaryat Täklä Maryam (*Fitawrari*), *Auto Biography (Yä Heywoté Tarik)* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004 E. C.), pp. 413-414.; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 12. Täklä Hawaryat describes that as the then Minister of Finance he was one of the 50 personalities who gave their own judgments on *Ras* Haylu and his property.

¹³⁹Informants: Ašagré Čäkkol and Addam Käbbädä.

¹⁴⁰Märsé' é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Sela *Ras* Haylu Nebrät Mäwāräs Ena Däbrä Marqos Bätänäsaw Amba Gwaro Bezu Säw Mägodatu", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number, 33.13.; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 23-24.; Nebeyu, p. 16.

monarchs.¹⁴¹ The second ground was that in accordance with the agreement between Menilek II and *Negus* Täklä Haymanot, Gojjam should always be governed by the descendants of the latter.¹⁴² In this case, Negatu remarked that the expectation of most Gojjamé notables was that the emperor would appoint *Däjjazmač* Kassa Mäsfen of Damot and Agäw Meder, a descendant of *Ras* Kenfu Adam, as the governor general of Gojjam province.¹⁴³

The first reaction against the new arrangement of Emperor Haylä Sellasé came from the son of *Ras* Haylu, *Fitawrari* Admasu.¹⁴⁴ Informants indicate that Admasu and his brother, Täsämma, went to Däbrä Marqos through Dénsa where their soldiers killed seven people at a place called Goššäyā because of a skirmish with its inhabitants.¹⁴⁵ On arriving at Däbrä Marqos, Admasu was able to force Matäbé temporarily to retreat into the distant hill of Yäweš at the beginning of October 1932. However, Admasu surrendered soon and was sent to Addis Ababa. By contrast, *Fitawrari* Täsämma complied and was temporarily reinstated as the governor of Mécha.¹⁴⁶ Immediately after the end of the rebellion of Admasu, *Ras* Emeru came to Gojjam on October 22, at the head of a huge army.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹Negatu (II), pp. 22-24.

¹⁴²Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 23. ; Dawit, p. 12.

¹⁴³Negatu (II), p. 22. *Wäyzäro* Negest Täklä Haymanot was married to *Ras* Mäsfen of Agäw Meder and Damot, see Täklä Sellasé, "Yä Goggam Tarik, Chapter, 43", p. 168.

¹⁴⁴Märsé`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä *Ras* Haylu Nebrät Mäwāräs Ena Däbrä Marqos Bätänäsaw Amba Gwaro Bezu Säw Mägodatu", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number, 33.13. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 24.

¹⁴⁵Informants: Addam Käbbädä and Zälläqä Allälleññ. Among the dead were *Grazmač* Gétahun Asäné, *Ato* Täfaräd Zälläqä, *Grazmač* Čäkkol and Sätänna (a slave of Gétahun) of the locality.

¹⁴⁶Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 24-26. ; Nebeyu, p. 16.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.* ; Märsé`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä *Ras* Haylu Nebrät Mäwāräs Ena Däbrä Marqos Bätänäsaw Amba Gwaro Bezu Säw Mägodatu", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number, 33.13.

Ras Emeru re divided the province of Gojjam in to twelve administrative units called *abägazoč* which were further divided in to *wärādas* (districts). Accordingly, Yelmana Dénsa was designated as one *abägaz* and its former *meslānēs* were renamed as *wärādas* (districts). He also appointed officials based on political considerations. *Ras Emeru* forcibly imprisoned many Gojjamé notables and removed several others from their offices. In place of them Emeru brought new officials from outside Gojjam and posted them as provincial and sub provincial administrators, judges, financiers and *Abägazes* (military commanders).¹⁴⁸ For instance, *Qäññazmač* Käbbädä Berru was assigned as a financier in charge of controlling the collection of the tithe, fines, court fees and other tributes. *Nägadras* Šäršä Wäld was also appointed to channel out all custom revenues from Gojjam to the imperial treasury. Similarly, *Fitawrari* Kenfä Manyazāwal, seconded by *Abba* Gälan, was in charge of the provincial troops of *Ras Emeru*.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand, *Ras Emeru* appointed new local officials and reinstated those who had been in exile in Addis Ababa during *Ras Haylu*'s rule. Among others, *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu Yegzaw and *Fitawrari* Šefāraw Emeru were reinstated as governors of the districts of Yelmana Dénsa and Méčha, respectively.¹⁵⁰ Sebhatu's nephew, *Fitawrari* Yegzaw Kassa was also made his secretary. Both local rulers governed Yelmana Dénsa from their seat at Qwayt (in Anbäsit) southeast of Adét. During the interim period in 1932; that is, before the installment of *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu, the responsibility over Yelmana Dénsa had been entrusted to *Fitawrari* Engdayāhu Mäsfen (brother of *Däjjazmač* Kassa described above) of Damot and Agāw Meder. However, the moment Engedayāhu came to the district and stationed at Konč Sellasé to the

¹⁴⁸Negatu (II), p. 23. ; Emeru, pp. 244-246.

¹⁴⁹Negatu (II), p. 22. For *Nägadras* Šäršä Wäld, see also Bahru, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia", p. 22.

¹⁵⁰Emeru, p. 245. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 26. ; Nebeyu, p. 17.

south of Adét, *Fitawrari* Terfé Kassa of Yelmana, a loyal servant of *Ras* Haylu, skirmished with him. But, with the intervention of the clergy of Adét, Terfé surrendered and was imprisoned for some times at Däbrä Marqos.¹⁵¹

Furthermore, although there was no substantial change in the traditional administration of Gojjam during his rule, *Ras* Emeru attempted to introduce many new and modern innovations in to Gojjam. Among others, *Ras* Emeru cancelled the different taxes and corvée labour of *Ras* Haylu. Instead, Emeru institutionalized regular taxation system.¹⁵² The other innovations of Emeru included the introduction of modern education, court, military training and infrastructure in to Gojjam.¹⁵³ Shortly afterwards, *Ras* Emeru got the acceptance of the people of Buré-Damot, Yelmana Dénsa and Mécha districts particularly following his marriage to the granddaughter of *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša Atikäm, *Wäyzäro* Şeggé Maryam Wäldä Rufa'él. This was because Mängäša genealogically belonged to the peoples of all these territories.¹⁵⁴ Finally, all the above internal developments and introduction of modern innovations in Gojjam by *Ras* Emeru were curtailed because of the invasion of fascist Italy in 1935/ 36, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁵¹Informant: Yärom Alämu.

¹⁵²Nebeyu, p. 18. ; Dawit, p. 12.

¹⁵³Negatu (II), p. 24. ; Nebeyu, p. 12. ; Emeru, pp. 246-248.

¹⁵⁴Negatu (II), p. 23. ; Asrat, p. 27. In fact, there was the resumption of rebellions against Emeru's rule in Gojjam led by *Lej* Mammo Haylä Mik'él, grandson of *Ras* Haylu, and *Däjazmač* Gässässa Bäläw in the course of 1934-1935 as will be discussed in the next chapter of the thesis; see Emeru, pp. 249-250. ; Nebeyu, pp. 19-20. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 28-30.

Chapter Three

Yelmana Dénsa District During the Period of Italian Occupation (1936-1941)

As indicated above, fascist Italians invaded Ethiopia beginning from October 3, 1935. At the beginning of May 1936, they completed their invasion and declared that Ethiopia was a component part of the newly formed *Africa Orientale Italiana* (Italian East African Empire). Then, the Italians occupied Ethiopia until 1941.¹ Therefore, this chapter of the thesis will examine the major historical developments in Yelmana Dénsa district during the period of Italian occupation (1936-1941) with main emphasis on Italian occupation and the resistance put up by the patriots of Yélmana Dénsa and its surrounding districts.

3.1. Italian Subversive Activities in Yelmana Dénsa and Other Places (C.1928-1935)

Most of the available literature explains that Italian colonial ambition over Ethiopia revived following the coming to power of the Fascist party in Italy in 1922.² For that end, particularly since the late 1920s, Italian agents in Ethiopia followed a policy of subversion to create disaffections among various northern Ethiopian chiefs against the central government. This was mainly carried out by Italian consuls in Ethiopia such as Perazio Brielli (Dässé), Alberto Pollera (Adwa), Rafael di Lauro (Gondar) and Canero Medici (Däbrä Marqos). These Italian consuls were sending Italian nationals to different parts of northern and northwestern Ethiopia disguised as merchants, travelers and physicians with the underground purpose of instigating

¹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 151, 153, 176. ; Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sellasie's War: The Italian- Ethiopian War, 1935-1941*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 148.

²Among others see Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 151.

local chiefs to rise against the central government of Ethiopian.³ At the same time, they carried out intensive pro Italian propaganda and distributed arms and bribes among Ethiopian chiefs. Besides, the Italians studied the geography, agricultural potentials and water supplies of the various Ethiopian regions.⁴ It should also be noted here that the centralization policy of Emperor Haylä Sellasé made a favourable condition for the Italian subversive activities in Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian nobles who had lost their power including *Ras* Gugsä Wälé of Bägémder, *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot of Gojjam and *Däjjazmač* Ayaléw Berru of Sämén and Wälqayt sought Italian assistance to reassert their local authorities.⁵

Most of all, the Italian consul at Gondar, Di Lauro, exhaustively studied the Lake Tana region, including Zägé, and its population. Then, Di Lauro fed the fascist government with valuable information that enabled it to have wide prior knowledge of the region. Some sources also indicate that Di Lauro played a great role in instigating *Rases* Gugsä Wälé and Haylu Täklä Haymanot to rise up against *Ras* Täfäri (later Emperor Haylä Sellasé).⁶ Moreover, the Italian consul at Dässé, Perazio Brielli, used to visit the court of *Ras* Haylu at Adét in Yelmana Dénsa district. For instance, in June 1928 Brielli had conversations with *Ras* Haylu at Adét and telegraphed to the Italian Legation in Addis Ababa about his visit and the political situation in north central Ethiopia.⁷ Brielli described *Ras* Haylu as sympathetic to Italy.⁸ In this case, the

³Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 14, 15. ; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 150-151. ; Greenfield, pp. 147-148.

⁴Greenfield, pp. 147-148. ; Garädäw Dämesé (trans.), *Yä Mussolini Warära Bä Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Zéga Publishing and Advertising Enterprise), p. 141. The second book is the Amharic translation of Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1989.

⁵Greenfield, pp. 147-148. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 15.

⁶Täklä Šadiq Mäkuriya, *Yä Ethiopia Tarik Kā Ašé Tēwodros Eskä Qādamawi Haylä Sellasé*, Second edition (Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Salam Printing Press, 2000), pp. 208- 211. ; Tādla Zä Yohannes, *Yä Ethiopia Tarik: Italia Bä Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Mankusa Publishing Enterprise P. L. C., 2004 E. C.), p. 20.

⁷Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 15- 16.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 17.

Italian historian Alberto Sbacchi states that Haylu also received a supply of arms from Rome.⁹ As indicated above, *Ras* Haylu was a major trade partner of the Italians in Eritrea and the British in the Sudan. He wanted the expansion of Italian trade in his domain.¹⁰ In this case, Seltene argues that *Ras* Haylu strongly supported the Italian plan of constructing a railway in western Ethiopia.¹¹ Informants also witness that Italian nationals used to come to Adét in group and visited *Ras* Haylu. Informants further state that the Italians instructed *Ras* Haylu to establish military fortifications and persuade other local chiefs to follow his examples.¹² Among the local chiefs who were persuaded by *Ras* Haylu to develop a strong pro Italian stance were *Fitawrari* Kassa Engeda and *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu of Dénša, *Qäññazmač* Bälay Mäšäša of Qollälla, *Fitawrari* Terfé Kassa and *Agafari* Kebrit Zäru of Šäbba in Yelmana. All these local chiefs, except the latter, later on became important *banda* (collaborator) leaders in Yelmana Dénša and Bahr Dar areas.¹³

With the request of *Ras* Haylu the Italians also opened a medical center and a school in 1929 and a consulate in 1932 at Däbrä Marqos.¹⁴ The Italian consulate at Däbrä Marqos was opened while *Ras* Haylu was an absentee ruler of Gojjam, as discussed above. These Italian institutions served as centers of Italian political propaganda.¹⁵ The Italian consul at Däbrä Marqos, Canero

⁹Garädäw, p. 143. Seltene also argues that Mussolini personally rewarded *Ras* Haylu with a machine gun during his European tour accompanying *Ras* Täfäri in 1924.

¹⁰Informants: Alämay Bogalä, Addam Käbbädä and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 17

¹¹Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 17. ; Nebeyu, p. 13.

¹²Informants: Sentayähu Ayaléw, Fäṭänä Aynaläm and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam. Particularly the two Greek merchants from Zägé namely Musie Dimitry and Musie Baslanyos came to Adét several times with their camels.

¹³Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam and Addam Käbbädä. *Agafari* Kebrit Zäru initially joined the Italian camp at Adét, but soon deserted them together with other armed *bandas*.

¹⁴Garädäw, p. 143. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 17.

¹⁵Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 17. ; Greenfield, p. 143. ; Tädla, p. 20.

Medici, tried his best in exploiting the rebellions of local chiefs particularly after *Ras* Haylu was imprisoned. Italian agents involved in the series of revolts made by *Fitawrari* Admasu Haylu in October 1932, and *Lej* Mammo Haylä Mikaél and *Dajjazmač* Gässässä Bäläw in the course of 1934- 1935 against the new administration of *Ras* Emeru.¹⁶ In short, Italian agents claimed that "...one fact is pretty sure; all the populations of Gojjam are tired of Shäwan [Šäwan] domination".¹⁷ Emperor Haylä Sellasé on his part believed that both *Rases* Gugsa and Haylu were under heavy Italian influence on the eve of the battle of Ančim (March 31, 1930).¹⁸ The Italian governor of Eritrea, Corrado Zolli, confirms the fact by stating that initially *Ras* Haylu, seated at Däbrä Mäwi in Yelmana Dénsa, had some connections with the planned revolt of *Ras* Gugsa, but he had studied the course of events and refrained from participating in the final engagement.¹⁹ Zolli further states that on the eve of the battle of Ančim (March 31, 1930) *Ras* Haylu retreated from Adét to Däbrä Marqos and, in an attempt to cover up his earlier relations with *Ras* Gugsa, pleaded with an Italian physician there to go with him to Addis Ababa to witness that he was sick for such a long time.²⁰ Emperor Haylä Sellasé also claimed that *Ras* Haylu and the Italians were behind the escape of *Lej* Eyasu from prison in May 1932.²¹

The other form of Italian reconnaissance activity just before the 1935/ 36 Italian war of invasion was the use of hermits and monks in Gojjam and Bägémder to propagate future Italian success

¹⁶Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 28- 29.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁹Zärihun Gäbré (trans.), *Yä Ethiopia Tarik: Kā Ašē Na`od Eskā Alga Wāraš Täfāri Mākonnān*, (Addis Ababa: Eléni Publisher P. L. C., 1999 E.C.), pp. 248, 273- 274. This book is the Amharic translation of Corrado Zoli (the Italian governor of Eritrea), *Cronache etiopiche*, Rome 1930.

²⁰Zärihun, p. 274.

²¹Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 21. See also Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia* p. 137.

with the aim of making local populations desperate towards Italian aggression.²² Regarding this, informants state that throughout the rainy season of 1935 a certain monk named *Abba Šarāw* of the monastery of Agetta Eyāsus was telling the people of Yelmana Dénsa on the market day about his “dream” that the time for Yelmana Dénsa to come under a foreign force had just arrived. Further, *Abba Šarāw* warned inhabitants of Adét at night times by whipping a whip and shouting like: “ዎስት ሽህ ነጭ ማር በደልማና በደንሳ ታዝዟል...ሽሽ አንጀራ ነው... ሽሽ አንጀራ ነው...” / three thousands of white honey [white men] have been deployed in Yelmana Dénsa...those who retreat will survive.../. However, my informants have no knowledge about the linkage of this monk with the Italian agents in Ethiopia. But, from the words uttered by *Abba Šarāw*, it is possible to gauge that he had some links with Italian agents or that he had been persuaded by *Ras Haylu*`s local loyal supporters.²³

3. 2. The Campaign Against Italian Invaders: The Širé Front

As indicated above, on October 3, 1935 fascist Italians crossed the Mārāb River and started the invasion of Ethiopia. Emperor Haylā Sellasé responded by immediately issuing a mobilization order to all his *Rases*, *Däjjazmačes* and other noted rulers of the country.²⁴ Accordingly, *Ras Emeru* of Gojjam was made the commander of the Ethiopian army on the western or the Širé front. Other Ethiopian armies also marched to the north along the central and eastern directions to combat with fascist invaders.²⁵

The army of Ethiopia under the command of *Ras Emeru* was composed of soldiers from

²²Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 39.

²³Geremew, p. 32. ; Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Tafärä Ejegu and Yärom Alämu.

²⁴Greenfield, p. 149. ; Asrat, p. 29. For the full version of the Emperor’s order see, Qalä Kerstos Abbay (Colonel), *Bä 1928 E. C. Ethiopia Bä Italia Mäwārär* (Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Salam Printing Press, 1998 E. C.), pp. 110- 114.

²⁵Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 154.

Gojjam, Bägémder, Sámén and Širé.²⁶ On October 17, 1935 *Ras* Emeru left Däbrä Marqos for Širé. His lieutenant was *Fitawrari* Kenfä Manyazäwal.²⁷ *Ras* Emeru himself was at the head of his own personal Šäwan troops numbering 300.²⁸ The *Ras* was also accompanied by other noted officials of Gojjam like *Däjjazmač* Mäsfen Gämäč.²⁹ Below *Ras* Emeru, *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré campaigned to the war front of Širé at the head of the forces of Méča, Agäw Meder and Yelmana Dénsa.³⁰ Here, *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu Yegzaw, his *gobäz aläqa*, *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefäraw, and other local officials were at the head of the troops recruited from Yelmana Dénsa. Similarly, *Däjjazmač* Gässässä Bäläw campaigned to the Širé front at the head of the forces from Bičäna and its surroundings. *Fitawrari* Abäša Mäjali and *Fitawrari* Tamrat also led the forces of Moṭa and its surroundings.³¹

As mentioned in the previous chapters, each *gultägäž* had the obligation to accompany his master at the head of his own soldiers. Therefore, the moment order came from Däbrä Marqos at the time of the Italian invasion, each *gultä gäž* of Yelmana Dénsa levied fighters from among the inhabitants in his *gult* areas including his own relatives.³² Other members of *gultä gäžes* and their sons were also assigned to stay behind and keep the security of Yelmana Dénsa and the safety of its inhabitants under *Lej* Bäzabeh Sebhatu. Among others, *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefäraw campaigned to the war front at the head of his volunteers including twenty-two of his

²⁶Emeru, pp. 265-266. ; Angelo Del Boca, *The Ethiopian War: 1935-41* (London: the University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1969), p. 74. ; Qalä Kerstos, p. 124.

²⁷Bäläy Mäkönnän, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 63. ; Asrat, p. 29.

²⁸Qalä Kerstos, p. 201. ; Tädla, p. 38. ; Greenfield, p. 164. ; Mockler, p. 77.

²⁹Qalä Kerstos, p. 127.

³⁰Dawit, p. 14. ; Bäläy Mäkönnän, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 63.

³¹Bäläy Mäkönnän, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 63. ; Informants: Many informants.

³²Informants: Haylu Meteku, Täwabä Ayčäh, Aläbäl Tayä and Lemäneh Baläw. ; Bäläy Mäkönnän, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 63. ; Qalä Kerstos, pp. 110- 114. ; Tädla, pp. 32- 34.

relatives.³³

Obviously, almost all the levies of Yelmana Dénsa were inexperienced in modern warfare and ill equipped as opposed to the mechanized army of the enemy. Some of their backward weapons included *wāḥhāfo* (wetterly), *wejjegra* (Fusil Gras), *dimotfär* (lee met ford), *läbän* (lebel), *māwzér* (mouser), *albin* (alpine) *bäljeg* and *karbén* (carbine) as well as sword, shield and spear. However, they had a high morale.³⁴

Most of the forces of *Ras* Emeru including those from Yelmana Dénsa followed the route through Ačäfär and Aläfa west of Lake Ṭana. It seems that *Ras* Emeru had the intention to incite the inhabitants of Ačäfär because they were traditionally recognized as the *Fitawraris* of war.³⁵ In fact, those forces of Gojjam from Bičäna and Moṭa areas followed the line of the bridge of Alata and joined Emeru north of Lake Ṭana.³⁶ Each *abägaz* or *wäräda* of Gojjam had contributed between 1000 and 2000 soldiers.³⁷ Angelo Del Boca wrote later on by interviewing *Ras* Emeru that the latter was at the head of 40,000 troops, of which 25,000 were from Gojjam.³⁸ *Däjjazmač* Ayaléw Berru of Wälqayt and Sämén also had a force numbering 10,000 troops.³⁹ Other local rulers including *Däjjazmač* Gäbrä Mädhin Barya`u of Širé contributed a

³³Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs Šifäraw (Obituary, Amharic, n.d.), p. 2. The date of writing of this 20 paged memorial must have been 1977 E. C. because *Däjjazmač* Deräs died a year earlier on *Miyazya* 15, 1976 E. C. at his 74. For *Lej* Bāzabeh Sebhatu and other *gultä gāzes* see, "The Life History of *Qāññazmač* Dästa Yemam (Obituary) (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1978), p. no pages.

³⁴Alula, pp. 38- 39. ; Informant: Bayäh Fälläqä and Haylu Meteku.

³⁵Seltene Seyoum, "A History of Bahr Dar Town," p. 47. One of my informants namely Gäbäyāhu Qāññä states also that all the inhabitants of Yelmana Dénsa, Méčha and Ačäfär districts were *Fitawraris* of wars.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja Gezat* Office to Gojjam *Ṭäqalay Gezat* Office, Date *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center (here after D.M.U.A.R.C), Folder No., 0083, File No., መ. ጠ. 6. ; Informant: Haylu Meteku. ; Dawit, p. 14. ; Alula, p. 38.

³⁸Del Boca, p. 74. See also Mockler, pp. 73, 77.

³⁹*Ibid.*

force of 5,000 troops.⁴⁰

The route from Gojjam to Širé took Emeru a month's journey. However, before reaching Širé, Italian aircrafts heavily bombed the forces of *Ras* Emeru on December 4, at Dabat in Wägära. Following this event, *Däjjazmač*es Gässässä Bälāw deserted Emeru and Ayalēw Berru became reluctant to fight. The forces led by *Gässässä* and other *Fitawraris* of Gojjam refused to fight against the Italian invaders and returned home. A range of sources explain that the main reason for Gässässä to desert *Ras* Emeru at this critical point was his dissatisfaction caused by the denial of Emperor Haylā Sellasé to appoint him as the *Ras* of Gojjam in 1932 following the deposition of *Ras* Haylu.⁴¹

It seems that the defection of Gässässä and reluctance of *Däjjazmač* Ayalēw reduced the strength of the forces of *Ras* Emeru. Sources indicate that Emeru crossed the Tākāzé River at the head of only about 20,000 troops to join *Däjjazmač* Gäbrä Mādhin of Širé.⁴² Unlike other fronts in the north, in the subsequent engagement the forces of *Ras* Emeru scored minor victory over an Italian force commanded by Major Luigi Criniti at the battle of Endabaguna on December 15, 1935. However, like other Ethiopian forces in other fronts, Emeru lost the final battle of Širé.⁴³ This was because of two main reasons. The first was that following the battles of Ambaradom and Tāmbén the Italian invaders concentrated all their energy on the Širé front

⁴⁰*Ibid.* ; Qalā Kerstos, p. 127.

⁴¹See among others, Mockler, pp. 16, 77. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 31; Qalā Kerstos, pp. 122, 125. ; Asrat, p. 29. ; Ayele Tariku, "A History of Hulāt Iju Ensé Wārādā, 1941-1991" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2011), pp. 15-16.

⁴²Qalā Kerstos, p. 127. ; Mockler, p. 77. ; Del Boca, p. 74.

⁴³A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja* Gezat Office to Gojjam *Täqalay* Gezat Office, Date *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C., Folder No., 0083, File No., *፬. ጠ. 6.*; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 155-156. ; Tādla, p. 36. Bahru further states that because of the military ability of *Ras* Emeru about 10,000 troops were able to survive the fascists' mustard gas and retreat across the Tākāzé River, see Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 36.

including the use of poison gas. The second reason was that *Ras Emeru*'s forces finished their provisions and ammunition. Most of them became reluctant to fight.⁴⁴ Finally, Emeru reported to the emperor that most of his troops wanted to fight the enemy in their respective territories.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, on March 2 and 3, 1936 a few Italian aircrafts flew from Asmara and dropped armaments, ammunition and messages at Qollälla east of Yelmana Dénsa. The aim was to arm the Italian local agents of the district like *Qäññazmač* Bälay Mäšäša mentioned above. On hearing the news about the defection of *Däjjazmač* Gässässa Bäläw and his followers, and the event at Qollälla, the emperor ordered an imperial army supported by the Oromo peasant army of Sälalé and Ensaro areas to pillage eastern Gojjam as far as Qollälla. Informants state that the Šäwan army pillaged and burned villages as far as the Zäma River bordering Yelmana Dénsa. In addition, the army beheaded *Fitawrari* Mäšäša Wändé (the ex-ruler of Qollälla) and killed others.⁴⁶ But, Bälay Mäšäša fled in to the Valley of Abbay River and later on became a renowned *banda* leader. The Šäwan army also looted religious relics from the ancient monastery of Šelalo.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that this action of the emperor further motivated Bälay Mäšäša and many other inhabitants of Qollälla to favour the Italians during the occupation period.⁴⁸

Back in the north, tens of thousands of Ethiopian troops in all the fronts lost their lives because of Italian heavy air bombardment and use of poison gas. In the case of Yelmana Dénsa, for

⁴⁴Qalä Kerstos, p. 201. ; Greenfield, p. 164.

⁴⁵Greenfield, p. 164.

⁴⁶Del Boca, p. 150. ; Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Taddäsä Endaläw. Others who were killed while praying at the monastery of Šelalo Amanu'él included the parents of the blind female *qené mämeher*, Emahoy Gälanäš Addis, see Bälay Mäkönnän (*Liqä Heruyan*), *Yä Qenéwa Negest* (Addis Ababa: Africa Publishing Enterprise, PLC, 2006 E.C.), p. 22. See also Ayele, p. 16.

⁴⁷Mäzämer and Däbbasu, p. 15.

⁴⁸Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä and Zälläqä Allälleññ.

instance, about half of *gultägäzs* and their followers who had campaigned to Širé lost their lives or were severely wounded. Among others, the *gobäz aläqa* of *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu, *Qäññazmač* Deräs, lost seven of twenty-two relatives who had accompanied him to the Širé war front. Sebhatu's treasurer, *Azaž* Semäñ, was also among those who lost their lives at the war front.⁴⁹ At the beginning of March 1936 the survivors of *Ras* Emeru's forces started to retreat from Širé. In April they entered Gojjam.⁵⁰ *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu, *Qäññazmač* Deräs and their surviving followers reached Adét by then.⁵¹

Following the battle of Mayḡhaw (March 31, 1936) Italian forces hurried to occupy all parts of Ethiopia. Accordingly, on May 3, 1936 fascist forces entered Bahr Dar from Gondar, which served as a springboard to occupy the rest of Gojjam. For that end, the Italian invaders at Bahr Dar organized three columns of troops. These Italian columns were put under the leadership of prominent local *bandas* (collaborators). Accordingly, the hereditary ruler of Qollälla, *Qäññazmač* Bälay Mäšäša, led the eastern column which followed the Adét - Qollälla - Bičäna line. The central column also proceeded along the Däbrä Mäwi – Amädamit – Dämbäḡha line led by *Däjjazmač* Gässässä Bäläw. Likewise, the western column which followed the Rim (in Méḡha district) – Säkäla – Buré line was led by *Qäññazmač* Zälläqä Asäḡé.⁵² All these three Italian columns were under the command of General Achille Starance who was with Gässässä's column and were destined to disarm the inhabitants along their routes and ultimately enter

⁴⁹A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja Gezat* Office to Gojjam *Täqlay Gezat* Office, Date, *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C., Folder No., 0083, File No., *፬. ፓ. 6.*; The Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs, p. 2. For *Azaž* Semäñ see Negatu (I), p. 66.

⁵⁰Informants: Mulu Wärknäh, Admasu Gugsa, Taddäsä Endaläw and Bayäh Fälläqä. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 61. ; Emeru, pp. 275-276. ; Qalä Kerstos, p. 201. For the retreat of *Ras* Emeru and his troops since March 3, 1936, see also Garädäw, p. 36.

⁵¹Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Taddäsä Endaläw, Lemäneh Baläw and Aläbäl Tayä.

⁵²Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 92.

Däbrä Marqos.⁵³

3. 3. Yelmana Dénsa District Under Italian Occupation (July 1936-February 1941)

As mentioned above, after they had seized control of Bahr Dar on May 3, 1936 the Italians made it a center of administration for the surrounding region including Yelmana Dénsa.⁵⁴ In this case, my informants state that about the middle of May, 1936 Italians passed through Adét for Moṭa after they ordered the local people to surrender their arms peacefully.⁵⁵ The Italians promised the local people that under Italian rule there would be no form of taxation and their main target was Emperor Haylä Sellasé.⁵⁶ This promise of the Italians convinced the local people to say that:

ገብረ ገብረ ነጭ አጥንቱ ወጣ፤

በገንዘቡ አዳሪ ሙሶሊኒ መጣ፡፡

The English translation of this couplet is:

*I was over taxed till I became a skeleton figure, but now came Mussolini who takes not that of others but who lived on his own.*⁵⁷

However, those who had been to the war front from Yelmana Dénsa retreated in to Adama in the mountain range of Amädamit. Chief among them were *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu Yegzaw, *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefāraw and several of their followers. The Italians in their part favoured

⁵³*Ibid.* ; Ayele, p. 16.

⁵⁴Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 47. ; Informant: Yärom Alämu.

⁵⁵Informants: Sentayähu Ayaléw, Admasu Gugsä and Menälä Tezazu. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 92. ; Haddis Kassa (*Aläqä*), *Geše Abbay-Gojjam-Fenotä Sälam: Yäjäbdu Ena Yä Lemat Mägeläçha* (Bahr Dar: *Qedus Giyorgis* Publisher, *Tahsas* 2004 E.C.), p. 7.

⁵⁶*Blatta Märse`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos`'s Collection*, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta" (Manuscript, n.d.), N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 57. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" pp. 49- 50; Informants: Sentayähu Ayaléw and Addam Käbbädä.

⁵⁷Seltene, p. "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 57.

lower ranked local chiefs like the *cheqa šum* who had quickly surrendered to them at Bahr Dar. Hence, the local people who were agitated by the *cheqa šums* and hoped for the lifting of taxation turned their backs on the nobility who had fought the Italians in the north. Considerably isolated from their own people, bigger local chiefs like *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu of Yelmana Dénsa and others from Mécha and Ačäfär districts surrendered to the Italians at Bahr Dar. But, some others like *Qäññazmač* Deräs did not surrender.⁵⁸

The Italians reinstated Sebhatu as the *mesläne* of Yelmana Dénsa and ordered him to maintain law and order, disarm the local people and hand over the arms collected from the people to the Italian authorities. The Italians also ordered Sebehatu to collect taxes from the people of Yelmana Dénsa using *cheqa šums*.⁵⁹ Local peoples were forced to pay a tax of five Italian *faranca* per household for owning an ox, ten *faranca* for owning a pair of oxen and so on. Besides, they were required to pay taxes in the form of grains and Italian authorities sold it.⁶⁰ However, like the peoples of other areas, the people of Yelmana Dénsa started to resent the collection of taxes because it was against the promises the Italians had initially made.⁶¹ Informants state that since July 1936 Italian authorities strengthened the camps of *Ras Haylu* and built additional military fortress in Adét. They urged the surrounding populations to pay tribute and surrender their arms peacefully. In this way, the Italians tried to consolidate their rule in Yelmana Dénsa during the first few months of the occupation period.⁶²

⁵⁸Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Addam Käbbädä and Haylu Meteku. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 66, 88-89, 107. ; Garädäw, p. 97. ; Nebeyu, p. 22.

⁵⁹Informants: Addam Käbbädä; Taddäsä Endaläw and Čäré Agäññ. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" p. 51. ; Geremew, p. 32.

⁶⁰Informants: Sentayähu Ayaléw, Čäré Agäññ, Gäbäyähu Qäññä, Bayäh Fälläqä and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam.

⁶¹*Blatta Märse`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos` s Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta"* (Manuscript, n.d.), N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቀ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Informants: Sentayähu Ayaléw, Bayäh Fälläqä, Haylu Meteku.; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 50- 51. ; Tädla, p. 395.

⁶²Informants: Mulu Wärqnä, Yärom Alämu, Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Bayäh Fälläqä and Menalä Tezazu. ; Geremew, pp. 31- 32.

However, in August 1936 Italian authorities accused *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu and other ex-officials of *Ras* Emeru of planning to attack the Italian garrisons at Bahr Dar and Dangela. Hence, Sebhatu was summoned to Bahr Dar together with his relatives and followers on August 5, 1936. Then, on September 12, 1936 Sebhatu, his son *Lej* Bāzabeh, his nephew and secretary, *Qäññazmač* Yegzaw Kassa and the interpreter named Bezunäh were hanged in a public square at Bahr Dar on charge of disturbing public security. Their companions were disarmed and sent home.⁶³ In place of *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu, the Italians appointed prominent local *bandas*, *Fitawrari* Terfé Kassa, as the *mesläne* of Yelmana Dénsa and *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu as his secretary. Like Sebhatu before him, Terfé seated at Qwayt (in Anbäsit), five kilometers south of Adét, and started to disarm the local people and collect taxes from them. However, this aroused the indignation of the relatives and loyal men of *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu. They mobilized the local people of Yelmana Dénsa and killed Terfé in an open battle, as will be discussed below.⁶⁴

Basically, the Italians established a military administration in Ethiopia. Hence, on June 4, 1936 General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli became the first governor of *Governo dell' Amara* (Amhara Governorate). Gojjam was also made a *Coimissariato* (Commissionership) and put under the military administration of General Achille Starance since May 20, 1936. Soon the *Comissariato* of Gojjam was divided into five centers of administration known as *Rezidenza* (Residences). Accordingly, Dénsa (including Yelmana) and Zägé (including Méçha) each were made centers of Vice *Rezidenza* with in *Rezidenza Tana Meridionale* (Residence of South Tana Zone)

⁶³*Blatta* Märse'é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 113. ; Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Addam Käbbädä and Haylu Meteku.

⁶⁴*Blatta* Märse'é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 108. ; Addis, p. 7. ; Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Taddäsä Endaläw and Haylu Meteku.

centered at Bahr Dar.⁶⁵ However, because of the intensity of patriotic resistance, the structure and centers of Italian administration in Gojjam varied from time to time. For instance, Gojjam was re divided in to three commissionerships in the years 1937 and 1938. Hence, Yelmana Dénsa became an Italian center of *Rezidenza* under the Central Gojjam Commissionership centered at Buré.⁶⁶ In 1938 Gojjam was again divided in to the commissionerships of Gojjam and Agāw Meder, but the *Rezidenza* of Dénsa was cancelled for the time being because of the intensification of patriotic resistance there. Instead, the Italians established a military garrison (*Rezidenza*) at Dābrā Māwi commanded by Major Tinetti Amato under the commissionership of Agāw Meder.⁶⁷ However, as indicated above, the political situation in Yelmana Dénsa steadily became precarious especially after the execution of *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu and his relatives. The Italians could not establish effective rule in the area. *Banda* troops were also repeatedly beaten in the areas of Yezora, Méçha, Sākāla and Qwarit by newly emerging patriots.⁶⁸

The Resident of the Italian administration in Yelmana Dénsa from August 1937 to February 1941 was the bold headed nervous Italian officer namely Captain Salvatore E. Corvo. Initially, Corvo was a resident at Bahr Dar where he ruthlessly killed large number of ex officials of *Ras* Emeru, including *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu of Yelmana Dénsa; in most cases by drowning them into Lake Ṭana.⁶⁹ In August 1937 Corvo came to Dénsa with the grand objective of subduing

⁶⁵Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 95, 98. For the Italian military rule see also Garādāw, pp. 97- 98.

⁶⁶*Ibid.* The other two commissionerships were West Gojjam and Eastern Gojjam centered at Dangela and Dābrā Marqos, respectively.

⁶⁷Kābbādā Täsämma (*Däjjazmač*), *Yä Tarik Mastawāša*, Second Edition. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, Ltd., 2007 E.C.), p.287. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 152. The Italians also had another garrison at Zāgé as indicated above.

⁶⁸Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 106.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 51, 109. ; Garādāw, p. 219.

popular resistances in Dénša, Säkäla, Qwarit and Méçha areas.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Corvo and other Italian officers who came to Dénša to assist him were disastrously defeated repeatedly by the combined force of the patriots of Yelmana Dénša and its surrounding districts, as will be elaborated below. Captain Corvo strengthened the Adét garrison and remained almost immobile there because of the persistent attacks by the patriots.⁷¹

Seated at Adét, Corvo tried to force the local people of Yelmana Dénša to pay tribute and surrender their arms peacefully. Whenever possible, Corvo also intensified his atrocities on the people of Yelmana Dénša. A total of sixty churches including the monasteries of Adét and Däbrä Mäwi were burnt or partially demolished in Yelmana Dénša by Italians aerial attacks under the pretext that these churches served as shelters of the patriots. Among others, the monastery of Adét was burnt from the air on September 4, 1937. Then, the Italians cleared individual hamlets and trees of the locality of Adét and its environs and forced the inhabitants to abandon their villages and take shelter among their relatives in distant places.⁷² In those days people expressed their grief as:

የሞራሩ መርዘም የበሬወ ጥናቱ፤

አስመራ ተጠምዶ አደጋት መፈታቱ፡፡⁷³

The English translation of the above couplet is:

*How very long the beam of the plough was, how far very strong the oxen were,
the plowing was started Asmara and ended at Adét.*

⁷⁰Informants: Yärom Alämu and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam.

⁷¹Blatta Märse'ë Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta" (Manuscript, n.d.), N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15; The Life History of Qäññazmač Dästa Yemam, no page. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 126. ; The Life History of Däjjazmač Deräs, p. 3. ; Informants: Yärom Alämu and Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam.

⁷²The Life History of Däjjazmač Deräs. ; Wärqenäh Gétahun, "Yä Adét Tarik" (typed, n.d.), p. 6. ; Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Menalä Tezazu, Addam Käbbädä. The surrounding neighborhoods which were abandoned by the people were Adét Hanna, Konč Sellasé, Filsäta Däber Maryam and Fatman Mika'él.

⁷³Informant: Addam Käbbädä.

ያንች አባት ቢሞትሽ እኔም አዴት ሞተኝ፤

ያንች እናት ቢሞትሽ እኔም አዴት ሞተኝ፤

ያለ እናት ያለ አባት የሚያገለግሉትኝ፡፡⁷⁴

The English translation of the couplet is:

*As your father died, my Adét also died, as your mother died, my Adét also died,
where I could live as a widow with no parental support.*

In addition, Corvo ruthlessly killed local minor chiefs of Yelmana Dénsa by drowning them into the waters of Šena River weighted by heavy stones tied on their necks on charges of not surrendering their guns on time and making contacts with patriots.⁷⁵ In this regard, the Italian historian, Alberto Sbacci, as cited by Geremew, writes that “Corvo was accused of killing 26 [30 or more] people of the village of Adét, after they had surrendered their guns and given food to his soldiers...”⁷⁶ Because of this, many people of Dénsa lost trust in the Italian authorities and joined the patriots.⁷⁷

As mentioned above, Dénsa in particular was one of the areas of Gojjam where patriotic resistance was most intensified. Because of this, Dénsa became one of the important Italian centers where military operations were conducted. Hence, from 1939 to 1941 Dénsa was again made one of the three Italian centers of Commissionership in Gojjam in addition to serving as

⁷⁴Informants: Tafärä Ejegu, Aššagrē Čäkkol and Addam Käbbädä. ; Bälay, *Yäqenē Käwakebt*, p. 94. According to my informants the poem was made on a funerary ceremony by a *mäšäta* lady from Adét namely Etitu Wäldé who stayed at Agetta during the occupation period.

⁷⁵Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ and Addam Käbbädä. See also Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 134. The Life History of *Ato* Andwaläm Berhanu (Obituary), *Hedar* 29, 2007 E. C, also explains that Corvo killed 18, 14 and 17 “patriots” from Qwara Šeyon, Ayqätuba and Buha Dängya localities, respectively. *Ato* Andwaläm was a patriot from Fatman in Dénsa. Therefore, it seems that Seltene was misinformed in stating that the number of people ruthlessly killed at Adét was 15 and the responsible Italian officer for it was Barbaccini.

⁷⁶Geremew, p. 34. See also Garädäw, p. 219.

⁷⁷Informants: Täwabä Ayčäh and Bayäh Fälläqä. ; Garädäw, p. 219. ; Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” pp. 134- 135.

a center of *Rezidenza*.⁷⁸ Besides, the Italians connected Adét with Moṭa and Bahr Dar by a dry weather motor road. Then, Adét served as a garrison and resting point of Italian troops that moved between Bahr Dar and Moṭa in convoys. Sometimes, for instance in 1938, the Italians also carried out military operations in Yelmna Dénsa areas from Adét. One of the Italian operations targeted *Agafari* Kebrit Zäru and other armed *bandas* who had escaped from the Italian camp at Adét, and patriots like Dästa Yemam. The other military operation from Moṭa coming through Säkäla was also beaten by the patriots of first Qwarit, and then Dénsa led by *Fitawrari* Déras in April 1938 at Buha Dängiya. The survivors entered the Adét garrison for protection.⁷⁹

The Italian authorities at Adét constructed few small sized houses with stone and cement for the purposes of residence, army barracks (separately for *askaris* and Italians) and arsenal. There was also the *banda* and *askaris* quarters at the present day telecommunication station. These were mainly located in and around the Saturday market place of Adét. In order to prevent the patriots from entering it en masse, the Italians fenced their camp at Adét with barbed wire and brought a diesel engine to generate electric power. For instance, in September and October, 1937 the patriots of Yelmana Dénsa engaged in hand-to-hand combats with the enemy in which several of them were killed by fascist machine gun firings.⁸⁰ The Italians also demarcated the northern portion of Haylu Gäböya for military training field and commercial purpose. In the

⁷⁸Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 98. The other two Commissionerships in Gojjam were Agäw Meder and Gojjam centered at Dangela and Däbrä Marqos, respectively.

⁷⁹A Letter from the Patriots of Yelmana Dénsa to *Azaž* Käbbädä Täsämma, Date, *Yäkatit* 1, 1933 E.C., N. A. L. A., Folder Number, Käbbädä Täsämma's Collection, *h. ተ.* 62.1, File Number 18.13. ; *Blatta* Märse'ë Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Bä Amest Amätu Yä Italian Wārära Wäqet Yä Tägadälu Arbäññoč: Yä *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Tarik" (Manuscript, 1932), N. A. L. A., Folder Number *መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ.* 63.1, File Number 47.14.; Informants: Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Čäre Agäññ and Haylu Meteku. See Appendices VII and XII.

⁸⁰A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja* Gezat Office to Gojjam *Täqalay* Gezat Office, Date *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C., Folder No., 0083, File No., *መ.ጠ.6.* ; The Life History of *Qäññazmač* Dästa Yemam", p. no page. ; Informants: Fäṭänä Aynaläm and Addam Käbbädä.

early days of the occupation period, the same commercial center was used by the local people as well. However, later on it became a center of exchange of goods mainly between Italians and *askaris* (Somali and Eritrean conscripts) with local *bandas* (collaborators) because the inhabitants were forced to withdraw for distant places by Italian authorities.

Nägadras (later also Hajj) Ali Ahmäd, *Nägadras* Fänta Negusé, *Grazmač* Hussén Ešäté and *Nägadras* Muhammad Aman were among the main *bandas* traders (formerly long distance merchants) in Adét.⁸¹ They secretly purchased honey, egg, hens, sheep, goats, cattle, milk and milk products and other things from peasants at low prices at night times and sold them at high prices at the Italian camp, and got very high profits. The *banda* also exchanged these items with glasses, kittles, yarn, and cloths in the Italian camp and sold them to the local people. Nevertheless, in many instances, *banda* traders were intercepted, looted and beaten by patriots.⁸² As a result, several known local merchants of Adét and its surrounding areas, for instance, *Balambäras* Wärqnäḥ Kassa, *Grazmač* Hussén Ešäté, *Nägadras* Muhammad Aman and *Nägadras* Ali Ahmäd, left Adét for the Italian camp at Bahr Dar. The former head of the finance office of *Ras* Haylu in Yelmana Dénsa namely *Fitawrari* Kassa Engeda also went to Bahr Dar and became an important *banda* leader there with the rank of *Däjjazmač*.⁸³

Finally, as indicated above, most of the traders with the Italians and *askaris* at Adét were Muslim merchants. This was because the Italian colonial policy favoured Muslims as opposed to Christians.⁸⁴ In fact, there were few Muslim patriots like Qäçhenu Adäm and his brother

⁸¹Informants: Admasé Enyāw, Alämay Bogalä, Bayäh Fälläqä and Admasu Gugsä. ; Geremew, pp. 35-36.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 59, 68.

⁸⁴Informants: Yärom Alämu, Fäḷänä Aynaläm, Čäré Agäññ and Admasé Enyāw. There were also *askaris* of Somali origin. *Ato* Nuré Muhamad narrates that, for instance, Aleqé Zäkärya's (at Kälämo) real father was a Somali *Askari* at Adét.

Muhé Adām from Ayqāṭuba locality to the northeast of Adét. Some local women and *māšāta* ladies mentioned in chapter two of the thesis like Ṭénayä Berru also joined the Italian camp at Adét. In addition, Italian troops brought some women from rural areas of Yelmana Dénsa to the Adét garrison as captives during their military operations in particularly in 1938.⁸⁵

3.4. Patriotic Resistance in and Around Yelmana Dénsa District

As mentioned above, Italian military garrisons were established at Adét and then at Dābrā Māwi in Yelmana Dénsa district. However, the Italians were confined only in these garrison centers, as it was the case in other parts of the country. The patriots dominated most of the countryside.⁸⁶ In this case, Sbacchi states that the lack of colonial experience and ill temperedness of lower Italian officers who served as officials like Corvo at Adét and the atrocities they committed contributed a lot for the beginning of the patriotic resistance and consequent failure of Italian colonialism.⁸⁷ For instance, the main reasons for the outbreak of patriotic resistance in Yelmana Dénsa were the Italian policy of disarmament and murder of *Däjjazmač* Sebhātu Yegzaw and his relatives at Bahr Dar and several others at Adét.⁸⁸ Here, the Italian Resident at Adét, Captain Corvo, ruthlessly killed local chiefs even after they had surrendered their arms to him. Because of this, the people of Yelmana Dénsa refused to surrender their arms and joined the patriots for they could not to escape murder even by doing so.⁸⁹ Italian military operations to subdue patriots also aggravated the resistance. Besides, Italian colonial policies lacked consistency. Before a policy was fully implemented, Italian

⁸⁵Informant: Addam Käbbädä and Yärom Alämu.

⁸⁶Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw and Mulu Wärqnäḥ. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 139, 148. ; Nebeyu, p. 23. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" p. 71.

⁸⁷Garädäw, p. 82.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*; Garädäw, p. 219.

⁸⁹Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Mulu Wärqnäḥ and Täwabä Ayčäh.; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 139, 148. ; Nebeyu, p. 23. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" p. 71. ; Garädäw, p. 219.

authorities usually introduced a new and contradictory one. All these weaknesses of Italian colonial authorities in Adét and other areas led to the rise of persistent patriotic resistance.⁹⁰

The first known popular reaction against Italian rule in Dénsa took place on September 23, 1936. On the same day the relatives and loyal followers of Sebhatu mobilized the people of Dénsa and ruthlessly killed the Italian appointee, *Fitawrari* Terfé Kassa, at a place called Ensät Meder in the locality of Anbäsit. They also captured Terfé's secretary, *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu and the latter's son, Hunäññaw.⁹¹ The rest of Terfé's *banda* troops disintegrated. The victors distributed the arms captured from Terfé and his followers and the arms confiscated from the local people by him.⁹² The leading participants of this battle who became patriots in the afterwards in Adama - Amädamit areas were *Asalafi* Tābo, *Qäññazmač* Alāmu Tägäññä, Damté Šebäši, Delé Ešäté, Kassa Ešäté, Adära Ešäté, Lanäh Haylu, Kassa Bāzzabeh and Daññaw Mäkonän. Adära Ešäté lost his life in the engagement.⁹³ Seltene argues that the battle of Ensät Meder was the first popular reaction against fascist Italian rule in Gojjam.⁹⁴

Likewise, in January 1937 the people of Gänj- Agitta areas rose in arms against the Italian policy of disarmament and the appointment of *Fitawrari* Gässässä Wādan over them. They killed Gässässä, captured arms from his *banda* troops and then descended in to the low lands

⁹⁰Tädla, pp. 238- 239, 399. ; Garädäw, p. 176.

⁹¹*Blatta* Märse'é Hazān Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Informants: Taddäsä Endalāw, Mulu Wärqnäh, Tāwabä Ayčäh, Admasé Enyāw and Ašäber Bayh. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 51, 108; Asrat, p. 38 and Nebeyu, p. 26. Informants further explain that, in an anger, the *ašekärs* (followers) of Sebhatu like *Asalafi* Tābo amputated Terfé's leaps and knifed his belly.

⁹²Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 51, 108. ; Addis, p. 7.

⁹³Informants: Yärom Alāmu, Taddäsä Endalāw, Mulu Wärqenäh and Haylu Meteku. ; A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja Gezat* Office to Gojjam *Täqalay Gezat* Office, Date, *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C., Folder No., 0083, File No., መ. ጠ. 6.

⁹⁴Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 51, 108. See also Asrat, p. 38.

in arms opposition to Italian colonial rule.⁹⁵

The other reason for the rise of anti-Italian colonial rule was the resentment of the local people against the re imposition of taxes by the Italian authorities over the peasants. Because of this many peasants joined the rank of the patriots.⁹⁶ In addition, the favour of Italian authorities towards the Muslims and the aerial attacks on the churches of Yelmana Dénsa was considered by the local people that the Italians came to Dénsa to replace Christianity by Islam. As mentioned above, about sixty churches were burnt or partially demolished in the district by Italian aerial attack.⁹⁷ For instance, the monasteries of Adét and Däbrä Mäwi (partially demolished) were burnt in 1937 and their religious administrators namely *Qésä Gäbäz Kassa Wasé* and *Liqäräd Bogalä Gétahun*, respectively, became martyrs. This further motivated the local people including the clergy to join the patriots. *Abba Yayäh* of Adét and *Liqäräd Arya Sebhat* of Däbrä Mäwi areas of Dénsa were some of the examples of the clergy who soon became renowned patriots.⁹⁸

Moreover, Italian military operations to disarm the people and suppress rebellions led to the rise of open rebellions and emergence of new patriotic leaders. *Ayaléw Wändem*, *Alämayähu Käbädä* (of Yezora), *Gärämäw Wändawek* and *Bäläw Wäsän* were from among the new patriot

⁹⁵*Ibid.* ; *Blatta Märse`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos`s Collection*, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Nebeyu, p. 26. ; Addis, p. 8.

⁹⁶Informants: *Sentayähu Ayäléw*, *Čäre Agäññ*, *Menälä Tezazu* and *Täwabä Ayčäh*. ; *Blatta Märse`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos`s Collection*, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 50-51.

⁹⁷The Life History of *Däjjazmač Deräs*," p. 3. ; *Wärqenäh Gétahun*, "Yä Adét Tarik" (typed material, n.d.), p. 6. ; Informants: *Taddäsä Endaläw* and *Yärom Alämu*. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" p. 71. ; *Garädäw*, p. 179. ; *Tädla*, p. 233.

⁹⁸Informants: *Lebsäwärq Ayälä*, *Yärom Alämu*, *Täwabä Ayčäh*, *Haylu Meteku*. ; *Bäläy Mäkönnän*, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 65. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 190, 195.

leaders who rejected the Italian order for submission and surrender of arms.⁹⁹ For instance, *Lej* Gärämaw Wändawek of Lejj Ambära started his career as a patriot leader by inflicting the first casualties on the Italian column led by *Däjjazmač* Gässässä Bäläw mentioned above at a place called Gomt in Qwarit district. The Adama – Amädamit massifs between Dénsa and Qwarit-Säkäla areas became their main base.¹⁰⁰ In this way, the people of Yelmana Dénsa joined hands with the people of other adjacent districts in their persistent resistance against Italian colonial occupation.¹⁰¹

In August 1937 the Italians resident in Bahr Dar led military operations to Yelmana Dénsa-Säkäla areas to subdue the patriots and disarm the local peoples.¹⁰² Accordingly, on August 25 Captain Corvo from Bahr Dar and Colonel Striano from the Alata garrison led their forces to the ridge of Yezora in Dénsa. Their *banda* forces burnt many villages on their way to Yezora.¹⁰³ Agitated by *Qäññazmač* Alämu Tägäññä, *Agafari* Gädäfaw Alämayahu, *Lejs* Alämayähu Käbbädä, Käbbädä Denqé and Bitäwa Dällällä (all of them from Yezora) using the phrase “እርዳ ለግብር” /fight for the cause of your religion/, the people of Dénsa, Yelmana, Qwarit, Säkäla, Taliya - Lejj Ambära and Mécha joined hands to resist the enemy. They were led by formidable patriot leaders such as *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šifäraw of Dénsa, *Lej* Gärämaw Wändawek of Lejj Ambära, Alämayähu Käbbädä of Yezora, Bäkälä Lämmu of Mécha and many

⁹⁹Nebeyu, p. 24. ; Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 106.

¹⁰⁰Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 106. ; Addis, p. 7

¹⁰¹Dawit, p. 34.

¹⁰²*Blatta* Märse`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos` s Collection, “Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta”, N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቀ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” pp. 123- 124. See also Addis, p. 8.

¹⁰³Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 126.

others.¹⁰⁴ In this regard, citing Italian archival sources, Seltene states that these patriot leaders were able to gather an estimated number of 2,700 fighters.¹⁰⁵ Then, the battle of Yezora was fought for three days from Wednesday August 25 to Friday August 27, 1937. The patriots scored a decisive victory largely thanks to their numerical superiority and knowledge of the terrain. About eighty *askaris* and *bandas* were killed and many others were wounded. Moreover, the commander, Colonel Striano and his sub lieutenants namely Lazzari and Isola were killed at the same battle field. The patriots also captured a lot of arms like *menišer*, *albin* and machine guns and a mule loaded with ammunition. In fact, the patriots also suffered many deaths and wounds. Among the dead was one of the noted patriots of Yelmana Dénša, *Lej Alämayähu Käbbädä*.¹⁰⁶

Corvo and his surviving troops stayed the night of August 27, 1937 at a place called Daval Gäbrä`él along Adama mountain and at dawn entered the Adét garrison for protection. The patriots of Dénša, Yelmana, Säkälä, Méçha, Gänj, Yewodi and Qwarit took turns in besieging the enemy (the 27th Battalion) at Adét.¹⁰⁷ Many noted patriots denied the enemy at Adét access to the waters of Šena and Šeggāz Rivers. This includes *Fitawraris* Bayabel Adegäh, Senešaw Alämu, Zägäyā Berlé, Nägaš Täšomä; *Qäññazmačes* Deräs Šefäraw, Bäyänä Kenfu, Mesker Yemam and Tariku Šebäši and *Grazmač* Tērunäh Alämé. There were also *Lejes* Admasu Dästa,

¹⁰⁴Informants: Daññaw Taddäsä, Haylu Meteku, Tāwabä Ayčäh and Lemāneh Balāw. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 126. ; Asrat, p. 38. ; Nebeyu, pp. 26- 27.

¹⁰⁵Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 126.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.* ; Amhara Regional State Planning Office, "Selä Merab Gojjam Astädadär Akababi Tarik Andaned Näteboč" (MFN, 1299, *Tahsas* 1982 E.C., Bahr Dar), pp. 21-22. ; *Blatta Märse`é* Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Taddäsä Endalāw and Lemāneh Balāw. See also Nebeyu, p. 27; Tädla, p. 233.

¹⁰⁷Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Taddäsä Endalāw, Lemāneh Balāw and Čäre Agäññ. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 126. ; Asrat, p. 38.

Anläy Haylé, Gärämāw Wändawek, Admasu Gugsä, Agāw Endalāw and many others.¹⁰⁸ The siege lasted from August 28 to December 1, 1937. The fascist forces surrounded by *fannos* (heroes), as patriots were often described, at Adét were obliged to airlift food, water and other necessities.¹⁰⁹

In fact, informants also state that during one of the turns of the patriots, one of the noted patriots, *Lej Gärämāw Wändawek (Däjjazmač Matäbé*, as the people of Qwarit and Enzägedem designated him in 1936-1937), and nine others lost their lives at the battle of Mugäčha Bahr along Šena River by an Italian aerial bombardment on October 30, 1937.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, Dawit argues that patriots from Dénša, Méčha, Damot, Säkälä, Bälāya and even Moṭa participated in the planned attack on the Dangela garrison from September 13-15, 1937.¹¹¹

On Saturday September 4, 1937, a number of patriot leaders held a meeting in Dénša by which they decided to incite the peoples of their respective districts to rebellion. Some of them were *Däjjazmač Adal Täsämma* and *Qäññazmač Deräs Šefāraw* of Dénša, *Grazmač Bäkälä Lämmu* of Méčha, *Fitawrari Bayabel Adegäh* of Lejj Ambära, and *Qäññazmač Alämayähu Wasé* of

¹⁰⁸Informants: Most of my informants.; *Blatta Märsē'ē Hazān Wäldä Qirqos's* Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; The Life History of *Däjjazmač Deräs Šefāraw*, pp. 2- 3. ; The Life History of *Däjjazmač Anläy Haylé* (Obituary) (Bahr Dar Printing Press, 1990 E.C.), p. No page.

¹⁰⁹Informants: Taddäsä Endalāw, Haylu Meteku and Mulu Wärqnäh. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 126- 127.

¹¹⁰Informants: Bāyah Fälläqä, Dästä Mogäs and Taddäsä Endalāw. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 127; *Blatta Märsē'ē Hazān Wäldä Qirqos's* Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Addis, p. 10. ; The Life History of *Qäzmač Dästa Yemam*, p. no page. For the name "*Däjjazmač Matäbé*" see Addis, p. 10. The date on which *Lej Gärämāw* was killed was *Tegemt* 19, 1930 E. C. *Aläqä* Addis recommends that a school or a road should have been designated in his name and a statue should also be erected for him, see Addis, p. 10. Dästa Mogäs also lamentingly responded to me that he and other officials of Adét town during the *Därg* regime had the intention to designate the bridge at Šena River as: "Gärämāw Bridge". After liberation *Lej Gärämāw's* family received a plot of land at Adét in commemoration of the same valiant patriot from Lejj Ambära.

¹¹¹Dawit, p. 24. ; Nebeyu, p. 28.

Agäw Meder. They also elected *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré as their war leader.¹¹² Here, Sbacchi confirms that *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré initially had some 3000 armed followers and frequently moved in Dénsa and Méçha areas.¹¹³ At the same time, the patriots of Dénsa, Yelmana, Lejj Ambära, Gänj, Yewodi, Zägé and Medrä Bäd elected *Qäññazmač* Deräs as their war commander. On the other hand, as indicated above, taking this as a pretext on the same day Italian authorities burned the monastery of Adét Mädhane Aläm from the air.¹¹⁴

Therefore, the commander of the patriots of the former district of Yelmana Dénsa, below *Däjjazmač* Mängäša, was *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefäraw, also named *Abb Šäññäw* (literally, the Sender), who later on had about 4000 armed followers. The *arbäñña aläqas* (sub district commanders) below Deräs were Bäkälä Kassa of Dénsa, Mesker Yemam and Zägäyä Berelé of Yewodi (with about 1000 followers) and Meteku Zäru of Lejj Ambära. In addition, there were Bäzabeh Adegäh of Zägé, Ambaw Gäbrä Mädhene of Medrä Bäd, Tädla Yemär of Gänj and Admasu Gugsä of Yelmana and Bäyänä Kenfu of Qollälla.¹¹⁵ Below these sub district commanders there were *gobäz aläqas* (zone commanders) who were the leaders of ordinary patriots called *täwagi* (young fighters). The patriots of Yelmana Dénsa and other areas were of two types. The first were the main fighting forces who were called the *däräq tor* whose main purpose was fighting against the enemy during the five years' "hard time". The second form of patriots was described as *mädüde tor* (ordinary fighters) who were composed of peasants armed

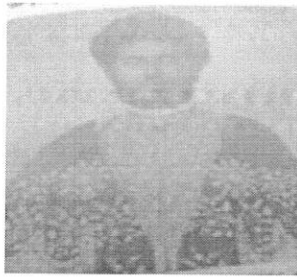
¹¹²Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 164. ; Tädla, p. 233. ; Dawit, p. 24.

¹¹³Garädäw, p. 223. ; Amhara Regional State Planning Office, "Selä Merab Gojjam Astädadär Akababi Tarik Andaned Näjeboč" (MFN, 1299, *Tahsas* 1982 E. C., Bahr Dar), pp. 21-22.

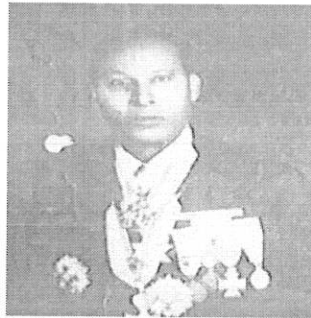
¹¹⁴The Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs, p. 3. ; Informant: Mulu Wärqnä. The monastery of Adét Mädhane Aläm was burnt on *Nähasé* 29, 1929 E. C.

¹¹⁵Amhara Region Planning Office, pp. 21- 23. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 183. ; Dawit, p. 34. ; Addis, p. 5. See also Mockler, p. 189.

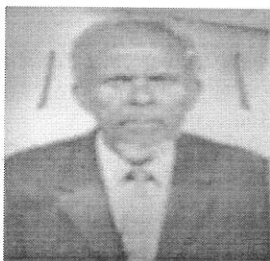
Picture 6: Some Patriot Leaders who fought the Italians in Yelmana Dénsa District



Däjj. Mängäša Jämbäré (Supreme Commander)



Fit. Deräs Šefäraw (Yelmana Dénsa District Commander)



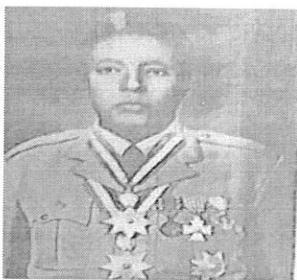
Qäññ. Bāyānā Kenfu (Qollällä)
(Sub district Commander)



Qäññ. Damté Šebäš (Dängäl,
Sub district Commander)



Qäññ. Admasu Gugsä
(Yelmana Sub district
Commander)



Fit. Anläy Haylé (Enzägedem,
Sub-District Commander)



Lej. Dästa Yemam,
(Adét, patriot)



Fit. Altah Gobäzé, (Yewodi
sub district Commander)

with their own guns.¹¹⁶ Female patriots of Yelmana Dénsa like *Wäyzäros* Agäññ Alamné, Wubayä Alämu, Alämnäš Täfära, Maritu Bogalä, Wubešaw Dälälä and Manahloš Čäkkol also actively participated in the anti-Italian colonial struggle.¹¹⁷

The second viceroy of Mussolini for the Italian East African Empire, Rodolfo Graziani, himself admitted the disastrous defeat of Italian, *askaris* and *banda* troops at the battle of Yezora at the hands of patriots, as discussed above. This forced him to send a huge reinforcement of two columns consisting of 5,500 troops (35 Battalions) from Däbrä Tabor and Gondar in November 1937.¹¹⁸

The column from Däbrä Tabor, commanded by Colonel Di Lawrentis, arrived first at the bridge of Alata. However, the patriots of Gäñj, Dénsa, Damot and Moṭa organized by *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré and led by *Qäññazmač* Mäkönnän (the chief of Gäñj) besieged Di Laurentis at the bridge. Then, the other Italian column arrived from Gondar under Colonel Barbaccini and started fighting accompanied by heavy air bombardment to break the siege since November 26, 1937. On November 30, 1937, Barbaccini lifted the siege by breaking the encirclements of the patriots.¹¹⁹ Barbaccini brought the two Italian columns under his own command and on the next day lifted the siege of the 27th Battalion besieged by patriots at Adét since August 28, 1937.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Bäläy, *Itégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 65. ; Informants: Täwabä Ayčäh and Haylu Meteku. Some of these female patriots were awarded with medals by the Emperor after liberation.

¹¹⁸ *Blatta* Märse`é Hazän Wäldä Qirqos` s Collection, "Selä Italia Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15. ; Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Taddäsä Endaläw, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Fäṭänä Aynaläm. ; The Life history of *Däjjazmač* Deräs, p. 3. ; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 133- 134.

¹¹⁹ Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 133- 134.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*; the Life history of *Qäññazmač* Dästa Yemam", p. no page.

It seems that the major aim of Colonel Barbaccini was to avenge the disastrous defeat of the Italians at Yezora in August 1937 and subdue the patriotic movement in the Dénša-Sakala-Méčha area. Hence, the combined forces of Barbaccini and the 27th Battalion at Adét moved to the hill of Yezora and reached Yedebe (above Yezora) led by local *banda* leaders like *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu and Dämeläw Čäkkol and accompanied by heavy Italian air bombardment.¹²¹ *Däjjazmač* Mängäša led the patriots of Dénša, Moṭa, Damot, Méčha, Säkäla and other areas and ordered the offensive on December 1, 1937. They had the advantages of numerical superiority, mastery of the terrain and above all, a heightened morale because of their earlier victory at the same battle place. As a result, the patriots scored another brilliant victory over the troops of Colonel Babaccini after fighting for three days and nights from Saturday December 1 to Monday December 3, 1937. Many fascist combatants were killed and many others were wounded. On the first day of the engagement, Mängäša captured three Italian officers. Although there are variations among sources, an estimated number of 500 *askaris* and *banda* were also killed and 30 machine guns, 1000 *albin* and *menišer* hand guns were captured.¹²² The remaining fascist army started to retreat from Yedebe to Yezora (to the north). But, the patriots cut off their line of retreat and annihilated them.¹²³ The survivors retreated to the west led by a *banda* leader named *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu and camped at a place called

¹²¹*Ibid*; Taddäsa Gäbrä Mädhén to Emperor Haylä Sellasé about the Patriotic Struggle in Gojjam (Manuscript, n. d), N.A.L.A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number, 47.07; The Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs,” p. 3; Informants: Taddäsa Endaläw, Mulu Wärqnäḥ and Bayäḥ Fälläqä.

¹²²*Blatta Märse'e* Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, “Selä Italiya Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta”, N.A.L.A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15: Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ and Taddäsa Endaläw. In the Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs on page 3 it is mentioned that 3 enemy soldiers, 95 *albin* machine guns, 1 mortar and more than 3000 *albin* and *menyšir* hand guns were captured at the battle of Yedebe. But, the Life History of *ato* Andwaläm Berhanu referred above explains that the patriots captured 88 machine guns, one Awsa special machine gun, one mortar and innumerable hand guns at the battle of Yedebe. Seltene also mentions that Captain Vincenzo Berjtoja was among the three captives who stayed with Mängäša until March 1941, and Colonel Carrano was among the wounded who escaped capture, see Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” pp. 133- 134.

¹²³Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 135; The Life History of *Qäññazmač* Dästa Yemam, p. no page and Dawit, p. 24; Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ and Taddäsa Endaläw.

Mankit along the border with Méçha district.¹²⁴ In this regard, citing Italian archival sources, Seltene states that “the Duke of Aosta relates that Barbaccini with his 250 wounded troops was forced to remain under siege in the hill of Mankit...”¹²⁵ The siege of Barbaccini was lifted later on by 60 Battalions of operational military force from Gondar commanded by General Galloni after fighting with the patriots from January 19-22, 1938. Following this, Galloni moved to the south to lift the sieges of the Dangela and Enjibara garrisons.¹²⁶

From mid- March to the end of May 1938 the new fascist governor of Amhara, General Ottavio Mezzetti, organized military operations against the patriots in Gojjam. For that end he divided Gojjam in to four military zones centered in Dénsa, Däbrä Marqos, Dangela and Mätämma. Then, Mezzetti ordered several of his lieutenants to conduct military operations in the low-lying territories of Aläfa, Yesmala Giyorgis, Tis Esat Falls, Däbrä Mäwi and Yelmana Dénsa areas. As indicated earlier, a military garrison was also established at Däbrä Mäwi at this time under Major Tinetti Amato.¹²⁷ In this way General Mezzetti tried to restore temporarily fascist rule in Dénsa and other adjacent areas. However, according to Sbacchi, soon the local people of these areas joined the patriots.¹²⁸ For instance, the patriots of Yelmana Dénsa continued their attacks on enemy convoys traveling mainly between Moṭa and Bahr Dar. For instance, as mentioned above, in April 1938 an Italian column from Moṭa was beaten by the patriots of Dénsa led by *Fitawrari* Deräs at Buha Dängiya and the survivors were forced to enter the Adét

¹²⁴*Ibid.* The Italians had promoted Negatu to the rank of *Fitawrari* but the people of Dénsa refused to call him so to the end of his life.

¹²⁵Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 136.

¹²⁶Taddäsä Gäbrä Mädhén to Emperor Haylä Sellasé about the Patriotic Struggle in Gojjam”, N.A.L.A., Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቲ. 63.1, File Number, 47.07; Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 141; Tädla, 235. See Appendix VII.

¹²⁷Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” p. 152.

¹²⁸Garädäw, 223.

garrison for protection.¹²⁹

The major problems of the patriots were the problems created by *bandas* and lack of modern medical supplies. Here, some *bandas* supplied the enemy with information about the movement of the patriot while others tried to be economically beneficiaries from the prevailed situation through supplying the enemy with the necessary food items.¹³⁰ However, as mentioned above, the *banda* were severely punished whenever the patriots captured them. The *banda* had also to bear the mockery of patriots and their fellow citizens like:

እንልበ ጥፉ፤
ያገለግላሉ እየተገረፉ፤
ጣሊያንም ታዝቦ ስሙን አለው ባንዳ፤
እንዳህያ ጭኖ ፊት ፊት እየነዳ፤
ያውም አሸክሞ አስራ ሁለት ኮዳ።¹³¹

The rough English translation reads:

the absent minded who are whipped to serve the enemy; and henceforth, the Italians named them banda, and shouldered them twelve water bottles and drove them like donkey.

Patriots relied on traditional medicine and local traditional doctors to cure wounded fighters. Among others, *Fitawrari* Deräs Šefāraw was wounded on his right leg by an Italian machine gun in 1938. Because the enemy was following him up, Deräs had to move from one place to another for three months until his wound was cured.¹³² As far as the provisions of the patriots were concerned, they heavily relied on their own means without any external assistance.

¹²⁹The Life History of *Qūññazmač* Dästa Yemam”, p. no page.; A Letter from Taddäsä Gäbrä Mädhēn to Emperor Haylā Sellasé about the Patriotic Struggle in Gojjam”, N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number, 47.07.; *Blatta* Märse’ē Hazān Wäldä Qirqos’s Collection, “Bä Amest Amātu Yä Italian Wārära Wäqet Yä Tägadälu Arbäññoč: Yä Däjjazmač Mängäša Tarik” (Manuscript, 1932 E.C.), Folder Number መ. ቃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 47.14. See Appendix VII.

¹³⁰Seltene, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam,” many pages; Geremew, p. 36; Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Bayäh Fälläqä, Fätānā Aynalām and Čärē Agāññ.

¹³¹Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ and Addam Käbbädä.

¹³²The Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs, pp. 3- 4.

Patriots used their own *senq* (provision) consisting of *dabbo* (bread), *qwanta* (dried meat), *qwolo* (roasted grain), *bässo* (roasted powder) and water. Besides, local peoples voluntarily supplied them with *enjära* and local drinks. Whenever there was the chance to do so, patriots slaughtered cattle captured from the *banda*.¹³³ Sometimes the fascists and *banda* troops did the same. Patriots also heavily relied on the arms captured from the enemy. They started to use modern weapons including machine gun captured from the enemy. Patriots also purchased fire arms and ammunition from areas as far as Gaynet in Bägémder using their own revenue.¹³⁴

Furthermore, patriot leaders drew revenue from the collection of taxes known as *asé qolo* (tithe) from the peasants who needed protection from them. Supreme commanders of the patriots, for instance, *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré, also judged local affairs through the traditional *wämbär* system. In addition, he nominated district commanders and boosted their fighting morale by giving them military titles and promoting their ranks by receiving appointment fees. For instance, Mängäša whose base was at Säkäla promoted *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefäraw of Dénsa to the rank of *Fitawrari*. Similarly, *Däjjazmač* Nägaš Bāzabeh promoted *Lej* Anläy Haylé to the rank of *Qäññazmač*. In return, subordinate patriot leaders like *Fitawrari* Deräs had to send tribute from they collected from peasants to Mängäša.¹³⁵ However, this subordination was usually a cause for the friction among the patriot leaders. Among others, Mängäša refused to recognize the authority of *Däjjazmač* Nägaš Bāzabeh whose base was at Buré. Similarly, *Lej* Abärä Yemam of Méçha refused to obey to the rule of Mängäša and the two fought a battle at Gärcäçh in November 1940. This led patriot leaders to serious disputes among themselves rather than uniting their local fighters against their common enemy. It was

¹³³Dawit, pp. 32- 34.

¹³⁴Refer to note number 122 above. A similar cattle raid was also made on the locality of Adét Hanna in 1939 which led fierce patriotic resistance, see The Life History of *Qäññazmač* Dästa”, p. no page.

¹³⁵Informant: Haylu Meteku. ; Dawit, pp. 32- 34. ; Nebeyu, p. 34.

only in 1940 that the leaders of Mission 101, Colonel Sandford and *Azaž* (later, *Däjjazmač*) Käbbädä Täsämma, reconciled them.¹³⁶

Patriot leaders also drew revenue from market dues from the attendants of local rural markets, which they had established as a solution to the problems of transaction caused by the fascists. For instance, Adal Gäbäya (now Hamus gäbäya), Mesker Gäbäya (now Ze'it) and Qwoqär market places were established in Dénsa by patriot leaders such as *Däjjazmač* Adal Täsämma Däräso, *Qäññazmač* Mesker Yemam and *Fitawrari* Senešaw Alämu, respectively. In addition, Däm Dängya in Gonj and Astéryo Maryam in Dénsa areas were the other new market places which emerged during the occupation period.¹³⁷ In Italian controlled areas Italian *farancas* were used as a means of exchange. However, in these rural market places, the people and patriots used Maria Theresa thaler and traditional currencies such as *amolé* and cartridge.¹³⁸ The patriots and their leaders were responsible for the safety of the people and the security of the above mentioned local markets.¹³⁹

Sources indicate that, with the help of the British in the Sudan, in May 1939 *Blaténgéta* Lorénzo Ta'ezaz, accompanied by the French officer namely Musie Paul and the translator, Major Asägahäññ Are'aya, secretly entered Gojjam through what is today called *Säbara Deldey* (the Broken Bridge) with the help of the patriots of Bägémder. *Fitawrari* Deräs and his followers moved to a place called Tälba Meder where the emissaries were waiting for their coming. However, the patriots led by Deräs were suddenly surprised by the enemy force

¹³⁶*Lej* Abärä Yemam to *Azaž* Käbbädä Täsämma, Date *Tahsas* 21, 1933 E.C., and *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré to *Azaž* Käbbädä Täsämma, Date *Mäskäräm* 15, 1933 E.C., N.A.L.A., Collection of Käbbädä Täsämma, Folder Number 63.1, File Number, *h. t.* 07.22; Käbbädä, pp. 288-289, 272; for the battle see, Dawit, pp. 41-42. See also Appendices VIII and IX.

¹³⁷Informants: Admasé Enyāw, Addam Käbbädä and Haylu Meteku.

¹³⁸Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Fätänä Aynalām, Aššagrē Čäkkol and Bayäh Fälläqä.

¹³⁹Nebeyu, p. 34; Dawit, p. 34; Informant: Taddäsä Endalāw.

coming from Moṭa at a place called Däbrä Meṭmaq. Deräs defeated the enemy force and joined the emissaries. Escorted by the patriots led by Deräs the emissaries managed to join *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré at Fagetta in Agäw Meder. After they widely travelled in Gojjam, observing the intensity of the patriotic resistance and trying to harmonize the patriots, the emissaries finally entered the Sudan through Bälaya. Undoubtedly, this encouraged the patriots of Yelmana Dénsa and the other areas of Gojjam.¹⁴⁰ On May 2, 1939 the exiled emperor also sent a letter of encouragement to the patriots of Gojjam in the hands of *Šalläqa* (later *Ras*) Mäsfen Seläš. *Šalläqa* Mäsfen installed a radio station at Sangé in Säkäla and agitated the people and the *banda* alike to join the patriots in which he was considerably successful. Together with *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré, he also moved in Dénsa, Agäw Meder, Däga Damot, Säkäla, Taliya- Lejj Ambära, Mécha, Ačäfär and Gutta areas and agitated the people to intensify the resistance.¹⁴¹

The British campaign against the fascist forces in east Africa in 1940 and 1941 finally helped the patriots of Gojjam in general to drive out the Italians. The presence of continued effective resistance in Gojjam secured the attention the British officer in the Sudan, Colonel Arthur Sandford, to cross the borders of Ethiopia in that direction. As indicated earlier, Sandford entered Gojjam at the head of a small force called Mission 101 consisting of a small Sudanese force known as Frontier Battalion and a fifty-manned squad of Ethiopians led by *Azaž* Käbbädä Täsämma representing the Emperor. On September 18, 1940 Sandford, accompanied by *Azaž* Käbbädä, reached Fagetta where *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré received them. As indicated

¹⁴⁰*Blatta* Märse'e Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä Italiya Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññenät Hunéta", N.A.L.A, Folder Number መ. ታ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1, File Number 38.15; The Life history of *Däjjazmač* Deräs, p. 4; Greenfield, p. 189; Tädlä, pp. 276- 277; Käbbädä, p. 267; Informants: Yärom Alämu, Taddäsä Gabra Maryam and Haylu Meteku. Lorénzo was the Emperor's permanent representative at the League of Nations.

¹⁴¹Bahr Dar *Awraja Gezat* Office to Gojjam *Täqalay Gezat* Office, Date, *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., D.M. U.A.R.C., Folder No., 0083, File Number, መ. ጠ. 6. See also Tädlä, p. 239.

above, from Fagetta Sandford and *Azaž Käbbädä* travelled widely and reconciled disputing patriot leaders like *Däjjazmačes Mängäša* and *Nägaš*.¹⁴² Besides, they issued the proclamations of the Emperor. The mission also distributed arms among the patriots.¹⁴³ For instance, some of my informants who were patriots state that *Fitawrari Deräs* and his men brought 50 *dimotfär*, 40 *amarika*, 50 *qogaläbän* (and *meṭad läbän*) and 50 *qéndo* rifles and 100,000 bullets of *albin* and *amarika* rifles from *Bäläya* to *Dénsa* and distributed it among patriots.¹⁴⁴ The morale of patriots considerably rose by this international support and the news about the return of the Emperor.¹⁴⁵ Further, the British Royal Air Force established a base at *Säkäla*.¹⁴⁶

The fascist rulers in Addis Ababa were very much concerned about the activities of Mission 101 and intensification of the resistance resulting from this international reinforcement. The Duke of Aosta (Amadeo Umberto) assigned his Deputy, General Guglielmo Nasi, to take command in Gojjam to reverse the situation. On December 8, 1940 General Nasi brought *Ras Haylu* to *Däbrä Marqos* as the *Ras* of Gojjam. But, it seems that fascist authorities were too late to be successful in reversing the situation.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴²A. D. Shirreff, "The Ethiopian Patriot Contribution to the 1941 Campaign Against the Italians in Gojjam" *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Bahru Zewde, R. Pankhurst, Taddese Beyene, eds., Vol. I, p. 851; Mockler, pp. 225-226; Tädla, p. 236.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*; *Lej Abärä Yemam* to *Azaž Käbbädä Täsämma*, Date, *Tahsas* 21, 1933 E.C.; *Däjjazmač Mängäša Jämbäré* to *Azaž Käbbädä Täsämma*, *Mäskäräm* 15, 1933 E.C. and Dan Sandford (Colonel) to *Azaž Käbbädä Täsämma*, Date, *Hedar* 24, 1933 E.C., N.A.L.A., Collection of *Käbbädä Täsämma*, Folder Number 62.1, File Number *h. ተ. 07.22*. See also Mockler, pp. 265, 290; Dawit, p. 41- 42; Tädla, p. 239. See also Appendices VIII, IX, X and XI.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*; Greenfield, p. 190; Informants: *Haylu Meteku*, *Mulu Wärqnäḥ*, *Yärom Alämu* and *Taddäsä Endaläw*.

¹⁴⁵Tädla, p. 434; Greenfield, p. 192; Mockler, p. 264; *Täklä Şadiq*, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik Kä Asé Téwodros Eskä Qädamawi Haylä Sellasé*, pp. 328- 329.

¹⁴⁶Dan Sanford (Colonel) to *Azaž Käbbädä Täsämma*, Date, *Hedar* 14, 1933 E.C. N.A.L.A., Collection of *Käbbädä Täsämma*, Folder Number *h. ተ. 62.1*, File Number 07.22; Informant: *Addam Käbbädä*. See also Seltene, "A History of Bah Dar," p. 72 and Mockler, p. 289. *Käbbädä Täsämma*, and Seltene also state that the British also bombed the Italian buildings in Bahr Dar in December 1940. See also Appendix XI.

¹⁴⁷Shirreff, p. 852; Mockler, p. 296; Tädla, p. 238. For *Ras Haylu*, see Appendix XII.

On January 3, 1941, the Gideon Force of two Battalions – the Commonwealth and the 2nd Ethiopian Battalions - led by another British officer, Major Orde Charles Wingate, and accompanied by Emperor Haylä Sellasé, crossed the Ethiopian frontier at Omedla.¹⁴⁸ By the late February 1941 the Gédiwon Force reached around Buré. By early March 1941, patriot leaders went to Buré to meet and greet the emperor at a place called Fanda (near Buré town). The Emperor rewarded them with pistols, guns and ammunition. Among others, according to my informants, Deräs Šefāraw of Dénsa and Anläy Haylé of Qwarit each of them received two hand guns (*dimotfer* and *amarica*) and an automatic pistol from the Emperor.¹⁴⁹

Unlike initial British expectation for a very strong resistance from Italian garrisons in Gojjam, on February 16, 1941 General Nasi ordered the withdrawal of the Enjebara and Dangela, and on March 4 the Buré, garrisons.¹⁵⁰ Here, sources explain that *Däjjazmač* Mängäša's forces severely attacked the retreating enemy forces, although accompanied by Italian air bombardment from Bahr Dar, all the way from Dangela to Mäšänti.¹⁵¹ On February 23, 1941 the Italian officer at Bahr Dar, Colonel Torelli, ordered the withdrawal of the Adét, Däbrä Mäwi, Aläfa, Yesmala and Zägé garrisons to Bahr Dar. This marked the end of the five years Italian occupation of Yelmana Dénsa district.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸Shirreff, p. 853.

¹⁴⁹Informants: Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Taddäsä Endalāw and Haylu Meteku; Täklä Šadiq, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik Kā Ašé Tēwodros Eskä Qādamawi Haylä Sellasé*, p. 329; Alula, p. 63; The Life History of *Däjjazmač* Anläy Haylé, p. no page.

¹⁵⁰Shirreff, 853. Shirreff states that at Dangela there was the 22nd Brigade under Colonel Torelli and at Buré-Enjibara there were Colonel Natale's the 3rd and 19th Brigades with 3000 *banda* led by *Däjjazmač* Mammo Haylä Mikael (a total of 6000 fighting men), see Shirreff, p. 855.

¹⁵¹*Ibid*; Tädla, p. 441.

¹⁵² Informants: Admsé Enyāw and Haylu Meteku; Geremew, p. 36; Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 350; Tädla, p. 441. The Italians withdrew from Adét and Däbrä Mäwi on *Yakatit* 16, 1933 E.C.

Chapter Four

Yelmana Dénsa District from Liberation to Revolution (1941-1974)

Italian forces withdrew from the Adét and Däbrä Mäwi military garrisons on February 23, 1941. Hence, this chapter of the study will assess the major administrative, social and economic developments of Yelmana Dénsa district from the withdrawal of the Italians from it to the 1974 Revolution.

4.1. Administrative and Security Conditions

In the following few months after the withdrawal of the Italians, the inhabitants of Adét and Däbrä Mäwi areas of Yelmana Dénsa completely returned to their former dwelling sites. This was partly because, on his way to the capital in 1941 the Emperor gave an order to patriot leaders of Gojjam that all the local people under their jurisdiction had to own only their pre occupation period properties including land.¹

Furthermore, Emperor Haylä Sellasé gave an order to *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré and other patriot leaders below him to administer properly their respective districts and sub districts. Accordingly, Mängäša was empowered to administer the districts of Yelmana Dénsa, Méçha, Ačäfär and Agäw Meder with the title of *Ras*. *Fitawrari* Deräs Šefäraw also came to Adét as the *mesläne* of Mängäša.² However, the emperor did nothing to the ordinary patriots. They simply returned to their respective localities to lead their former life.³ *Däjjazmač* Mängäša

¹Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Gäbäyähü Qäññä, Albäčäw Wagaw, Yärom Alämu and Zälläqä Allälleññ.

²Informants: Haylu Meteku, Yärom Alämu, Fäñänä Aynaläm, Lemäneh Baläw and Tafärä Ejegu.; Dawit, p. 53. For the appointment of Mängäša, see Appendix XIII.

³Nebeyu, p. 39.

issued a taxation of 60 kilos of teff to be paid by each peasant to district governors. He also allowed war commanders like Deräs to retain a third of the tax collected in their localities and take holy day gifts from peasants.⁴

In May 1942 district governors were appointed by the then governor general of Gojjam *awrajjä* (province), *Ras* Haylu Bäläw (r.1942-1945 and 1950-1957), under the approval of Emperor Haylä Sellasé. Known patriot leaders became district and sub district governors or took other offices regardless of their level of education.⁵ Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Deräs was transferred to Ačäfär district and *Fitawrari* Abärä Yemam of Méçha was made the *mesläné* of Yelmana Dénsa district. Abärä briefly ruled Yelmana Dénsa from his administrative center at Däbrä Mäwi.⁶

The initial steps of administrative revitalization were made in the district of Yelmana Dénsa. However, there was acute shortage of personnel at all levels. For some times, the district and sub district administrators also acted as heads of justice.⁷ In this case, informants state that it was only since 1944/45 the district and sub district offices of justice, treasury and police were formally established at Adét.⁸ Other renowned patriots like *Qäññazmač* Dästa Yemam became security workers of Adét and its market until the police was formally established in the town by 1943/44. Besides, by 1944 *Qäññazmač* Ešäté Fänta and *Amsa Aläqa* Alämayähu were appointed as the first heads of district justice and Polis offices of Yelmana Dénsa, respectively. On the other hand, a former Eritrean *askari* at Adét namely Gäbrä Mädhén Abeyu was also

⁴ Dawit, p. 53.

⁵Informants: Admasu Gugsä, Fäntahun Enyāw and Bayäh Fälläqä.; Nebeyu, p. 51.

⁶Informants: Admasu Gugsä, Biyazné Ejegu, Yärom Alämu, Haylu Meteku and Tafärä Ejegu.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

appointed by the provincial government as a police to serve in Yelmana Dénsa district.⁹

Meanwhile, in 1943 *Ras* Haylu Bälāw made an administrative rearrangement. Accordingly, the districts of Yelmana Dénsa, Lejj Ambära, Méçha, Ačäfär and Zägé - Medrä Bäd were made Bahr Dar Special District (*wäräda* in Amharic) centered at Bahr Dar. This administrative restructuring of the territories south and southwest of Lake Ṭana followed the Italian pattern of administrative division during the occupation period. In addition, unlike the other district governors of Gojjam province, the new governor of Bahr Dar Special District, Zäwdu Zämädagännähu (r.1943-1947), held the pre occupation period traditional title of *Azaž*. Then, *Azaž* Zäwdu appointed sub district *meslänés* (governors).¹⁰ Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Deräs Šefäraw was appointed as the *mesläné* of Yelmana Dénsa with the title of *Däjjazmač* in 1943. He was accountable to *Azaž* Zäwdu for all administrative and financial matters. The territories under Deräs's administration were Yelmana, Dénsa, Gänj, Yewodi, Lejj Ambära and Zägé - Medrä Bäd. The center of Yelmana Dénsa sub district (including all the above territories) was Adét town.¹¹ Official documents also reveal that, like the occupation period, the district of Yelmana Dénsa was alternatively mentioned as "Dénsa *Wäräda*" / the district of Dénsa / during the Post liberation period.¹²

Anyway, regardless of the territorial rearrangements which were made during the period, a total of five district governors ruled the district of Yelmana Dénsa from 1943 to 1974. They

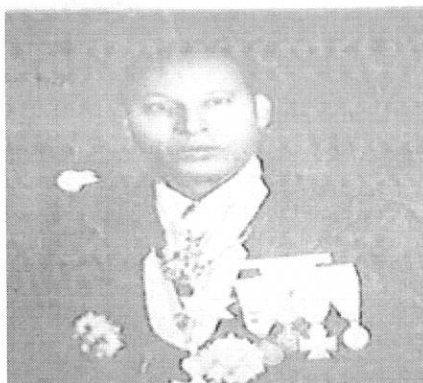
⁹*Ibid.* ; see also The Life History of *Qännäzmač* Dästa Yemam.

¹⁰Nebeyu, pp. 48- 50.; Geremew, p. 38.; Dawit, p. 55.; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 78.

¹¹A Letter from *Däjjazmac* Deräs Šefäraw to Gojjam *Ṭäqalay Gezat* Office, Date, *Mäskäräm* 14, 1967 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 0016, File No. *፬. ፓ. 8.*; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 78. ; Dawit, p. 56. ; Informants: Taddäsä Gäbrä Mariyam, Yärom Alämu and Fäntahun Enyāw. For the names the sub districts of Yelmana Densa, see Appendix XIV.

¹²"Gojjam *Ṭäqalay Gezat* Yä Šumament Ena Särätännöč Zerzer Mäzagebet of 1940-1957 E.C.", D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 00605, No file number. ; Ministry of Interior, "Gojjam *Ṭäqalay Gezat* Yä Šumament Ena Särätännöč Zerzer Mäzegäb of 1952 E.C.", N. A. L. A. , Folder Number, 17.1.11, File Number, 16.02.

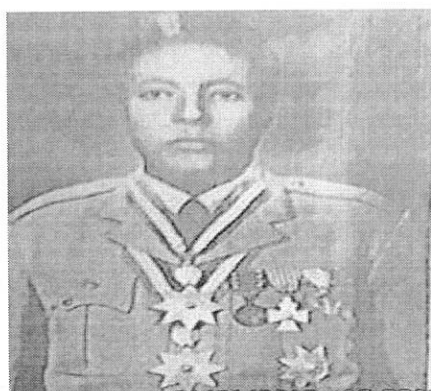
Picture 7: The District Governors of Yelmana Dénsa from 1941-1974



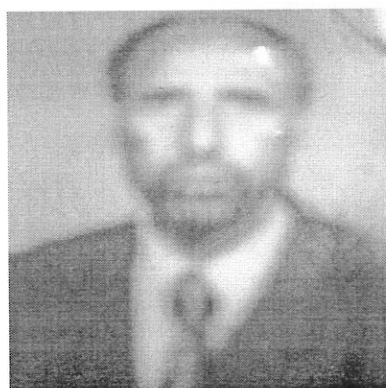
1. *Djj.* Deräs Šefāraw (r.1941- 42;
3. 1943- March 1951)



2. *Dajj.* Abärä Yemam
(r. 1942-43)



4. *Djj.* Anläy Haylé (r. May 1951-63;
6. 1967-68)



5. *Qān.* Eyasu Zälläqā
(r. Dec.1964- Jan. 1, 1967)



7. *Fit.* Admasu Gugsä (r.1963-64 and April-
August, 16, 1968)



8. *Fit.* Kālkay Abäša (r. 1968-74)

were *Däjjazmač*es Deräs Šefäraw (r.1943-51) and Anläy Haylé (r.1951-63 and 1967-68), *Qäññazmač* (later *Fitawrari*) Eyasu Zälläqä (r.1964-67), *Fitawraris* Admasu Gugsä (r. 1963-64 and 1968) and Kälkay Abäša (r.1968-74) in that order of importance. The major responsibilities of all these governors of the district included the maintenance of peace and security, controlling the tasks and duties of the entire officials of the district and hearing public complaints. They were also required to nominate important patriots, who were legible for rewards and promotion, and file monthly reports about all the governmental activities in the district.¹³ The post liberation period administrative system of the restored regime also required district and sub district governors to reside at the capital of the territory under their jurisdiction.¹⁴ Hence, all the above district governors of Yelmana Dénsa, except *Qäññazmač* Eyasu Zälläqä, constructed their residential houses at Adét with stone and wood.

Däjjazmač Deräs initiated the construction of some thatched roofed rooms at Adét around the present day Adét branch of Commercial Bank of Ethiopia in 1943/44 for housing the district offices of administration, justice, finance and police. He also appointed his *meslänés* (governors) for all the territories mentioned above. Below these lower officials of Yelmana Dénsa, there were local *gultä gäžes* or *gultäññas* (*gult* land governors), each of whom recognized his or her *čheqa šums* (village or parish chiefs).¹⁵ The police and other government officials were also appointed by the *awrajja gezat* (provincial government) at Däbrä Marqos.¹⁶

¹³Informants: Haylu Meteku, Čhané Enyāw and Fätānā Enyāw. ; Dawit, p. 57. See Appendix XIV. In fact, several other patriots of the district travelled to Addis Ababa and were rewarded with medals in the 1940s and 1950s. *Qäññazmač* Eyasu was the son of one of Ras Haylu Takla haymanot's agents, *Fitawrari* Zälläqä Liqu of Bälāya.

¹⁴Dawit, p. 57.

¹⁵A Letter from *Däjjazmač* Deräs Šefäraw to Bahr Dar Wārāda Gezat Office, Date, *Genbot* 8, 1936 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 0016, File No. *መ. ጠ.* 8. ; Informants: Eskäziya Addam, Tāwabā Ayčäh and Haylu Meteku.; Nebeyu, pp. 92, 93, 95.

¹⁶Informants: Eskäziya Addam, Fäntahun Enyāw, Čäré Agäññ and Menalä Tezazu.

Furthermore, in accordance with Proclamation number 9 of 1947 a local judge called *aṭbiya dañña* was appointed for each locality in the district of Yelmana Dénsa which had the effect of reducing the political power of the *gultä gäz*. The *aṭbiya dañña* was accountable to the sub-district governor.¹⁷ In this way, the restored government was fairly represented at all levels for the first time in the district of Yelmana Dénsa. However, as mentioned above, there was still acute shortage of personnel especially for the higher offices.¹⁸

Lower officials such as the *cheqa šum*, *gultä gäz* and *aṭbiya dañña* were equally responsible for the *šašeta* (maintenance of peace and security) and administration of justice at the local level in the district. The *gultä gäz* and the *cheqa šum* were also responsible for the collection of taxes.¹⁹ The religious counter parts of the secular *gultäññas* were the *gult* land owning monasteries of Yelmana Dénsa like Adét Mädhane Aläm and Däbrä Mäwi Maryam.²⁰

However, a municipality office was set up at Adét in 1946 headed by *Qäññazmač* Bäläw Wäsän of Buré and claimed the market dues from Haylu Gäbäya held on Saturdays. The secular *gäbäz* of Adét had also to pretend practically as a separate *aṭbiya dañña* which considerably reduced his judiciary power.²¹ Moreover, the military role of the *gultä gäz* was prohibited by

¹⁷Informants: Haylu Meteku, Tafärä Ejegu, Biyazné Ejegu and Fäntahun Enyäu. For the decree see, Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*, p. 34. ; Nebeyu, p. 93. ; Alula, p. 75.

¹⁸Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Admasu Gugsä and Fäntahun Enyäu.; Geremew, pp. 38- 39. ; A letter from Adét Municipality to Gojjam Täqlay Gezat Head of Municipalities, Date *Miyaziya* 1, 1944 E.C., Adét Municipality Office Archive (here after, A. M. A.), Folder No. 011-19, File No. 011-4.

¹⁹Informants: Fäntahun Enyäu; Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Čhané Eneyäu, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Admasu Gugsä; see also Nebeyu, pp. 85, 90. ; Eshetu Chole, "Towards a History of Fiscal Policy of the Pre Revolutionary Ethiopian State: 1941- 1974" *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XVII (November 1984), pp. 94 -95.

²⁰Informants: Fäntahun Enyäu, Fäṭänä Aynaläm, Čhané Eneyäu, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Admasu Gugsä; Nebeyu, p. 100. ; Bäläy, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66.

²¹A Letter from Adét Municipality Office to Gojjam Täqlay Gezat Office, Date *Miyaziya* 1, 1962 E. C., A. M. A., Folder Number 011-50, File Number 011- 22. ; Informants: Aššagré Čäkkol, Menalä Tezazu, Aläbačäw Wagaw, Zälläqä Allälleññ, Biyazné Ejegu and Tafära Ejegu.

the law during the post liberation period.²² Nonetheless, the *gäbäz* of Adét was still free from direct government interference in his activities except in case of the collection of the tithe. Indeed, appeals were now heard at the district administrative level only when justice reached by the secular *gäbäz* of Adét Mädhane Aläm was seen unfair by the local people.²³

In 1947 the then governor general of Gojjam, *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Täsämma (r. 1945- 1950), transformed the *wärädas* (districts) of Gojjam province in to *awraja* (sub-province) administrative status. Accordingly, the formerly independent districts of Bahr Dar and Agäw Meder were brought under a single administrative unit called Agäw-Bahr Dar *awraja* centered at Dangela.²⁴ The central government appointed the former governor of Ačäfär district, *Däjjazmač* Ayaléw Mäkonän, as the first governor of Agäw- Bahr Dar *awraja*. Nevertheless, this aroused the resentment and jealousy of *Däjjazmač*es Deräs and Abärä Yemam who had equal status and career with Ayaléw. This was then one of the root causes of the 1950 rebellion in Mécha and adjoining territories led by *Däjjazmač* Abärä himself. In fact, the main causes of this rebellion were land related issues²⁵, as will be seen below. At the same time, a new district administrative unit called Bahr Dar Zuriya was created comprising the former territories of the district of Yelmana Dénsa such as Gäñj, Yewodi, Zägé- Medrä Bäd and Abokabot. The territory of Lejj Ambära also went to Säkäla district of Däga Damot *awraja*. Conversely, the localities extending from Astäryo to Enägadé were brought to Yelmana Dénsa from the district of Qwarit.²⁶ At the same time, Yelmana Dénsa district also got the sub district of Gonj- Qollällä

²²Crummey, p. 241. ; Nebeyu, p. 48.

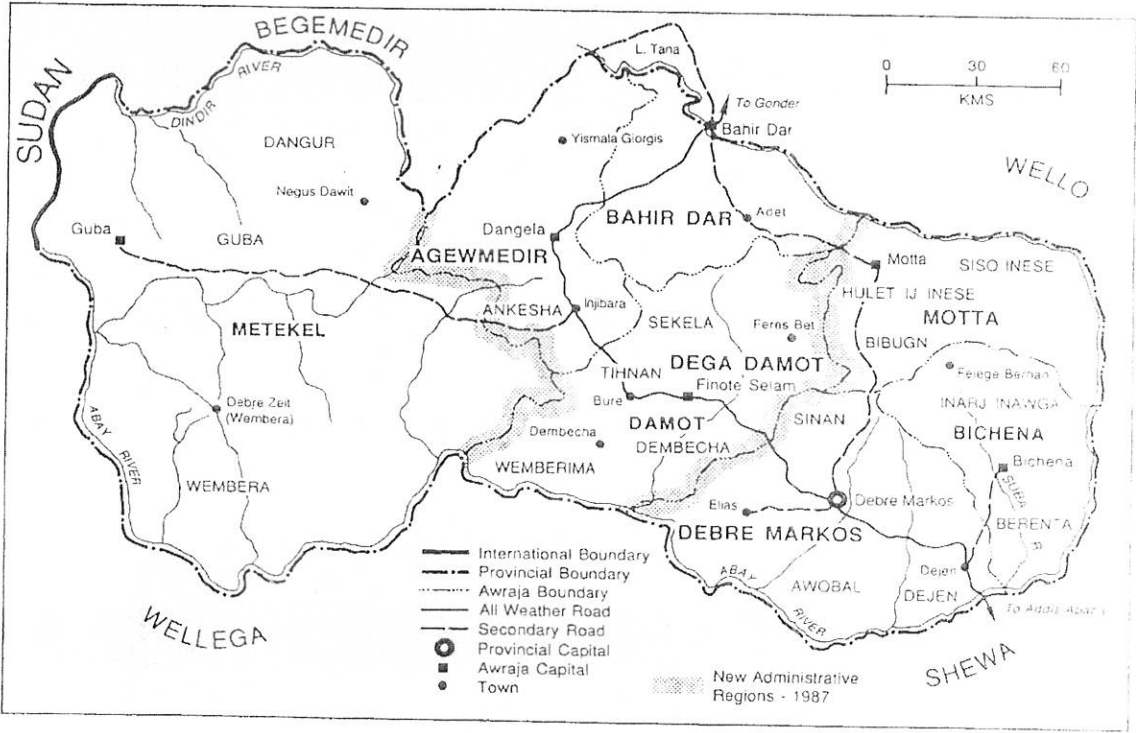
²³Informants: Ašagrä Čäkkol, Menalä Tezazu, Aläbačäw Wagaw, Zälläqä Allälleññ, Fäntahun Enyäu, Biyazné Ejegu and Tafära Ejegu.

²⁴Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Taddäsä Endaläw. ; Nebeyu, pp53- 54.; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 82. The other *awrajas* were Däbrä Marqos, Bičäna and Moṭa, Qolla and Däga Damot, and Mätäkkäl, see Nebeyu, pp. 53- 54.

²⁵ Gebru, pp. 167-168. ; Nebeyu, pp. 55, 58, 59. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 82.

²⁶Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 82. ; Informants: Haylu Meteku, Admasé Enyäu and Ašäber Bayh.

Map:7 Map of the Awrajas of Gojjam



Source: Gabru Tareke. Ethiopia, Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century. Lawrence Ville / Asmara: The Red Sea Press, 1996.

extending from Yäzat River to the Abäya River from the district of Bibuññ-Ašemän from Moṭa *Awrajjja* (sub province).

In March 1951 *Däjjazmač* Deräs was transferred in to Mätäkkäl *awrajjja*.²⁷ In place of Deräs, the central government appointed *Fitawrari* (later *Däjjazmač*) Anläy Haylé governor of the district of Yelmana Dénša.²⁸ Soon after his coming to Adét, *Fitawrari* Anläy built a one storeyed stone facaded wooden house covered with tin sheets on the southern side of Haylu Gäbäyā. Similarly, his secretary, a patriot named *Lej* (later *Balambaras*) Mängäša Kassa constructed a similar one storeyed residential house at the center of Adét town.²⁹ In 1960/61 *Fitawrari* Anläy also constructed a modern building with stone and cement for district administration, justice, municipality and treasury offices with public contribution of Eth. \$13,000.00 *berr*. Besides, other wooden houses were constructed near this building for the purpose of district police station and prison.³⁰

In 1956, *Ras* Haylu Bälāw made another administrative rearrangement in Gojjam province. He re divided the province in to seven *awrajjjas* (sub provinces) by which Agāw- Bahr Dar *awrajjja* was split in to two independent *awrajjjas* of Bahr Dar and Agāw Meder. Accordingly, Yelmana Dénša became one of the districts of Bahr Dar *awrajjja* centered at Adét.³¹ The eastern part of

²⁷“Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Yä Šumament Ena Säratāññoč Zerzer Mäzegäb of 1940 E.C.”, D. M. U. A.R. C.; Folder No, 00605, File No. no. ; A Letter from Ministry of Finance to Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Office, Date *Hamlé* 21, 1943 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 0016, File No. *፬. ፓ. 8.*; Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ and Laggäsä Qalu.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Informants: Fätānā Enyaw, Aduñña Ayčäh and Ačänäf Zälläqä.

³⁰A Letter from Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Office Director to the Ministry of Interior, Date *Mäskäräm* 24, 1966 E.C., N. A. L. A., Folder Number 17.1.11, File Number 16.09; A Letter from Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Office to Agāw Bahr Dar *Awrajjja* Gezat Office , Date *Yakatit* 17, 1948 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 003450, File No 53.; Informants: Fätānā Enyaw, Aduñña Ayčäh and Ačänäf Zälläqä. See Appendix XV. During the administration of *Fitawrari* Anläy local merchants such as Fätānā Bezunäh, Alām Wändem, and Gaššu Qäčhenu also constructed similar one storeyed stone facaded wooden houses at Adét. Similarly, since the late 1950s a number of private houses covered with tin sheets were constructed at Adét.

³¹Seltene, “A History of Bahr Dar”, p. 89. ; Nebeyu, pp. 73- 74. Moṭa and Bečäna were also separated.

Gänj comprising the parishes (localities) of Walka Şeyon, Sänqäñña and Safetämäññ were also brought in to the district of Yelmana Dénsa from the district of Bahr Dar Zuriya. By contrast, the western parts of Dénsa such as the parishes of Qäraṭit Kidanä Mehrät, Qwaya Abbo, and Šat Kidanä Mehrät went to the district of Méḡha. This administrative extension of Yelmana Dénsa remained unchanged until the 1974 Revolution and after.³² The *meketel wärādas* (sub districts) of the district of Yelmana Dénsa from 1947 to 1974 were also Dénsa, Wätäbät (Yä Yelmana Ekuléta), Yelmana (Agetta), Yenəḡ (Qollälla) and Dängäl (Yä Qollälla Ekuléta). Both Däbrä Mäwi and Adét (including the town of Adét) localities were also practically sub districts administered by their hereditary *Liḡä räd'e* and lay *gäbäz*, respectively.³³

In September 1968, *Lej* (later, *Fitawrari*) Kälkay Abäša was appointed governor of Yelmana Dénsa district. However, Kälkay's administration was preceded by a four months interim period (April-August 1968) administration by *Fitawrari* Admasu Gugsä. Kälkay came to Adét first as the war leader of the people from Méḡha district to suppress the 1968 peasant rebellion in Däḡa Damot.³⁴ Informants claim that Admasu was forced to retreat to Bahr Dar by the rebels.³⁵ Anyway, since then Kälkay Abäša continued as the governor of Yelmana Dénsa district up to the 1974 Revolution.

However, compared to the other district governors mentioned above, *Qäññazmač* Eyasu Zälläqä (r. December 1964-March 1967) and Kälkay did little to the development of Adét town

³²Informants: Ləḡḡäsä Qalu, Taddäsä Gäbrä Mariyam and Yärom Alämu.

³³“Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Yä Šumament Ena Säratäññoč Zerzer Mäzagebet of the years 1940-1957”, D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 00605, no file number. ; Informants: Mamaru Bitäwa, Lebsäworq Ayälä and TazäbäwTäräfä; Bälay, *Etégé Ṭaytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. The *gäbäz* of Adét locality from 1949 to 1966 was *ato* Täräfä Allälleññ. For the sub districts, see Appendices XVI, XVII and XVIII.

³⁴Informants: Ləḡḡäsä Qalu, Eskäziya Addam, Lemäneḡ Baläw and Täwabä Ayčäh.

³⁵*Ibid.*

and Yelmana Dénsa district. *Fitawrari Kälkay* is remembered by my informants only for his role in the construction of the *däjjä sälam* (gate way) and *edemo* (stone wall) surrounding the monastery of Adét Mädhane Aläm, and *Qäññazmač* Eyasu for nothing. Lack of adequate modern education was perhaps the main cause for the administrative inefficiency of most of the patriots who filled most of the administrative posts of Gojjam in general and the district of Yelmana Dénsa in particular during the post liberation period. For instance, *Fitawrari Kälkay* and *Qäññazmač* Eyasu were illiterates who could not even read and write Amharic. Consequently, their main duties became the maintenance of peace and security introducing little or no modern innovations to the district. Moreover, corruption was common among post liberation period governors at all levels.³⁶

Regarding the security conditions of Yelmana Dénsa, the police, *aṭbiya dañña*, the local *gultä gäž* and *cheqa šum* (village chief) worked together to maintain peace and security in each locality in the district. Cattle theft and banditry were some of the post liberation period security problems of the district like other parts of Gojjam.³⁷ *Šeftas* (outlaws) were known to have created acute problems up on merchants, market attendants and rural inhabitants of the district both at night and day times. At times, the main cause of *šeftenät* was the need to escape punishment after committing crimes in public disputes; for instance, killing someone. Among the main leaders of *šefta* and thieves in Yelmana Dénsa during the post liberation period were Tafärä Mängesté, Därebäw Bezunäh and Wuddu Abatä in Dénsa; Mehrät Tägga of Safetämäññ in Gäñj (later included in Dénsa) and Mänšaw Yätämäññ in Agetta (Yelmana) sub districts of

³⁶A Letter from Gojjam Täqalay Gezat Inspection Office to the Täqalay Gezat Administration Office (Report), Date 22/11/1946 E.C., D. M. U. A. R .C. ; Folder Number, 003450, File Number, 53. ; Informants: Eskäziya Addam, Čhané Enyāw and Ayalu Alänä. The district governors also made indirect linkage with the *šeftas*. Informants further state that in 1974 they were derided by the students like: “መሐይም አይገዛንም!”/ We shall not be governed by illiterates! /. As an example see the only roles of *Qäññazmač* Eyasu claimed to have played in Yelmana Dénsa in Appendix XIX.

³⁷Nebeyu, pp. 104- 105.

Yelmana Dénsa.³⁸

As a result, sometimes around 1955 a system known as *Léba Edem* (catch the thief) was introduced in to the district. The district representative of *Leba Edems* of Yelmana Dénsa was *Ato Mängesté Wärqé*.³⁹ In 1963, during the governor ship of *Däjjazmač Šähayu Enqwo Sellasé* (r.1960-1968), the *Näçh Läbaš* (local security force) was introduced to the province of Gojjam in general and the district of Yelmana Dénsa in particular with the aim of eradicating *šeftas* and cattle thieves. This was primarily because of the spread of cattle thieves in the province. The *Näçh Läbaš* were local farming part time security workers accountable to the sub district and district governors. They were given one complete uniform and were paid Eth. \$15.00 *berr* as a salary annually. However, in most cases, they used the traditional method of detecting thieves popularly known as *ewus* or *afärsata*.⁴⁰

4. 2. Taxation and Tax Related Peasant Resistances

The restored government of Haylä Sellasé issued a number of decrees relating to taxation and revenue. All the taxes were to be paid in cash and all government officials were to be salaried. All tax related decrees of the period aimed at increasing the revenue of the restored government. Apart from land tax, the government introduced education and health taxes in 1947 and 1959, respectively, based on land ownership.⁴¹ However, ever since 1941 a significant proportion of the people of Gojjam in general refused to accept the new taxation systems of the government. For instance, land was not classified and measured based on its quality in Gojjam. The main

³⁸Informants: Admasé Enyāw, Eskäziya Addam and Täwabä Ayčah. My informants state that Mehrät was the most fearsome *šefta* with a widely thick hair style of a warrior.

³⁹*Ibid.*; Nebeyu, pp. 104-105.

⁴⁰Informants: Biyazné Ejegu, Admasé Enyāw, Eskäziya Addam and Täwabä Ayčah. See also Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 217. See the names of some of the *Näçh Läbaš* in Appendix XXII.

⁴¹Crummey, pp. 237- 238. ; Nebeyu, p. 89. ; Eshetu, pp. 92.

reason for this was that the people of Gojjam including Yelmana Dénsa often associated the implementation of the new government taxation systems with the loss of their traditional *rest* land ownership right. Both the clergy and peasants of Gojjam opposed the new taxation systems of the government. The peasants of Gojjam paid taxes at the 1935 land tax rate in addition to an estimated amount of tithe right up to 1967.⁴² Likewise, decree no 2 of 1942 provided that church lands should pay tax at the same rate as secular lands, and stripped off the traditional office of the secular *gäbāz*. However, because of resistance church rights to tribute and labour were restored in 1947.⁴³

The general trend of the post liberation period taxation system in Ethiopia was to limit the tax power of both the secular and religious *gultāññas*.⁴⁴ Initially, in areas under secular government administration including the district of Yelmana Dénsa, the *cheqa šum* collected taxes and handed them over to the district treasury. Then, based on the 1950 tax reform proclamation, taxes were collected by a local official called *tätäri* (accountable) from each locality of Yelmana Dénsa corresponding to the size of land holdings. The *gultä gäz*, *cheqa šum* and *aṭbiya dañña* were also expected to assist the local tax collectors.⁴⁵ However, the tax collection system was still very rudimentary. Taxes were collected arbitrarily based on the approximate size of *rest* lands owned by each farmer. Archival sources indicate that the total amount of land tax imposed on Yelmana Dénsa during the period was Eth. \$ 3,572.28 *berr*; of which Eth. \$

⁴²Gebbru, pp. 166-167. ; Nebeyu, pp. 85, 88, 89. ; Peter Schwab, "Rebellion in Ethiopia, A Study of Gojjam Province," *East Africa Journal* (New York: Adelphi University, November, 1969), p. 29.

⁴³"A Minute of Document of *Abunas* and the Minister of Interior, *Ras Abäbä Arägay*, on the *Asrat* revenues of Dima and Däbrä Marqos Monasteries", Date *Ginbot* 25, 1945 E. C. (St. Mary Cathedral, Addis Ababa)", W.M.T.M.A.R.C-IES, Folder Number, Gojjam Täqlay Gezat Bétä Kehnät, File No. 2163. ; Nebeyu, p. 101. ; Crummey, p. 240.

⁴⁴Crummey, pp. 238- 241. ; Nebeyu, p. 91.

⁴⁵Informants: Čhané Enyāw, Admasu Gugsä, Täwabä Ayčäh and Admasé Enyāw. ; Nebeyu, p. 90. ; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 217

1,190. 63 *berr* was the share of the *gultä gäžs* of the district. Sources also indicate that the amount of tax collected in the district often failed even to cover the salary of government employees of the district.⁴⁶

Likewise, the big monasteries in Yelmana Dénsa resisted the government's move of limiting their tax power. They continued to collect land tax, court fees and market dues from areas under their jurisdiction throughout the post liberation period. The most important of them were Adét Mädhané Alām, Däbrä Māwi Maryam, Gonj Téwodros Mika'él and the like.⁴⁷ In fact, the monastery of Adét lost its right to collect market dues to the municipality of the town since 1946 which was a source of deep resentment and opposition particularly from the *balabbats* and clergy.⁴⁸

As indicated above, like other parts of Gojjam, the people of Yelmana Dénsa district refused to accept the new taxation system and land measurement policies of the restored government. In Yelmana Dénsa, the first known opposition occurred in October 1946 when *Azaž Zäwdu Zämädagännähu* of Bahr Dar came to Yelmana Dénsa to assess the harvest of the year. Zäwdu temporarily quartered at Zada Maryam (in Wätäbät sub district) and summoned all *rest* landowners of Yelmana and Dénsa territories for registration. *Azaž Zäwdu* registered the *rest* owners of Yelmana, but he failed to register those from Dénsa because of the havoc they created by mass gun firing into the sky. They passed a night through pillaging the inhabitants

⁴⁶Informant: Admasu Gugsä. ; Nebeyu, pp. 88- 89. ; "Gojjam: Yä Gultä Gäzewoç Bäjät Zerzer", D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder Number, 0020, File Number 75. ; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p.217. For some of the Gul areas of Yelmana Densa, see Appendix XXIII.

⁴⁷Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Biyazné Ejegu, Fäñänä Aynaläm and Ayalu Alänä. See also Nebeyu, p. 101.

⁴⁸Of the multitude of documents about the case, see The Appeal of the Clergy of Adét to Emperor Haylä Sellase, Date *Mäskäräm* 28, 1956 E.C., and The Minute of Document of the Assembly of Gojjam *Täqlay Gezat* Administration Officials chaired by *Ras* Haylu Bäläw on the monastic lands of Adét, Date *Mäskäräm* 5, 1946 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 00196, File Number 9/79. ; Informants: Aläbačäw Wagaw, Addam Käbbädä, Täwabä Ayčäh and Daññaw Taddäsä.

of the area. The then governor of Dénsa *Meketel* (sub district), *Fitawrari* Admasu Gugsu, was unable to pacify his armed men. In the next day, *Azaž Zäwdu* was able to diplomatically cool down such a public anger, but he could not carry out land registration.⁴⁹

Moreover, some parts of the people of the district of Yelmana Dénsa took part in the peasant rebellions of 1950 and 1968 in Gojjam. To begin with, in May 1950 the peoples of Mécha and parts of Dénsa, Ačäfar and Däga Damot rebelled under the leadership of *Däjjazmač* Abärä Yemam of Mécha district. The main cause of this rebellion was the introduction of the new taxation system of 1950 and the fear of land measurement. However, the uprising was controlled between 1950 and 1951 by government forces coming from Däbrä Marqos and Gondar commanded by Colonel (later *Däjjazmač*) Ayaléw Mängäša.⁵⁰ Here, the people of Yelmana Dénsa and other districts were required to assist government troops in July and October 1950 because Haylä Sellasé's regime was usually trying to make use of one section of the people of Gojjam against the other.⁵¹ The government also assigned *Däjjazmač* Deräs as the acting governor of Mécha in addition to Yelmana Dénsa since July 22, 1950. After the uprising, Abärä continued as a leader of bandits from Mécha, Abbolé, Gutta and Dénsa. But, he was captured on October 1, 1952. One of the lasting consequences of the 1950 peasant rebellion in Gojjam was that there was no effort of the regime at land measurement or tax reform in Gojjam until September 1967.⁵²

⁴⁹Informants: Aläbäl Tayä, Admasé Enyäu, Taddäsä Endaläw, Zälläqä Allälleññ and Admasu Gugsu.

⁵⁰Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Tafärä Ejegu, Alämay Bogalä and Haylu Meteku.; Nebeyu, pp. 58- 60. See also Gebru, pp. 167-168, 177. Ayalew was the son of *Ras bitwäddäd* Mängäša Jämbäré.

⁵¹Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Alämay Bogalä, Haylu Meteku and Ayalu Alänä. The people of Yelmana Dénsa had also participated in the campaign against the rebellion of Bälay Zälläqä in February 1943.

⁵² A Letter from Ministry of Interior to *Däjjazmač* Deräs Šefäraw, Date *Hamlé* 14, 1942 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No. 0016, File No. መ. ጠ. 8. ; Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Tafärä Ejegu, Alämay Bogalä, Haylu Meteku and Ayalu Alänä. See also Nebeyu, p. 60. ; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p.217. For the appointment of Deräs, see Appendix XXIV.

Similarly, parts of Dénsa, Méçha and Qollälla areas took part in the 1968 peasant uprising in Gojjam. The immediate cause of this regional peasant rebellion was the September 1967 Agricultural Income Tax Proclamation of Eth \$ 1. 50.⁵³ In this case, one of my informants, a patriot named Taddäsä Endaläw, narrated that the rebels from northern Däga Damot and Dénsa made an oath at a place called Awra Tärara (near Šat Endryas) by the beginning of August 1968, and the rebels from Dénsa elected him as their leader.⁵⁴ They briefly controlled Adét town since August 17, 1968 which forced the then district governor, *Fitawrari* Admasu Gugsä, to retreat in to Bahr Dar. The *Ṭäqlqay Gezat* office of Gojjam sent *Däjjazmač* Deräs in to Adét to settle the situation. But, the rebels refused to accept the orders and advices of *Däjjazmač* Deräs.

However, with the coming of government troops in to Adét at the beginning of September, the rebels retreated into the ridge of Yezora –Yedebi and then Daga Damot. Moreover, as it had been the case in 1950, in December 1968 the central government ordered the people of Méçha, Ačäfar and Agäw Meder led by renowned patriots such as *Däjjazmač*es Bäqälä Lämmu and Ambaw Gäbrä Mädhén to attack the rebels in Däga Damot. This peasant army, popularly known as *Wäbbo* [Méçha *Wäbbo*], encircled the Adama–Amädamit mountain range on the side of Dénsa. Some patriot rebels like *Balambaras* Čäré Haylé of Lejj Ambära lost their lives at Fängäṭa (in Lejj Ambära) while fighting with the *Wäbbo*.⁵⁵ As a result, Taddäsä, *Grazmač* Bayu, *Grazmač* Haylé Ayčäh and other ring leaders of the rebellion on the side of Dénsa

⁵³Informants: Tafärä Ejegu, Taddäsä Endaläw, Alämay Bogalä and Eskäziya Addam. ; Gebru, pp. 168-169, 177. ; Schwab, p. 30. See Appendix XXV.

⁵⁴Informant: Taddäsä Endaläw, Daññaw Taddäsä, Eskäziya Addam and Admasé Enyāw.

⁵⁵Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Eskäziya Addam, Daññaw Taddäsä, Täwabä Ayčäh and Čhané Enyāw. Informants further state that because Čäré Haylé was a renowned hero, his name was being recited by cow boys until the early years of the 1974 Revolution as: “ṬṬ ሃባለለዉ...ṬṬ ሃባለለዉ...በአንድ መስክ አረቂ ወንድሙ አስገደለዉ”. For the attempts of *Däjjazmač* Deräs to bring peace in Yelmana Dénsa see, the letter from Gojjam *Ṭäqlay Gezat* Office to the *Ṭäqlay Gezat* Finance Office, Date 21/4/1961 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. , Folder number, 0016, File number, መ. ጠ. 8.

surrendered to government authorities at Adét on January 19, 1968. They were imprisoned at Adét for some times. The residential houses of some of them, excluding Taddäsa's, were also burnt by the Mécha *Wäbbo*.

In May 1969 the emperor visited Gojjam and pardoned all rebel leaders of the province, cancelled tax arrears and distributed medals and gave promotions among renowned patriots.⁵⁶ Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Anläy Haylé was promoted to the rank of *Däjjazmač*. Damté Šebäš was promoted to the rank of *Grazmač*, and Asfaw Engeda and Bāyānā Kenfu to that of *Fitawrari*. Further, two other patriots namely Kassé Mandäfro and Dästa Yemam were promoted to the rank of *Qāññazmač*. Finally, *Lejs* Mängäša Kassa and Mängesté Täsfayä were entitled the rank of *Balambaras*.⁵⁷

At the local level, the landowners of Adét, too, strongly resisted the claims of the municipality of the town since its establishment in 1946. The opposition group were composed of *rest* land owning *balabbats* and the clergy. The *balabbats* felt that their very existence was threatened by the claims of the municipality over their hereditary plots of land. The clergy of Adét also demanded the restoration of their traditional rights of market dues and the removal of limitations in their judiciary power. Accordingly, in 1949/50 the *balabbats* and clergy of Adét accused the town municipality office at the *awrajja* court at Dangela that decided in favour of them.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Eskäziya Addam, Lemāneh Balāw and Alābäl Tayä. See also Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 217- 218. ; Schwab, p. 31. ; Eshetu, p. 95.

⁵⁷A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja Gezat* Office to Gojjam *Ṭäqlay Gezat* Office, Date *Tahsas* 21, 1963 E.C., D. M. U. A. R .C. ; Folder No, 0083, File No. መ. ጠ 6. ; Informants: Zälläqä Allälleññ, Täwabä Ayčäh and Ašäber Bayh. See also the Life Histories of *Däjjazmač* Anläy Haylé and *Qāññazmač* Dästa Yemam.

⁵⁸ Informants: Menälä Tezazu, Addam Käbbädä, Fäntahun Enyāw, Alābačāw Wagaw and Eskäziya Addam. ; Dästa Mogäs, "Yä Adét Kätäma Tarik" (Amharic, n.d), p. 3.

Other further attempts of the municipality of Adét to claim over urban lands once again led the land owners to travel to Däbrä Marqos for appealing the case to the *Ṭäqlay Gezat* (provincial) court in September 1953. The governor general of the province, *Ras* Haylu Bäläw, decided in favour of the petitioners and gave them a letter that ordered the municipality of Adét to improve its claims over their *rest* lands.⁵⁹ However, the continuation and intensity of the local contradiction at Adét obliged the then *awrajja* governor, *Šambäl* (later *Däjjazmač*) A`emro Sellasé Abäbä (r. 1956-1957), to come to Adét in 1957. Nevertheless, local opposition groups of Adét like *Afämämeher* Asayä, *Nägadras* Fänta Ali, and *Atos* Qumlačäw Ayälä, *Alameräw* Ṭerunäh, *Täräfä* Allälleññ, *Negat* Täbäjä, *Walälleñ* Täfära and others rejected the advices and decisions of the *awrajja* governor. From the reports of the then municipality head of Adét, *Lej* (later, *Qäññazmač*) Kassé Mandäfero, we can also understand that the *gäbäz* (practically, the *aṭbiya dañña*) of Adét and its surrounding localities, the local municipality council and the district administration often sided with the *balabbats* and clergy.⁶⁰

Later on, because *Däjjazmač* Anläy also made a new effort at bringing the urban *rest* lands and judiciary powers under the municipality of Adét, in October 1963, representatives of the *balabbats* and clergy of Adét had to travel to Addis Ababa to present their case to the Ministry of Interior and the Emperor.⁶¹ Furthermore, the attempts of the then municipality head, *Ato* Aläm Akalu, to parcel out urban lands of the town in the late 1960s and early 1970s faced even

⁵⁹*Ibid.*; The appeal of the Clergy of Adét to Emperor Haylä Sellasé, Date *Mäskäräm* 28, 1956 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder Number, 00196, File Number 9/79.

⁶⁰ Informants: Menalä Tezazu, Addam Käbbädä, Fäntahun Enyäw, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Eskäziya Addam. For the reports of Kassé Mandäfro, see the letter from Adét Municipality Office to Gojjam *Ṭäqlay Gezat* Municipality Office, Date, *Ṭeqemt* 6, 1943 E. C., A. M. A., Folder Number ፱፯ 1-50, File Number ፱፯ - 22. See Appendix XXVI.

⁶¹The appeal of the Clergy of Adét to Emperor Haylä Sellasé, Date *Mäskäräm* 28, 1956 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder Number, 00196, File Number 9/79.; Ministry of Interior to *Däjjazmač* Šähayu Enqwo Sellasé, Date *Mägabit* 21, 1958 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder Number, 00196, File Number 9/79.

stronger local opposition. For instance, on *Miyaziya* 1, 1962 E.C. (April 9, 1970) Alām Akalu reported his lamentation to the *Täqelay Gezat* office at Däbrä Marqos in the following manner:

[በ1939 ዓ.ም.ማዘጋጃ ቤቱ]...እንደተቋቋመ በጊዜው የቦታው ምሬት ቀጥሎ
[በአዴት ከተማ] ልማት ለማግኘት ሲሞክር ጥቅሙ ያልገባቸው አንዳንድ
የሀገሩ ባላባት ነን ባዮች በከፊል ተነሳስተው የቦታው ምሬት እንዲቆም
በማድረጋቸው... መግባት የሚገባው ገቢ ስለተቋረጠ [እስከ አሁን] ምንም
የሆነ በማዘጋጃ ቤቱ ውስጥ የተሻሻለ የለም::⁶²

The English translation of this quotation is:

[When in 1946 the municipality]...was established, it started to parcel out urban lands to those in need to bring development [in Adét town]. However, part of the so-called local balabbats forced the municipality to stop its activities... Hence, [until now] the municipality could not collect the required amount of revenue to improve its functions.

Instead of allowing the municipality to allocate urban lands to those in need, the *balabbats* started to sell plots of their lands to merchants, Muslims and others since about 1960. This strong local opposition to the claims of the municipality of Adét town over urban lands remained unsolved until the 1974 Revolution. Obviously, this in turn had a negative effect on the development of Adét town.⁶³

4.3. Socio-Economic Conditions of Yelmana Dénsa District (1941-1974)

This sub section of the study will also examine the social and economic conditions of the district under investigation during the period from 1941 to 1974.

4. 3. 1. Change and Continuity in Land Tenure

According to Dessalegn Rahmato, Yelmana Dénsa was one of the leading cereal producing areas of Gojjam province during the post liberation period. Dessalegn maintains that during the pre-1974 period there was no acute shortage of land in Yelmana Dénsa district, and hence,

⁶²A Letter from Adét Municipality Office to Gojjam *Täqelay Gezat* Office, Date *Miyaziya* 1, 1962 E. C., A. M. A., Folder Number በ፯ 1-50, File Number በ፯ - 22.

⁶³*Ibid.*; A Letter from Alām Akalu to *Däjjazmač Šähayu Enqwo Sellasé, Endärasé* of Gojjam *Täqelay Gezat*, Date *Säné* 24, 1958 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder No, 00196, File No.9/79. ; Informants: Many. Alām Akalu listed the names of seventy individual *balabbats* of Adét who sold plots of land to others.

tenancy and land less ness were minimal in the district compared to other areas. In fact, the constant division and re division of holdings particularly since the 17th century had already given rise to excessive fragmentation *rest* land holdings in the district.⁶⁴ The district was known particularly for its production of white teff called *saynté*, spices, pulses and varieties of grains.⁶⁵ The prevalent tenure system in Yelmana Dénsa was *rest* (communal) tenure. *Rest* lands were owned by parishioner community members and managed by family elders. As explained in chapter two of the thesis, *rest* lands were the heritable property of community members who could count descent to their respective *aqeñ abbats* (founding fathers).⁶⁶ However, practically, it was possible for the powerful to amass as large land as possible by fabricating false genealogies. For instance, *Däjjazmač* Deräs took much of Ereberb including its marshy areas by claiming descent from a Muslim founding father of the locality named Ali. Similarly, *Däjjazmač* Anläy owned large plots of land and grazing fields at Mossäbo and Gafat by claiming descent from *Däjjazmač* Mikaél, grandfather of Emperor Bäkaffa. At times, the poor who were likely to lose their *rest* to the powerful through litigation expressed their distress like: “ድኅ ቢመነምን፤ እርስቱን ይለምን” /as the poor lost hope, he begs to get his own hereditary land/.⁶⁷

The second form of land tenure in Yelmana Dénsa during the post liberation period was church tenure known in the literature as *sämon*, *rim* or *qefäf*, as explained in chapter two of the thesis. *Sämon* lands were owned and worked by the clergy, servitors and parishioners.⁶⁸ In this case,

⁶⁴Desalegn, pp. 20, 41, 47, 55. As an example see Appendix V.

⁶⁵Dästa Mogäs, “Yä Adét Kätäma Tarik” (Amharic, n. d.), p. 4. ; Informants: Läggäsä Qalu, Fäntahun Enyāw, Alāmay Bogalä, Eskäziya Addam and Addam Käbbädä.

⁶⁶Desalegn, pp. 14, 47. ; Informants: Almost all of my informants.

⁶⁷Informant: Addam Käbbädä and Eskäziya Addam. His close relative named Fäṭānā Enyāw narrates that Qollälla was also the *gult* of *Däjjazmač* Anläy.

⁶⁸Informants: almost all. ; Desalegn, pp. 19-20. ; Nebeyu, pp. 99- 100.

among others, sources state that Däbrä Mäwi Maryam and Adét Mädhané Aläm had 22 and 18 *qefäfs*, respectively, until the 1974 Revolution.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, *rest* landowners had tax or tribute obligations to pay to the state or the church. Secular local *rest* land administrators were called *gultä gäz* (*gult* governors). They also had their own *rest* lands which they rented to the land less.⁷⁰ Together with the *cheqa šum* (village chiefs) and *aṭbiya dañña* (local judge), the *gultä gäz* had the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and administration of justice at the local level. The *gultä gäz* and *cheqa šum* also enforced the collection of taxes and handed it over to the district treasury.⁷¹ In this case, the June 9, 1944 regulation for *gult* administration in Gojjam province allowed *gult* holders to retain a third of the land tax collected from his *gult*. However, it required the *gult* holder to receive his share of the tax from the district treasury, and not directly from the peasants. Similarly, Article 7 of the 1947 proclamation for the setting up of *aṭbiya dañña* decreed that an *aṭbiya dañña* had to also be a *restä gult* holder, which seemed to have forced the *gultä gäz* to change post.⁷²

Likewise, *gult* land holding monasteries of Yelmana Dénsa district administered the areas under their jurisdiction in the same manner as the secular *gultä gäz*, as already explained. Particularly, the monasteries of Adét Mädhané Aläm and Däbrä Mäwi Maryam acted as *meketel* (sub district) governors with considerable autonomy from the secular state control.⁷³

⁶⁹Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Lebsäworq Ayälä, Taddäsä Endaläw and Zälläqä Allälleññ. See also Bälay, *Etége Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. However, the tenure known as *Hudad* discussed in chapter two was abandoned during the post liberation period.

⁷⁰Nebeyu, pp. 85, 93, 95. ; Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara*, pp. 75- 77. ; Informants: Eskäziya Addam, Täwabä Ayčäh, Haylu Meteku and Ayalu Alänä.

⁷¹Nebeyu, pp. 93- 94. ; Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara*, p. 34. ; Levine, pp. 57- 58.

⁷²Nebeyu, pp. 93- 95. ; Ayele, p. 30. See Appendix XXIII.

⁷³Gäbäyähü Wägäyähü, p. 17. ; Bälay, *Etége Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66; Informants: Lebsäworq Ayälä, Mamaru Bitäwa, Tafära Ejegu, Fäṭänä Aynaläm and Biyazné Ejegu.

The state could interfere in the affairs of monastic *gult* administration only when invited and to collect the tithe. Hence, the peasants living on church lands had better freedom than those on state lands since earlier periods.⁷⁴

4. 3. 2. Revival and Expansion of Trade and Markets in Yelmana Dénsa District: 1941-1974

According to my informants, the first to start their business activities at Adét in the immediate post liberation period were *māšāta* ladies. The prominent *māšāta* ladies in the 1940s and 1950s were Etitu Wäldé, Ṭeruwärq Gässässä, Ṭénayä Berru, Yešamu Berru, Alämnäš Jämbäré and Azänäg Gässässä. They sold *tälla* (local beer) and *aräqi* (alcohol) at their own or rented houses mostly located south of Haylu Gäbäya. Wäyzäros Yalämwärq Sebhatu and Laqäč Sebhatu also sold *ṭäjj* (mead) at Adét. Furthermore, Ṭénayä Berru pioneered the distillation and selling of *anselal aräqi* thanks to her knowledge about an Italian drink of “similar test” to hers while she was a *banda*. Besides, several of these and other *māšāta* ladies, particularly those who had joined the Italian camp, became prostitutes at Adét during the post liberation period.⁷⁵

Moreover, in the early 1940s the old short and long distance trade revived in Yelmana Dénsa district. Apart from the general restoration of peace in the country, there were some other reasons for this revival of trade. To begin with, the British administration in Eritrea highly demanded Ethiopian agricultural products. As a result, active trading activity emerged in the Bahr Dar- Gondar- Asmara region.⁷⁶ Merchants of Adét town and some rural areas of the district responded to this growing trade by supplying the markets of Bahr Dar and Gondar with

⁷⁴Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Tafärä Ejegu, Fätänä Aynäläm and Biyazné Ejegu.

⁷⁵Informants: Čäré Agāñ, Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Admasu Gugsä, Zälläqä Allälleññ, Aššagré Čäkkol, Aduñña Ayčäh, Gäbäyāhu Qāññä and Aläbačäw Wagaw. ; Geremew, pp. 41- 42.

⁷⁶Seltene, “A History of Bahr Dar Town”, pp. 93- 94. ; Geremew, p. 41.

the agricultural products of Yelmana Dénsa such as cereals, spices, pulses, skins, hides, cattle, sheep, goats and the like. Secondly, there was a high demand among Bahr Dar and Gondar merchants for oil seeds following the establishment of an oil-pressing factory in Gondar in the late 1940s. Taking advantage of this, merchants from Yelmana Dénsa supplied the above markets with linseed and nigger seed, and brought to Adét salt, coffee (from Zägé), and house hold utensils and sold them to the market attendants and retailers at Adét, Gonj, Färäs Wägga, Yezora, Agetta and other markets of Yelmana Dénsa. The merchants of Bahr Dar themselves also came to Adét to buy the necessary trade items. Besides, the post liberation period saw the growth of the number of Christian merchant of Yelmana Dénsa district.⁷⁷ The merchants of Adét and other localities of Yelmana Dénsa also travelled as far as Mätamma and Asmara to exchange leather and leather products and agricultural items with cloths like *abujädid*; *zäha* (yarn), perfume and house hold utensils, which were highly demanded at Haylu Gäbäya at Adét. Among others, Laggäsä Qalu and Mängäša Täklä Haymanot were the biggest skin and hide traders between Adét and Asmara in the 1940s and 1950s. In addition, merchants from Adét who travelled to the markets of Buré, Dämbäçha and beyond brought to Adét items such as coffee, gold, civet and the like.⁷⁸ Obviously, the post liberation period was also marked by the expansion of trade in firearms more than ever before.⁷⁹

On the other hand, merchants from distant places like Esté and other parts of Bägémder, Däbrä Marqos, Däbrä Wärq, Moça, Bečäna and others visited Haylu Gäbäya of Adét. Those merchants from Bägémder brought items like *zäha* (yarn), *abujadid* and house hold utensils. Merchants of Däbrä Marqos, Däbräwärq and Däjän areas also brought to Adét items such as coffee,

⁷⁷*Ibid.* ; Informants: Nuré Muhamad, Laggäsä Qalu, Aduñña Ayčäh, Ačänäf Zälläqä and Admasu Gugsä.

⁷⁸Informants: Nuré Muhamad, Laggäsä Qalu, Aduñña Ayčäh, Ačänäf Zälläqä and Admasu Gugsä.

⁷⁹Informants: Daññaw Taddäsä, Ačänäf Zälläqä and Aläbačäw Wagaw.

jewelry, copper, and few of them yarn and house hold utensils. All these merchants exchanged their trade items at Adét with the agricultural and craft products of Yelmana Dénsa, Qollälla and parts of Mécha and Däga Damot. The most important of the trade items supplied by the people of Yelmana Dénsa were honey, butter, hides, skins, and leather products like *mäçhañña* (thong), *läfer* (leather rope), *aqomada* (leather bag) and *žāndi* (leather sheet).⁸⁰

Long distance merchants stayed at Adét usually for not less than two months until they completed the buying and selling of the necessary trade items. The middle of October was usually the ideal time for their arrival at Adét with immense quantities of mule and donkey loaded trade items so as to attend the annual three days market of Ṭeqemt Sellasé held at Färäs Mäsk in Zäre'a Bruk locality, as mentioned above. By the middle of December they were to start to move to their respective home districts as far north as Asmara and as far south as Šäwa and Wälläga areas. The stay of long distance merchants at Adét for months seemed to have brought high economic benefits to the *mäšāta* women, merchants, *balabbats* and craft workers of Adét town and Yelmana Dénsa district.⁸¹

Furthermore, during the dry season, usually in January, long distance merchants of Adét and other parts of Yelmana Dénsa moved to other market places of distant areas. Those merchants who travelled to Addis Ababa exchanged agricultural and craft products with other items such as cloths; for instance, *kaki* or *amarica*; *zāha* (yarn), coffee, perfume, *qerenfud* (clove), incense, tin sheets, nails, sugar, *hadid* (metal plate) and house hold utensils which were highly demanded at the market of Adét. Besides, those merchants who travelled to Gondar, Asmara and Mätamma brought items such as cloths like *abujadid*, *fino mäbruq*, *afäšolé*; white silk,

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

zäha, packed petroleum (22 liters), perfume and house hold utensils, as mentioned above.⁸²

Notable among the post liberation period long distance merchants of Adét were *Nägadrases* Zärihun Ali and Fänta Negussé, *Atos* Lägässä Qalu, Mängäša Täklä Haymanot and other smaller merchants of Adét and rural localities of Yelmana Dénsa, who accompanied these big merchants.⁸³ This growing trade between Yelmana Dénsa and other areas mentioned above continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s mainly as a result of the development of transportation networks.⁸⁴

In Adét town, there was a parallel development of commercial and business activities during the post liberation period. The main reason for this was the coming to Adét and settlement of merchants from other areas. For instance, Yemeni Arabs came from Gondar and settled at Adét. They were namely Zayd Abdalla, Ali ibn Ali, Gayd and Ali Musherred, who settled at Adét as business persons in 1948, 1955, 1966 and 1970, respectively. They married local women. For instance, Zayd was married to Asya Adgo of Mändärä Eyäsus to the west of Adét.⁸⁵ In addition, other merchants like Lägässä Qalu and Aligaz Täwäldä (both from Tegräy) came and settled at Adét in 1946 and the early 1950s, respectively. The Yemeni Arabs engaged in either kiosk or tea room businesses, while local (Ethiopian) business persons focused on tea room and selling of *täjj* (mead). Both groups of merchants rented thatched roofed houses of *balabbats* to run their businesses or bought plots of land from *balabbats* to construct their own kiosks.⁸⁶ This also encouraged active merchants from Adét like *Sheikh* Sulṭan Muhammad, Gäbäyāhu

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Informants: Gäbrä Mäsqäl Tebäbu and Bayäh Fälläqä. See also, Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 95.

⁸⁵Informants: Lägässä Qalu, Bayäh Fälläqä, Admasu Gugsä, Fäṭānā Aynalām, Ačänāf Zälläqä and Nuré Muhammad. ; Geremew, p. 43.

⁸⁶Ibid. Eventually, Lägässä abandoned long distance trade and became a tea room business man at Adét.

Qāñña (both from Mändärä Eyäsus), Yasin Alämu, Gašu Qäçhenu and others to engage in kiosk business.⁸⁷ Furthermore, chiefly women Muslims continued their pre Italian occupation period open market retailing of goods like spices, mirrors, razor plates, needles, candies and other items to the urban as well as rural peoples of Yelmana Dénsa.⁸⁸ Since about the mid-1950s local business men of Adét also opened food houses, bars and bed rooms.⁸⁹ The main suppliers of all the above business runners of Adét town were long distance merchants.⁹⁰ Then, because of the development of commerce and trade at Adét during the post liberation period, the municipality office of Adét introduced a new weekly market day held on Wednesdays in the late 1950s in addition to Saturday.⁹¹

The other business activities introduced in to Adét during the post liberation period were oil pressing, flourmills and tailoring which gave considerable services to the people of Adét and Yelmana Dénsa. To begin with, Ačänäf Zälläqä introduced a horse driven oil-pressing device in 1952 and began to supply better quality edible oil at a price of Eth. \$3.00 *berr* per liter.⁹² In addition, a water-powered flourmill was introduced in to Adét and planted at the Šena River by *Däjjazmač* Deräs Šefäräw in 1954. Besides, *Balambaras* Asägé planted another water-powered flourmill at the bank of the same river around Goššäyä by the late 1950s.⁹³ However, from the early 1960s onwards these archaic water powered mills were replaced by fuel powered

⁸⁷Informants: Čäré Agäññ and Aduñña Ayčäh.

⁸⁸Informants: Gäbäyähü Qäñña, Aläbačäw Wagaw, Sentayähü Ayaléw, Laggäsä Qalu, Admasu Gugsä and Fäñänä Aynaläm.

⁸⁹Informants: Gäbäyähü Qäñña, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Fäntahun Enyäw.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²Informants: Ačänäf Zälläqä, Aläbačäw Wagaw, Gäbäyähü Qäñña and Eskäziya Addam.

⁹³*Ibid.* For *Däjjazmač* Deräs's flour mill see, a Letter from *Däjjazmač* Deräs Šefäräw to Agäw Dangelä *Awrajja Gezat* Office, Date 5/2/1947 E.C., D. M. U. A. R. C, Folder No, 0016, File No. *፬. ፩. 8. Balambaras* Asägé came from Däbrä Marqos and permanently settled at Adét.

twenty four horse power flour mills. The first of them was planted at Adét in 1961 jointly by local merchants namely *atos* Aläbačäw Wagaw and Amonñä Ayälä. This was followed in 1962 by the flour mill of *Ato* Esléman Ešätu. Since then, more numbers of fuel powered mills were also planted at Adét town and some rural places of the district like Abey Şeyon, Däbrä Sälam, Ereberëb, Gonj, Kebäb, Agetta and so on.⁹⁴ Likewise, my informants state that tailoring expanded in Adét town and the surrounding rural localities of Ereberëb, Gafat, Fatman, Adét Hanna and others during the post liberation period. Since the late 1950s tailoring was being practiced with in shops of bolt of cloth at Adét town.⁹⁵

The growth of commerce, trade and the construction of government offices as well as more numbers of modern private houses (since the late 1950s) obviously contributed to the economic benefits of the peoples of Adét and Yelmana Dénsa. This in turn had its own significant contribution for the growth and development of Adét town during the post liberation period. Rural market centers of Yelmana Dénsa such as Agetta, Yezora, Gonj, Färäs Wägga (until 1947) and Enägadé also gradually became important economic and settlement centers. Besides, those market centers founded during the Italian occupation period by patriot leaders of Yelmana Dénsa resumed as small market centers held on one or another day of the week during the post liberation period.⁹⁶

Nevertheless, the negative attitude of the farming community members of Yelmana Dénsa district towards merchants and handicraft workers and their hereditary traditional jobs explained in chapter two of the study resumed during the post liberation period. Obviously,

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Informants: Čäre Agäññ and Laggäsä Qalu.

⁹⁶Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Eskäziya Addam and Gäbäyähü Qäññä. From the market places established during the occupation period, Qwoqär and Astériyo were gradually abandoned during the post liberation period.

this had its own lasting impact on the local socio-economic and cultural development.⁹⁷

4. 3.3. Social Services

Socially, the people of Adét town and Yelmana Dénsa district were composed of both Christian and Muslim parishioner villagers with a clear majority of the former.⁹⁸ A temporary thatched church was built at Adét in 1942. Obviously, parishioners also reconstructed other thatched roofed rural churches of Yelmana Dénsa that had been partially or fully demolished by Italian aerial attacks. In 1946 the monastery Mädhané Aläm⁹⁹ and the mosque at Qälämo were built in Adét with corrugated tin roofs.¹⁰⁰ The monastery of Däbrä Mäwi was also repaired and covered with tin sheets in 1964/65 with the financial support of the central government.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, during the late 1960s the number of Muslims who migrated in to Adét, and of course in to Bahr Dar, increased.¹⁰² As a result of the increment of the Muslim population at Adét, another mosque was built in 1967 at the present day site of Baburä Haman mosque.¹⁰³

Further, there were public self-help associations called *Edders* at Adét both for the Christians as well Muslims of the town. In addition, the people of Adét established a local traditional financial saving association called *Equb* especially during the late 1960s and early 1970s. My Informants state that feasts prepared for the clergy collectively known as *mähara* and the traditional monthly religious associations like *mahebär* and *sänbäté*, explained in chapter two

⁹⁷Informants: Eskäziya Addam, Adduña Ayčäh and Läggäsä Qalu. See also Levine, p. 149.

⁹⁸Zelalem, p. 40. ; Desalegn, p. 14.

⁹⁹Informants: Addam Käbbädä, Bayäh Fälläqä, Biyazné Ejegu, Aššagré Čäkkol and Yärom Alämu.

¹⁰⁰Zelalem, p. 40.

¹⁰¹Bälay, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. ; Informant: Lebsäworq Ayälä.

¹⁰²Informants: Gäbäyāhu Qāññā and Yärom Alämu. ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 49.

¹⁰³Informants: Gäbäyāhu Qāññā and Nuré Muhammad.

of the thesis, also continued during the post liberation period.¹⁰⁴

However, in terms of basic infrastructure, the district of Yelmana Dénsa was one of the most severely deprived in Gojjam province during the post liberation period.¹⁰⁵ Only few social services gradually appeared in the district. To begin with, the period witnessed the beginning of modern education in Yelmana Dénsa. Already in 1942 *Aläqa* Sirak Zägäyā began to teach Amharic, Ge'ez and moral education in Adét in the former Italian military barrack around present day district administration office. But, Sirak faced opposition particularly from the monks of the monastery of Adét Mädhane Alām. The monks agitated the local people not to send their children to attend modern education “which they called “የእስላም ትምህርት”/ literally, education of the Muslims/.¹⁰⁶ However, the local people unanimously called it “የክርስቲያን ትምህርት”/ Italian for school/. This was because the Italians had started to teach a type of modern education called *Scu`ola* at Adét to the children of the *banda* to teach them basic mathematics and Italian language up to grade four which had to be completed in two years term.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, since 1946 the governor general of Gojjam, *Däjjazmač* Kābbādä Täsämma (r. 1945-1950), urged sub provincial and district governors to encourage the expansion of modern education by opening schools in the areas under their jurisdiction.¹⁰⁸ As a result, *Aläqa* Sirak (as a school principal and teacher) and *Märigéta* Ewnātu Alāmayāhu were appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1946 to teach formal education at Adét in a thatched wooden

¹⁰⁴Informants: Addam Kābbādä, Eskäziya Addam and Čäre Agāñ. For a general understanding, see also Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*, p. 80.

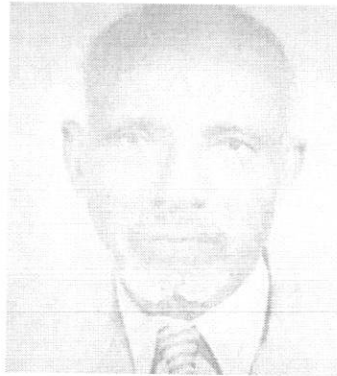
¹⁰⁵Desalegn, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶Informants: Täwabä Ayčäh, Aduñña Ayčäh and Alāmay Bogalä. ; Geremew, p. 44. ; Nebeyu, p. 122.

¹⁰⁷Informants: Teru Wärqé, Addam Kābbādä, Fäñänä Aynalām and Bayäh Fälläqä.

¹⁰⁸Nebeyu, p. 122.

elementary school up to grade four.¹⁰⁹ Later on, the government appointed other teachers like Nāqāṭebāb Kassa and Gäbäyāhu Bātrā Şedq. Their monthly salary was Eth. \$30.00 *berr*. The number of students at the Adét elementary school in 1946 was only twelve. Some among the first batch who completed their elementary education at Adét were Alämu Bäqälä, Däräsāññ



Picture 8: *Aläqä Sirak Zägäyā*
(Source: General Council of Bahr Dar Town. *Wubitu Bahr Dar*. Bahr Dar, *Mäskäräm* 1975 E.C.)

Ayaléw, Zälläqä Yelma and Gétačāw Dästa.¹¹⁰ In 1948 another elementary school (grades 1-4) was opened at Gonj town in Qollälla, whose first principal was *Ato* Gossa Wārquenäh. The main subjects taught at these schools were Amharic, English and basic mathematics.¹¹¹ However, there was the difficulty of continuing further education by travelling to Däbrä Marqos. For instance, in 1952 the first batch of grade eight students of Bahr Dar *awrajja* were transported by air plane by the government to Däbrä Marqos for grade eighth national examination. Two of them – Däräsāññ Ayaléw and Zälläqä Yelma - were from Yelmana Dénsa. In the next year, only Däräsāññ Ayalew was sent to Addis Ababa to continue further education

¹⁰⁹Yenagär Tariku and others, “Yä Bahr Dar Awraja Temhret Bétoč Yä Temhret Egzibeşen Mäşehét” (Magazine, Bahr Dar, *Säné* 27, 1979 E. C.), p. 12. ; Informants: Adduña Ayčäh and Tazäbäw Täräfä.

¹¹⁰Informants: Adduña Ayčäh, Gäbäyāhu Qāññä and Aläbačāw Wagaw. Gäbäyāhu Bātrā Şedeq was the son of the first (foreign educated) head of the Provincial Education Office, *Ato* Bātrā Şedeq Kassa, see Nebeyou, p. 121.

¹¹¹Yenagär Tariku and others, p. 13. ; Mäzämer and Däbbasu, p. 1. ; Wälälaw Gétahun, “Yä Zämānawī Temheret Ajāmamär Ena Yä Adét Andāññä Däräja Temhert Bét Tarik,” (Adét, *Teqmet* 1990 E. C.), pp. 1-3. ; Informants: Fätahi Mäkönnän and Menalä Tezazu.

at General Wingate School.¹¹²

In 1952/ 53 a new elementary school was constructed at Adét at the site of present day Adét First and Second Cycle Elementary School with the money and materials contributed by the people of Adét town and Yelmana Dénsa district. The amount of this public financial contribution in the rural areas of the district was Eth. \$20.00 *berr* per farmer. However, the urban dwellers of Adét town were required to contribute even more than that amount based on their economic capacity. The coordinator of the Adét elementary school building committee was the then principal of the school namely *Ato Mäkönnän Tämäsgän*. The school yard was donated by a local *balabbat* namely *Ato Bälätä Amära*. The name of the school was Adét Elementary School. In 1955 additional subjects such as agriculture, sport and gymnastic, ethical education and music were introduced in the school at Adét. In 1966 the elementary schools at Adét and Gonj were elevated from grades 1-4 to grades 1- 6.¹¹³ Hence, in 1968 grade six national examination was begun to be given at Adét for the students from both Adét and Gonj towns of Yelmana Dénsa district.¹¹⁴ In the late 1960s the number of students in each grade increased in the schools of the district under study.¹¹⁵ In short, the need for modern education increased in Yelmana Dénsa during the 1960s more than ever before. The local people also started to dignify students of modern education by a public song that reads:

አስኳላው ተማሪ፡

ሽታው ለሙሉ ለሙሉ፡፡¹¹⁶

¹¹²Wälälaw, pp. 1-3. ; Geremew, p. 45. ; Yenagär Tariku and others, p. 14.

¹¹³Wälälaw, p. 5. ; Informants: Aduña Ayčäh, Gäbäyähü Qäññä and Fätahi Mäkönnän. See also Seltene, “A History of Bahr Bar Town”, p. 17

¹¹⁴ Informants: Aduña Ayčäh and Gäbäyähü Qäññä. ; Abäbä Qalkidan and others, *Däwol Magazine*, a Special Issue (Yelmana Dénsa Information Office, Adét, *Säné* 1996 E. C.), p. 7.

¹¹⁵Informants: Aduña Ayčäh and Gäbäyähü Qäññä; Wälälaw, p. 5. ; Geremew, p. 45.

¹¹⁶Informants: Eskaziya Addam and Ayalu Alänä. ; Adét Full Cycle Elementary School, “Amätawi Report of the School Director, Ato Abäbä Estäziyw” (Adét, *Säné* 20, 2006 E.C.).

The English translation of the couplet is:

The student of Scu`ola [modern school], smells like lemon.

As a response to this public demand, in 1970 the government in collaboration with the people of Yelmana Dénsa constructed twelve roomed modern buildings at Adét for elementary school on the same site described above. The construction was carried out by ESBU (Swedish Elementary School Building Unit).¹¹⁷ In 1972 a new elementary school was also founded at Agetta. Furthermore, ESBU constructed concrete buildings at Gonj and Agetta for elementary schools in 1972, 1973, respectively.¹¹⁸ Further education had also already been made possible at Bahr Dar since 1949. However, in the absence of adequate transportation, still there was the problem of sending students for further education. Because of this reason, as a result of the relentless efforts of the Adét elementary school principal, *Ato Dästa Mogäs*, in 1974 the Adét Elementary School was promoted to Elementary and Junior level (grades 1- 8).¹¹⁹

By contrast, even after the government had introduced a Health Tax, health services were unthinkable in Yelmana Dénsa district until the 1960s. Only vaccination workers from Bahr Dar like a certain Gäbrä Egziabhér occasionally came to Adét.¹²⁰ Some former *bandas* like Laggäsä Qalu in Adét and Mäkonnen Kassa of Şeyon in rural areas of the district tried to give medical treatments by traveling in rural villages of the district. However, they did not have proper medical knowledge and access to modern medicines. Here, some of my informants also relate that in May–June and September–December 1957 there was an epidemic in the district that was nick named *Šäggaw Mäkonené*. The epidemic killed up to 5-10 persons per day in

¹¹⁷Wälälaw, p. 5. ; Abäbä and others, p. 7. ; Informants: Aduña Ayčäh, Çhané Enyäu and Ayalu Alänä. The district governor of Yelmana Dénsa by this time was *Fitawri Kälkay*. See appendix XXVII.

¹¹⁸Informant: Fätahi Mäkoññän.

¹¹⁹Adét Full Cycle Elementary School, “Amätawi Report”. ; Abäbä, and others, p. 20. ; Wälälaw, p.5. For Bahr Dar Junior and High Schools see, Seltene, “A History of Bahr Bar Town”, p. 170. ; Nebeyu, p. 122.

¹²⁰Nebeyu, p. 128. ; Informants: Gäbüyahu Qäññä and Fätänä Aynäläm.

each locality of Yelmana Dénsa.¹²¹

It was only by the end of August 1962 a clinic was opened at Adét town in a rented room in the district administrative building. The first head of the clinic at Adét who was sent by the provincial government was an Eritrean named Gäbrä Hawaryat Tukavo and the first physician was Daññäw Täsfayä, a man from Gondar.¹²² However, after a year of service, the clinic was obliged to rent a private room because *Däjjazmač* Anläy Haylé forced the health workers to leave the building, locked the room for about two years and embezzled the one year rent income of Eth. \$360.00 *berr*. Indeed, Anläy was accused of being a corrupt and disciplinary measures were taken on him by the Bahr Dar *awraja* and the provincial administrative courts on January 26, 1966 and October 11, 1969, respectively.¹²³

Only in 1965 a wooden house was built for a government clinic at the present day site of Adét telecommunication station with the money contributed by the people of Adét town and Yelmana Dénsa district. In addition, in 1972, Täšomä Addis opened a private pharmacy at Adét, and in the next year, a government pharmacy was opened within the clinic. Anyway, though they were insignificant, these health services seemed to have helped improve the health condition of the people of Yelmana Dénsa during the 1960s and early 1970s. Täšomä was also giving postal services from 1969 to 1974 with a monthly salary of Eth. \$30.00 *berr*.¹²⁴

In the field of transportation, there were no roads to link the district of Yelmana Dénsa with Bahr Dar and Moṭa towns and its neighbouring districts during the post liberation period. In fact, as mentioned above, the Italians had connected Adét with Moṭa and Bahr Dar by a motor

¹²¹Informants: Eskäziya Addam, Täwabä Ayčäh, Tazäbäw Täräfä and Ayalu Alänä.

¹²²Informants: Bayäh Fälläqa, Gäbäyähü Qäññä and Laggäsä Qalu. See also Geremew, p. 45.

¹²³Nebeyu, pp. 70-71.

¹²⁴Informants: Täšomä Addis, Laggäsä Qalu and Aläbačäw Wagaw. ; Geremew, p. 45.

road. Nevertheless, it was not functional during the post liberation period because it was not repaired. Moreover, there were no bridges across the rivers and streams that crossed the same road. Therefore, it was only during the dry season some Land Rover cars from Bahr Dar; for instance, Kassa Equba Gaber's, were transporting goods and people between Bahr Dar and Däbrä Mäwi without reaching Adét until about 1950. In the early 1950s *Atos* Aläbačäw Wagaw and Amoñña Ayälä together bought a Land Rover car for the same purpose. In some cases provincial state officials also used this road to visit Adét in convoys of Land Rover cars. In 1962 the Bahr Dar *awrajja* governor, Šalläqa Yayähyerad Mär'ed (r. 1957-1963), repaired the Adét- Bahr Dar road and more number of cars began to give transportation services.¹²⁵

During the late 1960s, *Aläqa* Sirak Zägäyā organized the Yelmana Dénsa District Development Association as a branch of the Bahr Dar *awrajja* Development Association.¹²⁶ The branch association collected money from the peoples of Adét town and Yelmana Dénsa district for the purpose of local development. The amount of contribution collected by each *aṭbiya dañña* of the district and handed over to the association was Eth. \$7.00 *berr* per farmer owning an ox, and Eth. \$15.00 *berr* for owners of a pair oxen for the rural people. But, for the town people of Adét the amount of contribution was based on their economic capacity. In 1970 the development association repaired the Adét – Bahr Dar road, popularly known as the Wašo Bär road. The branch development association also constructed small bridges across the Šeggäz, Ṭul and Andassa Rivers between Adét and Bahr Dar towns. As a result, in addition to Land Rovers, Lorries and the Russian made public transportation cars, popularly known as *Mäskov*, began to transport people and goods between Adét and Bahr Dar since December 1971.¹²⁷

¹²⁵Informants: Täšomä Addis, Lägğäsä Qalu, Aläbačäw Wagaw and Sentayähu. ; Geremew, pp. 45- 46.

¹²⁶Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 181. ; The Life History of *Qaññazmač* Dästa Yemam, p. no page. ; Informant: Lägğäsä Qalu. ; Geremew, p. 46. See also Appendix XXVII.

¹²⁷Informants: Lägğäsä Qalu, Ayalu Alänä, Adduña Ayčäh, Fätahi Mäkönnän and Täšomä Addis.

Conclusion

There were some changes in the historical developments of Yelmana Dénsa in the twentieth century as there were much continuities from earlier periods. Among others, the early decades of the 20th century saw the beginning of the end of hereditary rule in the district of Yelmana Désa, as it was the case in other parts of Gojjam. Here, *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot started to appoint his own favourites over the district of Yelmana Dénsa. He also forcibly became the Gäbäz of Adét locality and delegated it to his local loyal servants. *Ras* Haylu also became one of the wealthiest persons in Ethiopia by drawing revenues from all over Gojjam using various means.

However, the period of *Ras* Haylu also had some positive sides which need some reinterpretation. To begin with, although he was an autocrat, Gojjam in general and Yelmana Dénsa in particular were effectively administered. The society was also reorganized based on occupation type and wealth. Further, *Ras* Haylu tried to eliminate some crimes like murder and banditry in his domain by selectively and severely punishing criminals. Economically, he expanded cash economy, trade and commerce in Gojjam in general and Yelmana Dénsa in particular. This, in turn, led to the development of market and urban centers, like Adét town, in Gojjam.

The reforming Šäwan aristocrat, who replaced *Ras* Haylu, namely *Ras* Emeru Haylä Sellasé, also tried to introduce many new and modern innovations in to Gojjam since end of 1932. However, it is possible to conclude that there was no substantial change in the traditional system of administration of Gojjam in general because *Ras* Emeru's modern innovations were not yet expanded beyond the provincial capital, Däbrä Marqos, given the short period of his rule.

The Italian occupation period was a water shade in the history of Ethiopia in general and the district of Yelmana Dénsa in particular. Yelmana Dénsa was one of the most renowned centers of patriotic resistance in Gojjam against the Italians. Despite the strong resistance there, the Italians successively made Yelmana Dénsa a center of Vice Resident (1936-37), Resident (1937-38) and Commissionership (1939-41). Like other parts of the country, the Italians upset the existing socio-economic, political and cultural developments of Yelmana Dénsa. They had cleared the thatched quarters of Adét town, but left behind no important infrastructure in the town. Perhaps, the most important legacies of the occupation period in the district were the spread of houses made of stone and wood covered with tin sheets, and that of prostitution.

The departure from the past in Yelmana Dénsa which began during the period of *Ras* Haylu during the early 20th century further enhanced particularly during the post liberation period. Adét town now officially and practically became a secular administrative center of the district of Yelmana Dénsa and several government offices made their first appearance in it. Most of the administrative posts in the district were now occupied based on patriotic contributions rather than descent. The period also saw a change in the geographical extension of Yelmana Dénsa. Because of the administrative rearrangement made by the then governor of Gojjam province, since 1947 the district lost its north western parts extending from the area north of Däbrä Mäwi-Yebaba line to the Zägé peninsula, but it got a new territory called Gonj-Qollälla in the east.

Trade and commerce also further expanded in Yelmana Dénsa during the post liberation period. These economic sectors were not now left to the Muslims of the district alone. Christian merchants steadily increased in number particularly in Adét town not only due to the rise of successful local merchants, but also the coming and permanent settlement of merchants from other parts of Gojjam and the country. Some modern services like modern schools, a clinic, pharmacy and motor car transport were gradually introduced in to Yelmana Dénsa.

However, the majority of the people of Yelmana Dénsa were still engaged in agriculture using traditional methods of farming. The land tenure system of the pre-Italian occupation period also generally continued during the post liberation period although the government increasingly tried to reduce the tax powers of the secular as well as religious *gultännās*. On the other hand, as discussed above, the government's increasing demands for revenue during the period entailed both local and regional tax related peasant oppositions against the restored regime. On the contrary, because land less ness was minimal in it during the period, the land reforms of the Därg regime were delayed until 1980.

Socially, the elements of change which appeared in the district under investigation since the early 20th century, did not alleviate the deep-rooted social problems. Like other parts of Gojjam, local communities of Yelmana Dénsa invariably looked down upon artisans and other occupation groups. As a result, the latter could not develop their technology or business. Nor could they form a distinctive class of their own. It was only since the 1974 revolution that some improvements have been made concerning occupational groups of the district of Yelmana Dénsa.

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List of Informants

No	Name and title of Informant	Age (by the time of the interview)	Interview		Remarks
			Date	Place	
1	Ačänäf Zälläqä (Ato)	69	29.8.1999	Adét 02 Kābälé	He was very knowledgeable especially about the post liberation period.
2	Addam Kābbādä (Ato)	85	21.9.1999 & 26.3.2000	Erbereb (Adét)	A native of Adét. He knew a great deal about Yelmana Dēnsa since the time of <i>Ras</i> Haylu. He narrated events fairly well, but not dates.
3	Admasé Enyāw (Šambāl)	84	15. 5. 2007	Adét 02	He is a native of Keflo Bahr/Adét. He was a <i>Nāçh Lābaš</i> and knows a great deal about it and the occupation period.
4	Admasu Gugsä (Fitawrari)	80	30.3.2000	Bahr Dar	He was the sub district and district governor in Yelmana Dēnsa. He had immense knowledge on the political and administrative conditions of the district especially after 1941.
5	Adduña Ayčäh (Ato)	58	29.8.1999	Adét 02	He served as a teacher and director. As a native to Adét locality he knows much about the district.
6	A`emro Šefāraw (Ato)	58	3.9.1999	Adét 01	He learnt a lot in Church schools. He has a fair knowledge on the history of the district.
7	Alābačāw Wagaw (Ato)	80	29.8.1999	Adét 02	He knew much about the socio economic and political developments of the district.
8	Alābāl Tayä (Ato)	76	8.12 .201	Adét 02, district patriots office	He knows much about <i>Fitawrari</i> Amāra Täsämma, the Occupation period and the patriots of Dēnsa.
9	Alāmay Bogalä (Däbtära)	65	27. 8. 1999	Adét	He was highly educated in church schools. He comprehensively narrates the socio economic conditions of the district across the periods.
10	Ašäber Bayh (Ato)	78	18.1. 2015	Adét 01	A native of Adét and a good informant about particularly the post liberation period history of the district.

11	Aššagré Čäkol (Afa Mämher)	68	14.8.1999	Church of Adét Mädhané Aläm	He served the <i>gädam</i> for many years. Highly knowledgeable.
12	Ayalu Alänä (Ato)	60	16.4.2015	Adét 02	He was a teacher for a long time. He knows much about the post liberation period.
13	Bayäh Fälläqä (Magabi)	60	18.8.1999 & 20.6.2015	Adét 02	Highly educated in church schools. He served the <i>gädam</i> of Adét Mädhané Aläm before he became a merchant. He is highly knowledgeable.
14	Biyazné Ejegu (Ato)	70	31.8.19 99 & 19. 6. 2015	Adét 01	He was a <i>Näçh Lābas</i> . He has deep knowledge about the history of the district.
15	Çhané Enyāw (Ato)	60	13.5.2015	Adét 02	He came to Adét as a follower of <i>Fitawrari</i> Kākay and permanently settled there. He gives ample evidence about Kālkay's administration.
16	Čäré Agāññ (Ato)	70	24.8.1999	Adét 02	He knew much about the socio economic conditions of the district particularly during the post liberation period.
17	Dāmelāw Ayälä (Qésä Gābāz)	80	24.8.1999	Adét	He was a highly educated person in church education. He was from Anbäsit locality. Highly knowledgeable about the traditional history of the district.
18	Daññaw Taddäsa (Ato)	71	10.12.2014	Adet 02	He is from Buha Dāngiya and Knows much about the traditional as well as modern history of the district.
19	Dästa Mogäs (Ato)	52	4.9.1999	Adét 01	He was a school director and then Mayor of Adét town before 1991. He had a fair knowledge on the history of the district. Voluntarily allowed others to read his personal documents.
20	Eskäziya Addam (Ato)	70	6.1.2015	Erebreb/ Adét	He knows a great deal about the socio economic history of the district particularly during the post liberation period.
21	Fäntahun Enyāw (Ato)	67	22.8.1999	Adét 02	He served in government posts after 1941. He had a broad knowledge of the traditional as well as modern history of the district.
22	Fätahe Mäkonän (Ato)	49	1.8. 1999	Adét 01	He has served three regimes as a teacher and knows much about the development of modern education in the district after the liberation.

23	Fätänä Aynaläm (Ato)	81	5.9. 1999	Adét Hanna	A native Adét Hana who knew <i>Ras</i> Haylu personally. He was a long distant merchant and later joined the Italian camp. He had immense knowledge on the socio economic history of the district.
24	Fätänä Enyāw (Ato)	84	4.7. 2015	Adét High School	He came to Adét as a follower of <i>Däjjazmač</i> Anläy and permanently settled there. He detail knows about the administration of Anläy.
25	Gäbäyāhu Qāññä (Ato)	71	23.8.1999	Adét 01	He settled at Adét as a Muslim merchant in 1941. He has much hearsay knowledge about the early history of the district. Highly knowledgeable.
26	Gäbrä Mäsqäl Ṭebābu (Ato)	65	12. 9. 2000	Adét 01	He was a worker at the Yelmana Dénsa district finance office during the Imperial and the Därg periods
27	Haylu Meteku (Ato)	88	18.6.2015	Adét 02	A patriot who served the previous two regimes in various capacities. He has a detailed knowledge on the history of Yelmana Dénsa
28	Läggäsä Qalu (Ato)	79	16.9.1999	Adét 02	He was a long distance merchant from Tegräy who permanently settled at Adét in 1946. Gifted in chronologically remembering events with dates.
29	Lebsäwärq Ayälä (Märigéta)	60	22. 9. 2014	Dabra Mawi	He is the <i>Qenē Mämeher</i> in the monastery of Däbrä Mawi. He has a deep knowledge on the church history of the monastery.
30	Lemāneh Balāw (Ato)	80	8.12. 2014	Adet 02, district patriots office	A son of a patriot from Gošäya. He is an interesting informant concerning the occupation period and the post liberation period history of the district.
31	Leyāw Emru (Ato)	75	25.1.2015	Adét 02	He is a native of Adama. He excellently narrates about the traditional history of his area of origin
32	Menälä Tezazu (Ato)	76	23.8.1999	Gafat (Adét)	He is from Adét by origin. He narrates the cultural, political and economic history of the district comprehensively.
33	Mulu Wärqenäh (Agafari)	82	25.8.1999	Adét 02	A patriot who came from Méçha and settled at Erbereb in Adét as a guard of <i>Däjjazmač</i> Deräs since 1942.
34	Nuré Muhamad (Ato)	70	19. 6. 2015	Adet 02	Grandson of Nagadras Abdulqader Aman. He has much hearsay knowledge about the early history of the district. Highly knowledgeable.

35	Sentayähu Ayaléw (Ato)	63	28.8.1999	Adét 02	He was a native of Adét and long distance merchant and then owner of tea and mead rooms.
36	Taddäsä Endaläw (Ato)	88	26.8.1999	Buha Dängiya (Adama)	He was patriot and one of the leaders of the 1968 peasant rebellion in Damot. He had much knowledge on the Italian occupation period.
37	Tafärä Ejegu (Ato)	75	14.9.1999	Adét	He knew a great deal about the cultural and socio economic history of the district.
38	Tägäñña Ewnñtu (Mägabi)	75	14.9.1999	Adét.	He enjoyed the office of <i>Mägabi</i> at Adét on various occasions. He details about the socio economic events of the district well.
39	Täšomš Addis (Ato)	60	29.3.2000	Bahr Dar	He was an active participant of Yelmana Dénsa Development Association and later on in the Students' movement. Informative.
40	Täwabä Ayčäh (Ato)	80	26.5.2015	Adét 02	He is from Fatman. He has a detailed knowledge on the traditional as well as modern history of Yelmana Dénsa.
41	Tazäbäw Täräfä (Ato)	62	17.5.2015	Adet 02	He was a merchant and then a civil servant. He is knowledgeable on the post liberation period history of Yelmana Dénsa.
42	Ṭeru Wärqé (Wäyzäro)	75	15.9.1999	Adét 02	She was captured and stayed in the Italian camp together with her brother, Bitäw, during the occupation period, and had a fair knowledge about Italian authorities at Adét.
43	Yärom Alämu (Ato)	87	17.8.1999	Adét 02	He was a native of Adét who joined the Italian camp and had immense knowledge about them. He served as a policeman during the post liberation period. Very knowledgeable in genealogies.
44	Yäsuf Muhammad (Ato)	60	16.4.2015	Adét 02	He was a teacher for a long time. He knows much about the post liberation period.
45	Zälläqä Alläleññ (Ato)	70	30.8.1999	Wägd Marqos (Adét)	He was very knowledgeable on the cultural history of the district. He also had affair knowledge in genealogies and about post liberation period.

Glossary

- Abägaz*----- Administrative unit above a district in Gojjam during the period of *Ras* Emeru; military commander.
- Abba* ----- ‘father’ in horse names; a high ecclesiastical official.
- Afämämeher* ----- spokesperson of the *Mämeher* (head) of the church.
- Aläqa*----- head of the church; a highly learned religious man.
- Amsa Aläqa*----- a traditional military title equivalent to commander of the fifty.
- Asrat* ----- tithe.
- Aṭbiya Dañña* ----- local judge since 1947.
- Ato*----- a civil title equivalent to Mr.
- Awrajjä*----- sub province.
- Azaž*----- commander; a traditional title given to chief of Imperial court or governors of district.
- Azmač*----- a medieval period title given to military commanders.
- Balabbat*----- literally one who has a father; owner of ancestral land.
- Balambaras* ----- a traditional military title which literally means commander of the fortress.
- Banda*----- collaborator.
- Bitwäddäd*----- a high politico military title.
- Buda* ----- evil eye.
- Çhäwa*----- a collective name given in former times to soldiers with *gult* rights over peasants.
- Çheqa Šum*----- village chief empowered to collect tax during the imperial regime.
- Çesäñña*----- a rent free dependent on rest land owners; also called *Zéga* (dependents).

Däbetära----- literally “tabernacle”; an ecclesiastical title given to highly learned clerks, chorister.

Däga ----- a cold agro-climatic zone in high land areas.

Däjjazmač (Däjjjač) --- commander of the gate; a politico military title given to a military general or governor of a district, second only to *Ras*.

Endärasé----- in my place; local representative of a higher authority.

Ewes (Afärsata) ----- a traditional method of detecting thieves.

Fanno ----- heroes; patriots.

Fiñter ----- *drink* after doing business.

Fitawrari ---- commander of the vanguard; a traditional military title below *Däjjazmač*.

Gäbäya----- market place.

Gädam ----- monastery.

Ganägäb----- royal *gult* lands.

Gaša----- a unit of officially measured land equivalent to 40 hectares.

Gäbäz, Liqärä`d or Liqähe`ran---a secular administrator of a monastery.

Geber-----tribute; land tax.

Gemjabét-----treasury. Its head was called *Bäjerond* (treasurer)

Grazmač (Grač) ---- commander of the left flank; a politico military title below *Qäññazmač (Qäññac)*.

Gult----- non hereditary right to collect tribute from the *rest* land owners.

Gultä gaž----- *Gult* governors.

Hamsa Aläqa-----Sergeant.

Hudad-----estate; local or central state farm land.

Kahenat (sing. *Kahen*) ---clergy.

- Léba Edem*-----thief hunter.
- Lej*-----‘child’; title reserved for sons of the royal family and nobility.
- Ligaba*----- a chamberlain.
- Liqämäkwās*-----head of the minstrels.
- Liqä Kahenat* ----- superior of the clergy.
- Mähara*-----the generic name of feasts held in the church.
- Mämeher*----- the *Abba* (head) of a church.
- Märiḡéta*----- instructor; a religious title given to clergy who educate the liturgy.
- Mäšäta*----- an institution through which ladies earn their living by selling
local drinks.
- Mäṭen* ----- a public supply of *enjära* to local armies.
- Mäto Alläqa*----- a military title equivalent to lieutenant.
- Meketel*-----an administrative unit next to *meslasné* or *wäräda* (district).
- Mesläné*-----sub-district or sub-district governor prior to 1946.
- Madegga*-----a unit to measure weight equivalent to 35 kilos.
- Näḫ Läbaš*----- local militia.
- Näḡadras* -----head of a merchant caravan.
- Qäññazmač (Qäññäč)*--commander of the right flank; a politico military title below
Fitawrari.
- Qolla*----- a hot agro-climatic zone in low land areas.
- Qunna* ----- a unit or measurement which was used to collect land tax in the
early 20th century.
- Ras*----- head; a traditional title of a highest noble; governor second
only to the *Negus* (king).

Bitwäddäd equivalent to prime minister.

Restägult----- hereditary *gult*.

Serrit-----original (ancient) tenure arrangements of a plot of land.

Šefta----- bandit, rebel. ●

Täqelay -Gezat----- province between 1946-1974.

Wämbär ----- local judge before 1941.

Wäyna Däga----- moderate agro-climatic zone.

Yä gobäz Aläga----- village chief elected by the local people to maintain peace.

Yä sendé or *Yä Mäsqāl Mārét*---wheat or Cross land; church lands for the production of wheat.

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Acronyms

A A U	Addis Ababa University.
A M A	Adét Municipality Archive
B D U	Bahr Dar University.
D M U A R C	Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center.
E. C.	Ethiopian Calendar.
ESBU	Elementary School Building Unit.
HSIU	Haylä Sellasé I University
IDR	Institute of Developmental Research.
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies.
MFN	Manuscript File Number.
NALA	National Archive and Library Agency.
N. D.	No Date is given.
N. P	No Page is given.
W M T M A R C	Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Archive and Research Center.

[illegible]

Appendix IV

60.6 : 1.4 : 3.0 : 1.8 : 64.0 : 7.5 :

[illegible][illegible]

ለሐረግ ስራ ማጠቃለያ

[illegible]

Appendix IV

ନି.ନ : ଲ.ନ : ଅ.ନ : ମ.ନ : ପ.ନ : ସ.ନ :

[illegible]

ያሉ ኑ፡ ከፊጠኝ፡ ይፈቅዳሁኛም፡ ይሉተክነደኛችኋ፡ ጊዜህምን፡ ሁሉ፡ መጀ
 መሰረ፡ ሲያተቀላሉ፡ ይደናቅ፡ ገደም፡ ካላሆኑት፡ ካላመናሉት፡ ገደም፡ በቀረ፡
 ሂ፡ ጽሑ፡ ናላረ፡ ለሆኑም፡ ተኛላሉ፡ ከተኛሉ፡ በኋላ፡ ካላረኩት፡ ካደሙ፡ ይኖሩ
 በቀረ፡ ከጥቅሙ፡ ሁሉ፡ ጠይቁ፡ ከላሉት፡ ካደሙ፡ በቀረ፡ ቀረ፡ ይሉተክነደኛችኋ
 ናላረ

ከገሪጥጥ ጽፎ ግብር

[illegible]

ንሕነ ንጉሥ አድያም ሰገድ ወልደ ንጉሥ ነገሥት አእላፍ ሰገድ ዘበጸጋ
 እግዚአብሔር ተሰመይነ ኢያሱ፤ ሠራዕነ ወአዘዘነ ከመ ይኩን ለኪዳነ ምሕረት
 እንተ ሰመይናሃ ደብረ ዕንቁ፤ ከሉ ምድረ ቆለላ ወለዊዘሮ ሰብላ ወንጌልኒ ከመ
 ይኩን ለውሉዶሙ፤ ወምድረ ሕናጮችሂ ወሰክነ ምስለ ጉልትሂ ዘሀለወ በጉግም
 ከመ ይኩን ለመፍቅደ ቤተ ክርስቲያን፤ ወበዝንቱ ጊዜ ዘነበሩ፤ ስዩማነ ንጉሥ፤
 እራስ ፋሬስ ወዓቃቤ እሳት (sic) ዘመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤ ወብላቱን ጌታ ዮሐንስ፤ ዕራቅ
 ማሰሬ ዘመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤ ጽራግ ማሰሬ ከሮስ፤ ወሊቄ ማእምራን ማሞ ወቄስ ሐዪ
 ወልደ ሃይማኖት፤ ወጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ሐዋርያ ክርስቶስ ወቄርሎስ፤ ወአዛዦች አዛዦ
 ዘመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤ ወአዛዦ አሞኒ፤ ሊቃውንትሂ ሊቄ ማሞ፤ ወሊቄ ዝክሮ፤
 ከመኒ ኢይንሥቱ ዘመጽኡ እምድግሬነ ሕንፃ ዝንቱ ትእዛዝነ አውዝኡ አባ ዮሐንስ፤
 ወይኩን ውጉዝ ወምቱረ እምአባላ ቤተ ክርስቲያን በአፈ አብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ
 ቅዱስ፤ ወበአፈ ደወጃ ሐዋርያት፤ ደወጃ አርድእት፤ ወበአፈ አበው ርቱዓነ ሃይማ
 ኖት ፫፻፲፱ እለ ተጋብኡ በኒ ቅያ፤ ወ፪፻ እለ በኤፌሶን፤ ፻፱፻ በቂስጥንጥንያ፤
 ወአልቦ ዘይክል ፈቲሆተ ዛቲ ግዘት እለ ይትነሥኡ በተዋልጦ እዝማን፤ ወጽሕፈ
 ቶንሂ ከመ አይፍሐቅ፤ እመሂ ንጉሥ ወእመሂ ንግሥት እመሂ ጳጳስ አው ኤጲስ
 ቆጶስ፤ ወቀሲሰሂ፤ እስከ ፍጻሜሃ ለዓለም፤ አጽሐፍነ ዘንተ ውስተ ከሉ አድግ
 ራተ መጻሕፍት ከመ ይኩን ስምዓ፤ ለዘይመጽእ ትውልድ፤ ለዓለመ ዓለም።

Translation of the Land Charter of Iyasu I

We Adyam Säḡäd, the son of Emperor A'elaf-Säḡäd, who by the grace of God are called Iyasu, have instituted and ordered that the land of Qolela, all that was in the hands of *wizäro Säblä Wängel*, be for [the church of] Our Lady of Mercy, which we have named *Däbrä-Enqu*, and we have added to her the land of the *Henachoch*; and we also ordered that no one undermines the foundation of this our order, whoever may he be that reigns after us. Thus excommunicated with their mouth the bishop *Abunä Sinoda*, the *echague* *Abba Yohannes*, and many abbots of the Church, because of their steadfast love for Our Lady of Mercy which is *Däbrä-Enqu*, and that the lands may be *medrä mäsqäl* from this time on [being present as witnesses] *ras Farés*, *belatén géta Yohannes*, *eraq masäré Zämänfäs Qedus* and *aqabé se'at Zämänfäs-Qedus*, and *serag masäré Kiros* and *liqä mämeheran Mämo*, and the *qés hasé Wäldä-Haymanot*; and the *sähafé te'ezaz Hawarya-Krestos* and *Qerlos*, and the *turq azaj Zämänfäs-Qedus*, *azaj Amoni*, *liqä Mämo*, and *liqä Zekro*. We have caused this charter to be written in the books of all the monasteries that this may be a witness to the coming generation. Forever amen.

Whoever steals this book or erases and destroys the charter of this monastery may he be excommunicated, be he king or queen, by the power of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the power of the Apostles and by the power of Peter and Paul. (Ibid., f. 16b.)

Appendix II

Emperor Menelik's letter to *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäšša Atikäm ordering to collect the state *asrat* and tribute in honey from territories including Yelmana Dénsa, dated *Genbot* 23, 1900 E. C. [May 31, 1908]

እግዚዓብሔር በቸርነቱ በደህና ቢያከርመን ከዚህ ወዲያ የመጣን እንደሆን
እንዳይቸግረን ይልማና ዴንሳ ካመዳሚት ወዲህ ያለ አገር የአስራቱን እህል
ማሩንም እንዳይነካ አጠራቅመህ እንዲቆይ ይሁን፡፡ከዚህ ቀደምም ልኬብሀለሁ፡፡

If God in His Grace allows us to pass through this season in good, we may come to [you]. Hence, let the *asrat* (tithe) and the tributes in honey of the country from Yelmana Dénsa [and] Amädamit be stored for us so that we will face no problem [of provision]. I have sent you before....

Source: Pawlos Ñoñño. *Aṣé Menylek BāHagär Wesṣ Yätäṭaṭafwačäw Däbdabéwäč*. Addis Ababa: Aster Näga Publisher, 2003 E.C. p. 407. This letter was written at Enṭotto.

Appendix III

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Appendix VI



[65] Christ bearing His Cross, and Christ before Pilate. This painting, which was executed in 1929 at Addiet, in the north of Gojjam, was brought to France by the Mission Griaule. In accordance with an Ethiopian practice which is fairly commonly observed, the 'virtuous' are depicted full-face and the 'wicked' in profile. (Photo Musée de l'Homme)

Source: Jean Doresse, *Ethiopia: Ancient Sites and Temples*, 1969

16ኛ፤ ጥዚያም፡ ድህረ ወደወረዘ፤ ሲሸገረ ያቀጥሏል
 ጥቅ፤ ደረሰ፤ ያመራ፤ ሠራዊት፤ በሀገር ይጓዣል፤ ካይ፤ ገጽጽ
 ያለ፤ ሰዎች ሲጻፉት ~~፤~~ 47፤ ሰዎች፤ ከቀጠሉት
 3፤ ሠራተኛዎች፤ ጠላቶች፤ ጠላቶች
 ጥዚያም፤ አምላክ፤ ሲሸገረ፤ ከያዘረ፤ ድህረ ወደወረዘ
 3፤ ሲሸገረ፤ ያተረፈ፤ አምላክ፤ ካይ፤ ገጽጽ
 ጥዚያም፤ ገብቷል፤ ጥዚያም፤ ወገን፤ ጥዚያም፤
 ሲሸገረ፤ 4፤ ጥዚያም፤ ጥዚያም፤ ጥዚያም፤
 ጥዚያም፤ ጥዚያም፤ ጥዚያም፤ ጥዚያም፤

[illegible]

Source: NALA, Fol. m. b. w. 63-1, File, 47-07

Appendix IX

42

[illegible]

844097: 1037 6: 15 00 16



Appendix X III



ኢትዮጵያ፡ጳጳሪ፡ወደ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ትዘረጋጉ፡

ቀዳማዊ፡ጌሉ፡ሠናቤ፡

ሠዋዕተ: እግዚአብሔር: ንኑሠ: ነገሠት: ዘኢትዮጵያ:

λ φ χ

၈၇၆၉၉၀ : ကံကောင်း ::

እውነተኛነትን፡ ቃሉም፡ የማይታገድ፡ መሆኑን፡ ታውቃላሁ፡፡ በሌላ ጊዜ
የጥፋት ሳይ፡ የምትገኝበት፡ ጊዜ፡ ይረዳል፡፡

ይኸው፡ ጳጉሜዬ፡ ታካሪ፡ ጳጉላዝ፡ እርዳታዋ፡ ልታደርግልን፡ ነው፡፡ ሐሰ
ዚህ፡ በታዕግሥት፡ ጠብቁ፡፡ ያይካኝንም፡ ከሚመጣው፡ ነገረምት፡ በፊት፡ ታይታኝሁ፡፡
እሱግሁን፡ ደረሰ፡ በደግሽት፡ ሊመራቸው፡ የቀየው፡ ደጃዝማቹ፡ መንገሻ፡ ጀምበሬን፡ ለሁ
ን፡ ለጊዜው ራሱ፡ ገለጸ፡ ሉመነዋል፡፡ እግሪ ያዩኝም፡ ድል፡ ነደረግን፡ በኋላ፡ ዘውድ፡
ሰጥተን፡ በሙሉ፡ ጉዳም፡ ሳይ፡ እናነግሠዋለን፡፡

ኢትዮጵያ፡ በነፃነት፡ ለዘላለም፡ ትኑር፡፡

ታካቂቱ ብሪታኒያ ለዘላለም ትረር።

ከዚህ በፊት ሆኖ የታዘበውን ጥያቄ ይመለከታል፡፡



Ф. 322 к 1 л. 108. 37.

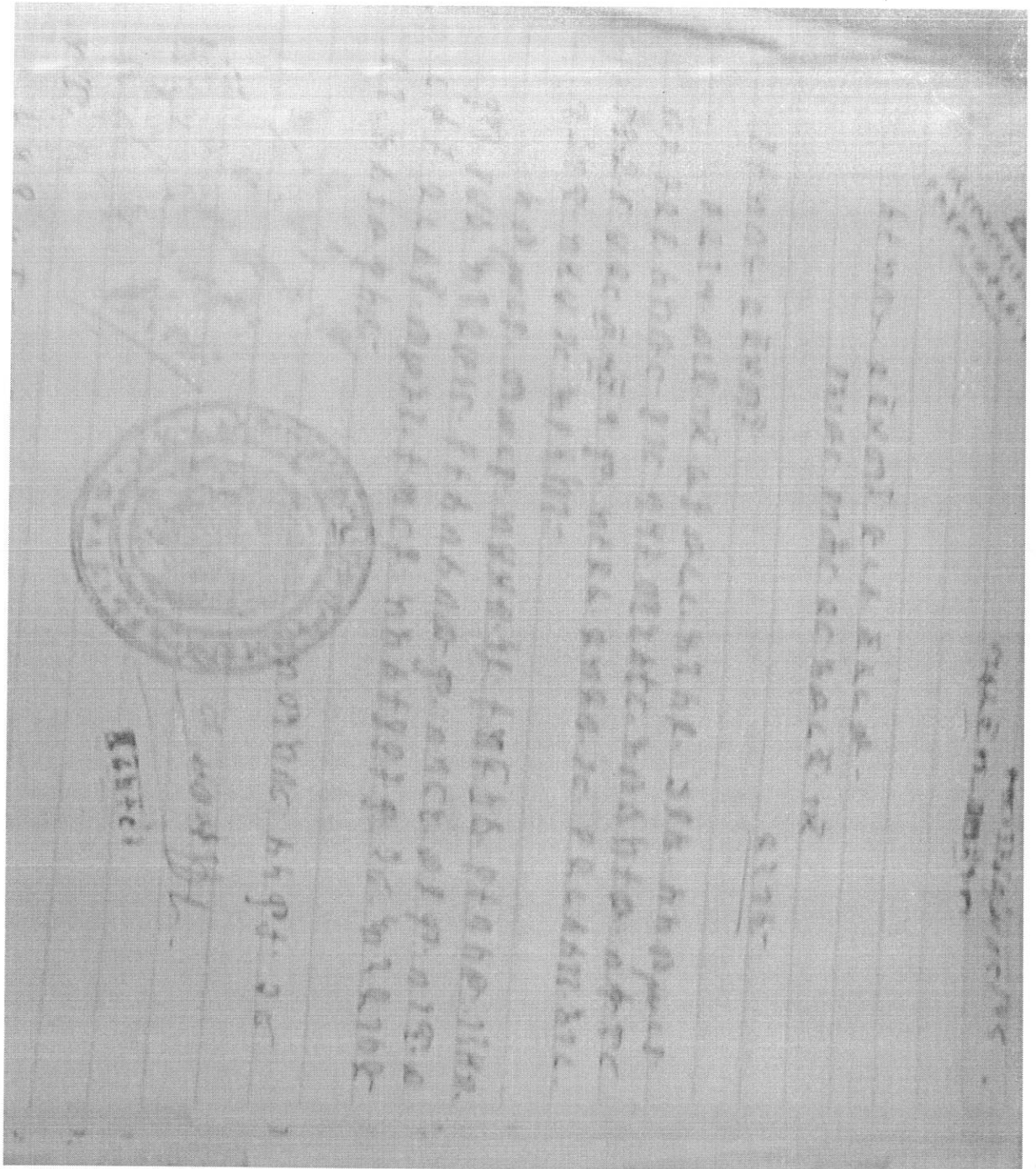
Appendix XIV

List of the District Governors of Yelmana Dénsa and their Secretaries

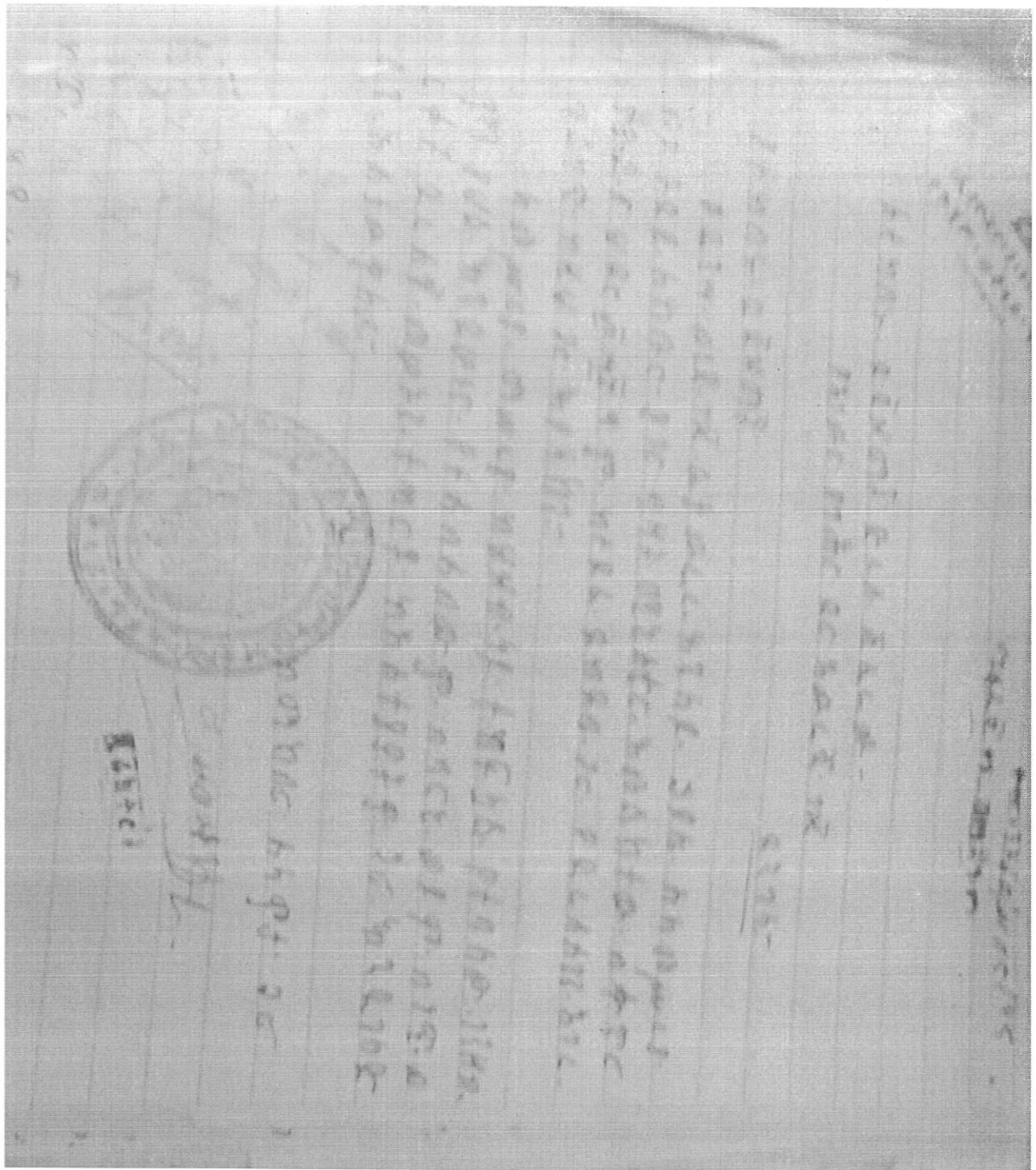
No	Name district governor	Salary Eth. \$ <i>Berr</i>	Name of secretaries	Salary Eth. \$ <i>Berr</i>	Remark
1	<i>Däjjazmač</i> Deräs Šefäraw (r.1941-42)	?	?	?	
2	<i>Däjjac</i> Abära Yemam (r.1942-1943)	?	?	?	
3	<i>Däjjazmač</i> Deräs Šefäraw (r. 1943-51)	200. 00	<i>Ato</i> Tayä Dästa (1943-1951)	50. 00	
4	<i>Fitawrari</i> (later, <i>Däjjazmač</i>) Anläy Haylé (r.1951-1963)	100. 00	<i>Ato</i> Yesayas Negusé (1951-1952) <i>Ato</i> Tayä Dästa (1952-1960) <i>Lej</i> Mängäša Kassa (1960-1964)	50. 00 50. 00 50. 00	
5	<i>Fitawrari</i> Eyasu Zälläqä (r.1965-1967)	100. 00	<i>Lej</i> Mängäša Kassa (1965-1967)	50. 00	
6	<i>Däjjac</i> Anläy Haylé (r.1967-1968)	100. 00	<i>Lej</i> Mängäša Kassa (1967-1968)	50. 00	
7	<i>Fitawrari</i> Admasu Gugsa (r. 1964 and April- August 1968)	100. 00	<i>Ato</i> Adamu Dämeläw (1968)	50. 00	
8	<i>Fitawrari</i> Kälkay Abäša (r.1968-1974)	100. 00	<i>Ato</i> Adamu Dämeläw (1968-1969) <i>Ato</i> Aläbačäw Țasäw (1970-72) <i>Balambaras</i> Mängäša Kassa (1972-1974)	50. 00 50. 00 50. 00	

Source: Gojjam Täqlay Gezat Yä Šumament Ena Särätäññoč Zerzer Mäzagebt of 1940-1957 E.C., Folder No, 00605, No file number. ; A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awraja* Administration Office to Yelmana Dénsa district Administration office, Date Hamlé 18, 1956 E.C. Adét Municipality Archive, Folder No. 01 1-50; File No. 01-4. ; Informants: Çhané Enyāw, Fatana Enyaw, Ləggäsä Qalu, Təwabä Ayčäh and Aläbačäw Wagaw.

Appendix XV



Appendix XV



Appendix XVI

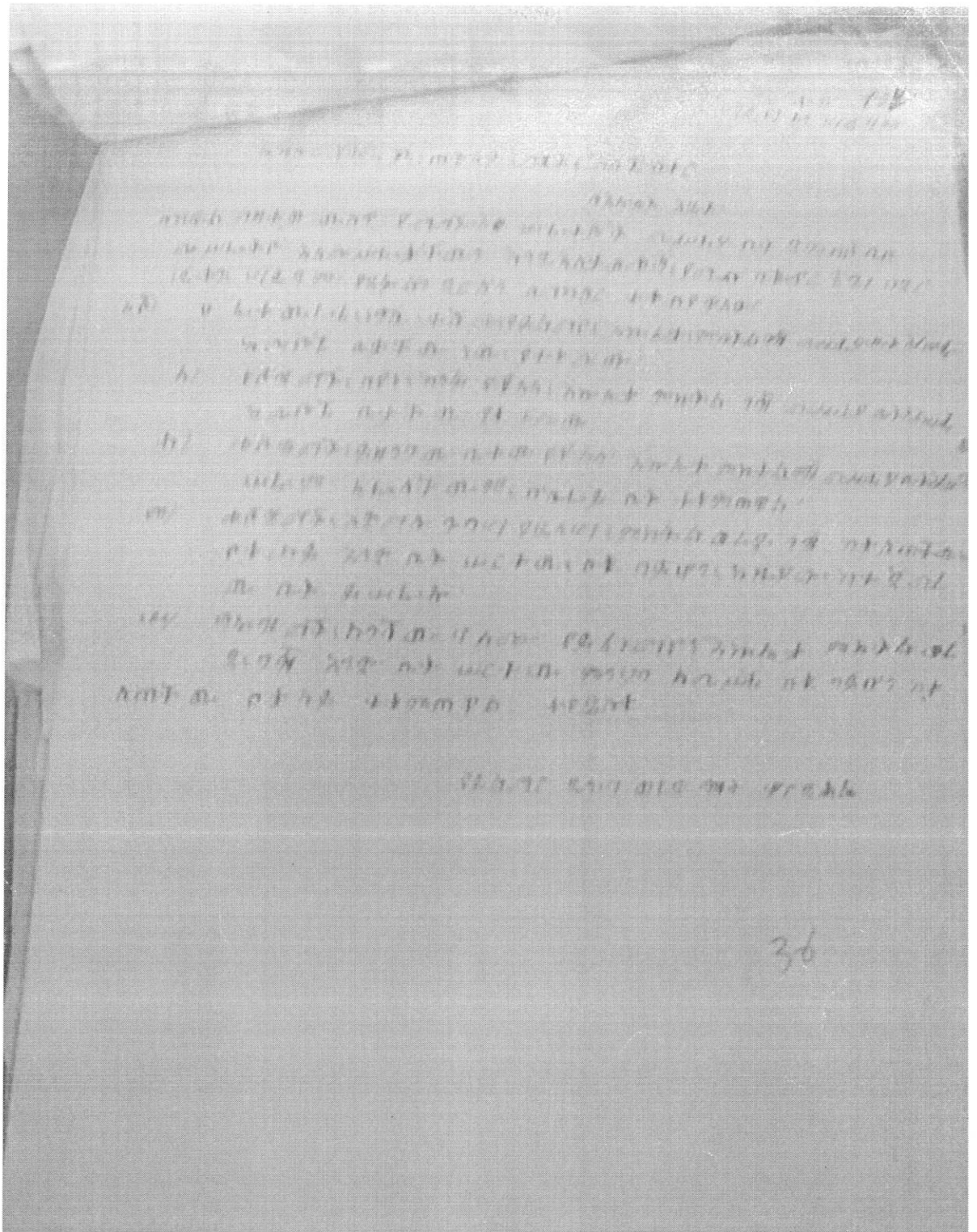
List of Sub Districts of the district of Yelmana Dénsa and their Governors and Secretaries, 1947-1974

No	Names of the Sub district & its Center	Governors	Secretaries
1	Dénsa = Šeggáz Eyäsus	1. <i>Qäññač</i> Admasu Gugsä (1941-52) 2. <i>Qäññač</i> Mängestu Täsämma (1952-64) 3. <i>Fitawrari</i> Nägaš Täšomä 4. <i>Lej</i> Taddäsä Fänta	1. <i>Ato</i> Tafärä Dästa. 2. <i>Ato</i> Sälämon Dästa (since 1960)
2	Wätäbät (Yä Yelmana Ekuléta) = Wänčhär Giyorgis	1. <i>Qäññač</i> Tayä Sebhatu (1941-47) 2. <i>Gerac</i> Senšaw Alämu (1948-60) 3. <i>Balambaras</i> Mängäša Kassa (1960s)	<i>Ato</i> Mängesté Täsfayä
3	Agetta (Yä Yelmana Ekuléta) =Agetta Eyäsus	1. <i>Fitawrari</i> Nägaš Täšomä (1942-50) 2. <i>Qäññač</i> Mängestu Täsämma (1950-53) 3. <i>Qäññač</i> Admasu Gugsä (1953-60) 4. <i>Qäññač</i> Kassé Mandäfro (1960s)	1. <i>Qäññač</i> Mängestu Tayä 2. <i>Ato</i> Mängestu Täsämma 3. <i>Qäññač</i> Tafärä Täšomä (1943-66)
4	Qollälla = Korré	1. <i>Qäññač</i> Yezängaw Bitäw (to 1950) 2. <i>Qäññač</i> Damté Šebäš (1950-60) 3. <i>Qäññač</i> Bāyānā Kenfu (1961-65) 4. <i>Ato</i> Mängesté Täsfayä (1965-74)	1. <i>Ato</i> Admasu Amära 2. <i>Ato</i> Mäläsä Amära 3. <i>Ato</i> Adämä Ayana
5	Dängäl (Yä Qollälla Ekuléta) = Mändär Qedus Mika'el	1. <i>Qäññač</i> Bāyānā Kenfu (1941-60) 2. <i>Gerac</i> Damté Šebäš (1960-65) 3. <i>Ato</i> Admasu Amära (1965-66) 4. <i>Qäññač</i> Tafärä Täšomä (1966-74)	1. <i>Ato</i> Alämu Käbbädä 2. <i>Ato</i> Mäkonän Bälāy 3. <i>Ato</i> Adamu Ayana 4. <i>Ato</i> Admasu Amära 5. <i>Liqarad</i> Mulualām Kidanu

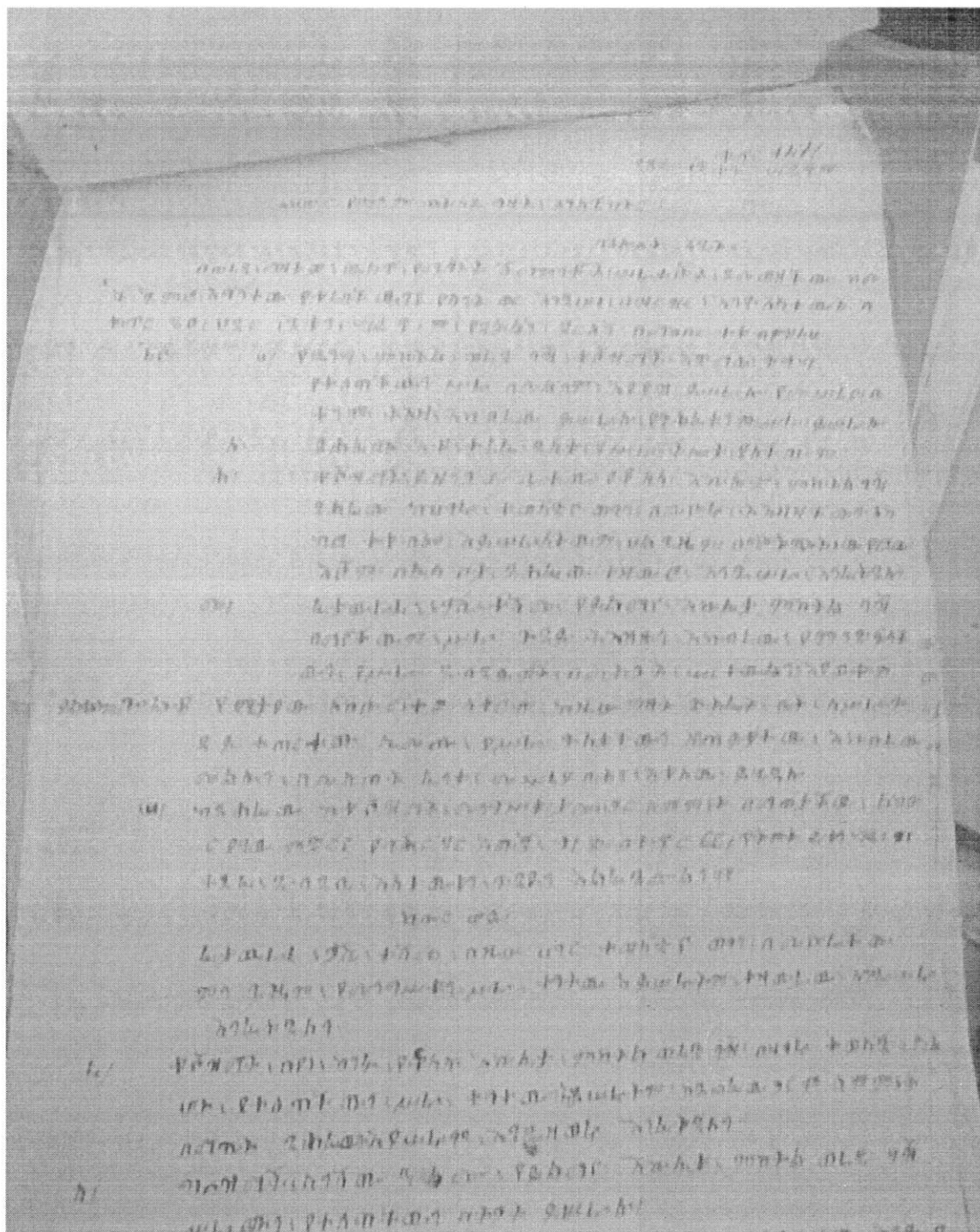
- N: B. 1. The monasteries of Adét Mädhane Alām and Däbrä Mawi Maryam were "autonomous" and ruled by their succeeding Gäbäzes and Liqärädes .
2. The monthly salary of sub district governors was uniformly Eth. \$ 40. 00 and their secretaries received Eth.\$ 25.00 throughout the period.
3. The sub districts of Gänj, Yewodi, Lej Ambära and Zägé Medrä Bäd were also parts of Yelmana Dénsa before 1947 under the governor ship of Fitawraris Tädla Yemär, Zägäyā, Berelé, Bayabel Adgäh and Ambaw Gäbrä Mädhēn. Their secretaries were respectively Atos Taddäsä Täsfayä, Käbbädä Bälāy, Qäññač Täfära Täšomä and Ato Bälāy Ambaw.

Source: Gojjam Täqlay Gezat Yä Šumament Ena Säratäññoč Zerzer Mäzagebt of 1940-1957 E.C., Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center, Folder No, 00605, No file number; Informants: Čhané Enyāw, Fatana Enyaw, Täwabä Ayčäh and Aläbačäw Wagaw. Organization is mine.

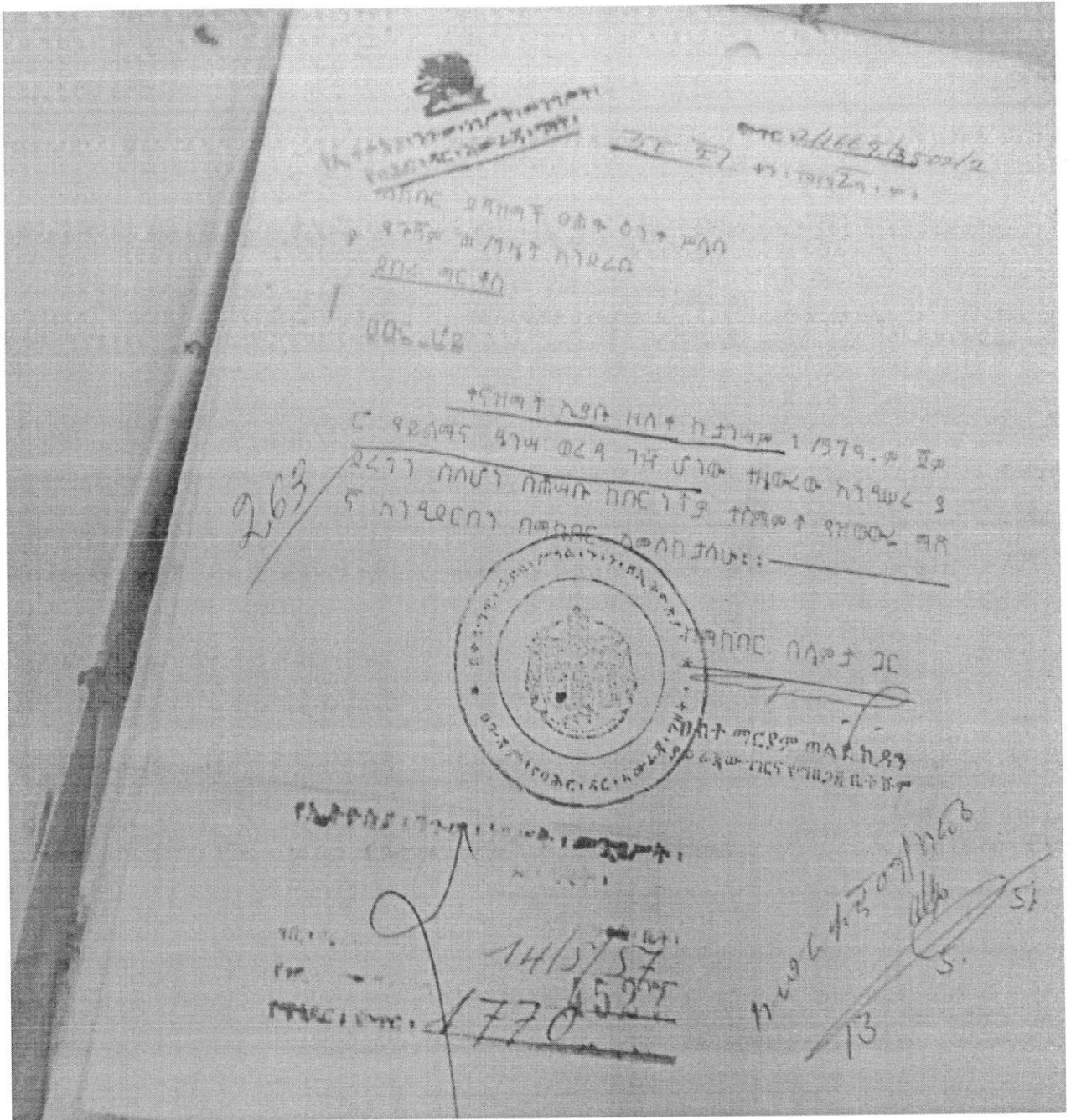
Appendix XVII



Appendix XVIII



Appedix *XIX*



[illegible]

Appendix XX II

A List of Some of the Nāçh Lābašes of Yelmana Dénsa from 1963-1974

No	Name of the Nāçh Lābaš	Locality and Sub-District	Remark
1	<i>Amsa Alāqa</i> Abatā Gässässä	Konč -----Dénsa	District representative
2	<i>Amsa Alāqa</i> Mandāfro Tāsfayä	Dabezit/Şeyon ---- Dénsa	Representative of Dénsa Sub district
3	<i>Aser Alāqa</i> Tāfāra Alāmu	Şeyon ----- Dénsa	
4	<i>Aser Alāqa</i> Dāmesé Māngestu	Gubé ----- Dénsa	
5	<i>Şambäl</i> Admasé Enyāw	Keflo Bahr ----- Dénsa	
6	<i>Ato</i> Şarāw Awāqä	Yezora ----- Dénsa	
7	<i>Ato</i> Şefāraw Kassa	Yezora ----- Dénsa	
8	<i>Ato</i> Atnafu Tafāra	Konč ----- Dénsa	
9	<i>Ato</i> Anbälé Zārihun	Şeyon ----- Dénsa	
10	<i>Ato</i> Gété Bitāw	Sābāsela ----- Dénsa	
11	<i>Ato</i> Mulualām Berru	Fatman ----- Dénsa	
12	<i>Ato</i> Antānāh Alāmayāhu	Dābrā Mawī ---- Dénsa	
13	<i>Ato</i> Biyazné Ejegu	Adét ----- Dénsa	
14	<i>Ato</i> Tafārä Adama	Dābrā Sālam --- Dénsa	
15	<i>Ato</i> Kābbādä Bayh	Guta ----- Dénsa	
16	<i>Ato</i> Tāsfa Negatu	Dābrā Mawī ---- Dénsa	
17	<i>Amsa Alāqa</i> Mulugeta Admasu	Ayqāţubba ---- Yelmana /Agetta	Representative of Yelmana sub district
18	<i>Aser Alāqa</i> Chané Asfaw	Angar ----- Yelmana	
19	<i>Ato</i> Asmamaw Fānté	Agetta ----- Yelmana	
20	<i>Ato</i> Gādamu	Angar ----- Yelmana	
21	<i>Ato</i> Alābāl Tayä	Adét Hanna ---- Yelmana	
22	<i>Amsa Alāqa</i> Kassa Bāzabeh	Şäbba ----- Dāngäl	Representative of Dāngäl sub district
23	<i>Ato</i> Şebāš Māngestu	Şäbba ----- Dāngäl	
24	<i>Ato</i> Lemāneh Dästa	Şäwa Şeyon ---- Dāngäl	
25	<i>Ato</i> Daññāw Denbāru	Şäwa Şeyon ---- Dāngäl	
26	<i>Ato</i> Takälä Kābbādä	Ṭankeré ----- Dāngäl	
27	<i>Ato</i> Anbālu Dästa	Şäbba ----- Dāngäl	
28	<i>Ato</i> Chané Mäkonnen	Wānbär ----- Dāngäl	
29	<i>Aser Alāqa</i> Daññāw Wäldä Egzer	Qollälla ----- Qollälla	Representative of Qollälla Sub district
30	<i>Ato</i> Asfaw Zälläqä	Korré ----- Qollälla	
31	<i>Ato</i> Bantyerger Kassa	Qollälla ----- Qollälla	
32	<i>Ato</i> Kassé Bāyānä	Gonji ----- Qollälla	
33	<i>Ato</i> Daññāw Zälläqä	Yenāç ----- Qollälla	

Source: Informants: Admasé Enyāw, Daññāw Taddäsä, Tāwabä Ayçäh, Biyazné Ejegu and Eskäziya Addam. Organization is mine.

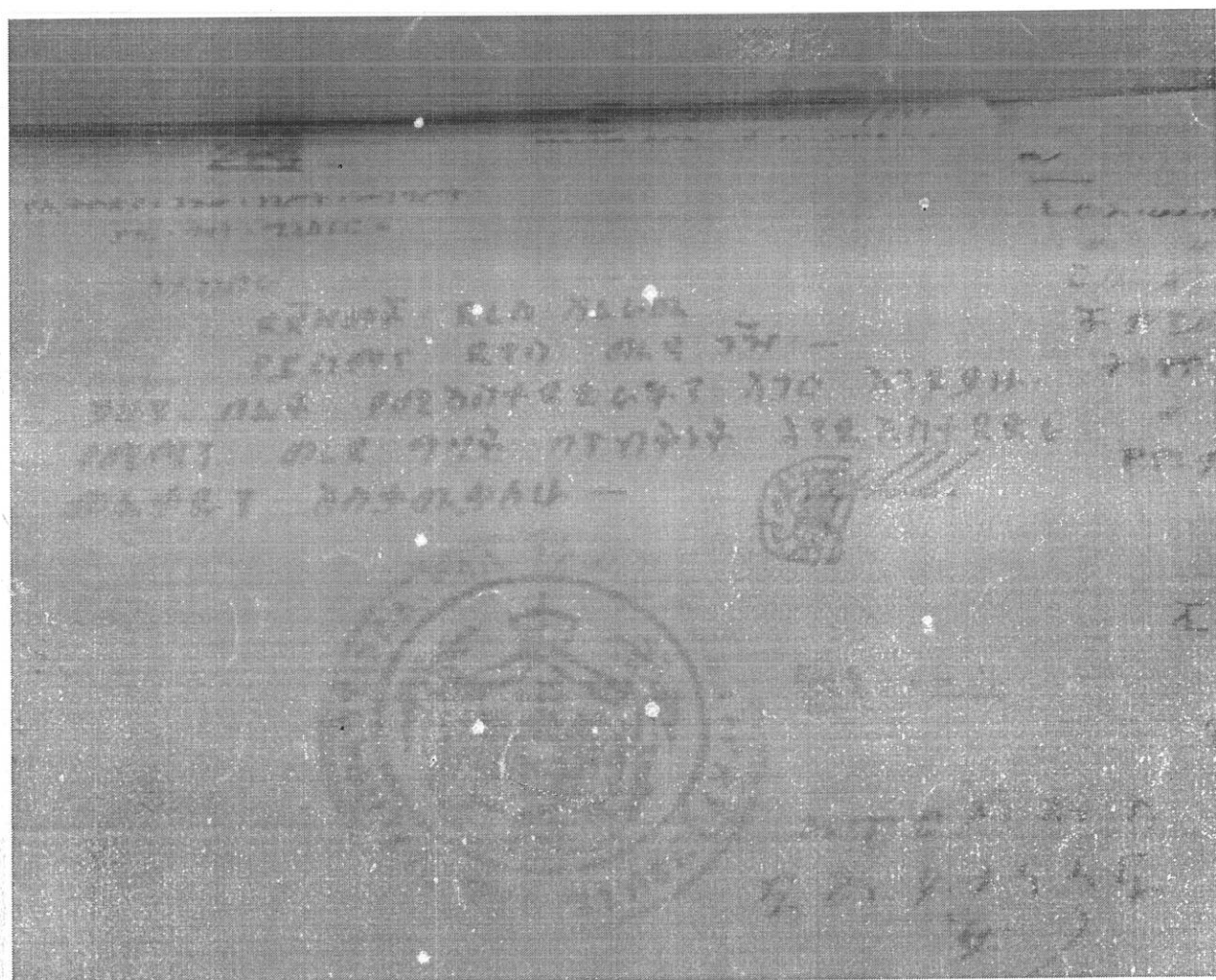
Appendix *XXII*

A List of Some of the Gult Areas of Yelmana Dénša, 1947-74

No	Name of the parish	Amount of tribute in <i>Berr</i>	Name of the <i>Gultä gäz</i>	Amount of <i>Siso Abäl</i> (share) of the <i>Gultä gäz</i>	Remark
1	Yedawré	104.00	<i>W/ro</i> Azaläč Därsolēññ	34.00	
2	Dangiya Bét	63.00		21	
3	Gina Kidanä Mehrät	34.00	<i>W/ro</i> Yalämnäs Täfära	11.33	
4	Kebäb Mariyam	70.00	<i>Gerac</i> Senšaw & Mäkönnän Kassa	23.33	
5	Ambatna	56.00	<i>W/ro</i> Laqäč Sebhatu	18.66	
6	Gubé Qedus Mika'él	32.00	<i>Agafari</i> Berelé	10.66	
7	Yezora	60.00	Yäwognäš, Kendé and Alämu Adal	20.00	
8	Aybar	90.00	Semäññ Wubé	30.00	
9	Dabal	-----	-----	-----	<i>Yä Bétä Kehnät</i>
10	Sänqäñña	40.00	Teruworq Yemam	13.00	
11	MosoboTäklä Haymanot	63.00	<i>W/ro</i> Täyāqu & <i>W/ro</i> Alämsahay	21.00	
12	Mehella		Märgéta Akalu & Mängestu		<i>Yä Bétä Kehnät</i>
13	Agetta		<i>Qäññač</i> Gétahun W/ Mariyam		>> >>
14	Yenaç Abbo	209.00	<i>Ato</i> Bälay Zäläqa, <i>W/ro</i> Ayälu and <i>Ato</i> Mäläsä	69.66	
15	Yenaç Maryam	338.00	>> >> >>	112.92	
16	Gurjbar Maryam	242.00	<i>Ato</i> Mängestu Wärqé	80.66	
17	Abiy Şeyon	104.00	<i>Fitawrari</i> Tädla Ayälä	34.66	
18	Korré	201.00	<i>Gerač</i> Haylu Yemär	67.00	
19	Deguṭit	50.00	<i>Däjjäč</i> Deräs Şefäraw	16.66	
20	Debbuč	42.00	>> >> >>	14.00	
21	Gendaṭāmām	89.00	>> >> >>	29.78	
22	Sifaṭra	50.00	>> >> >>	16.66	

Source: “Gojjam: Yä Gultä Gäzewoč Bäjät Zerzer”, Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center, Folder Number, 0020, File Number 75.

Appendix XXIV



Appendix XXIV

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት፤

የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር።



ቁጥር 21/50

ህግ-መንግ

ከማናቸውም ገቢ ሊላካለበት ግብር ውሳኔ ማስታወቂያ

፩

በቁጥር 255/1960 ዓ. ም. ከማናቸውም ገቢ ግብር ለማስከፈል በ27ኛ ዓመት
ቁጥር 4 በወጣው ማሻሻያ አዋጅ መሠረት፤ በሠንጠረዥ 01/5226 በተመለከተው
ከተው ክፍል ተመድቦ የኢት. ፡ 1-50 እንዲከፍሉ ተወስኗል። ይህንኑ ግብር
በአስቸኳይ ገቢ እንዲያደርጉ እናስታውቃለን።

የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር

የገቢ ባለሥልጣን

ህይለማርያም

Appendix XXVI

የአዲሱ መዝላጃ ቤት በገጠናው ውስጥ በሚገኙት የሚኖሩት
ጠቅላላ ህጻናት

47432.

መስዛሊም ከ ቀን ሦስት ዓ.ም.

አገቡረ. የኮጃም. ጠቅላይ. ግዛት. ጽ. ቤት.

Q. 89.

של ה'תרנ"ז

በክ. 1894 ዓ.ም. ተመርጠው ይሠሩ የነበሩት መመዝገቢያዎች ሕዝቡ ጳጳሪያው ላይ ሆኖ
 ዓ.ም. ድረስ ሠርተው በዓመቱ የሆነውን ሥራ የመገለጽ ራጅና በፀገደው ሕዝቡ ሆኖ
 ሁከት ገደብ አገደው ግዛቱ መፈረሰውን ሕዝቡ አጠቅኑ ግዛቱ ሕዝቡ በመዘጋጃ ቤት ሕዝቡን ተደርጎ
 ሕዝቡ መሰጠረም በግ. 1893 ዓ.ም. ድረስ የመዘጋጃ ቤቱን ገደብ ወጪው አገዛዝ ሆኖ የሥራ
 ወጪው የሥራ ወጪው የገዛው ወጪው የመዘጋጃ ሕዝቡ ተደርጎ የሠራው ሕዝቡን ሕዝቡ
 የመዘጋጃ ሕዝቡን የገዛው ግዛቱ መፈረሰውን በቀጥታ የሠራው ሕዝቡ ሕዝቡ በተደረገው መደብ
 በግዛቱ ቀደም አገዛዝ ሆኖ በደንብ ተመርጠው የሠራው መመዝገቢያዎች
 የሆኑ ምዝገባዎች የሕዝቡ መዘጋጃ ቤት የቆመ በግዛቱ ዓ.ም. በክሊሱ ሥራ ወጪው በደንብ
 ተደርጎ የሠራው መመዝገቢያዎች በመሆኑ ሆኖ

[illegible]

፪, 914946 ዓ.ም. ከመስከረም 8 ኅሳብ 2783.፫ ቀን የተሠራው ጠቅላላ ንብረት
በ፩ ዝ/ሣ.ሁሉም ስህተት መቼት አምሳ ዘጠኝ ብሎ ከዜጎች አንዱ ሃገራዊ ጥያቄ ነው፡፡

፤ ወጭ: \$1020. ሰድ. 725. ሃ፡. ረፋ፡. ፲፭ሄ. ፻፶. ሰድ: 7፻፶. አመሰሉ. ሃ፡፡፶፬
ገ፡. ፡፶፱.

፬) ከወጥቶ ቀሪ ደ 1738 እንደገና የሚሰጥ መቶ በሥነ ስምዖን፡ ብሉ፡ ነገሪ ስጦታ
በቀላሉ ሃገራዊ፡ ብቻ መሆኑን፡ በህጋዊነት፡ ይህ ከወጥቶ ቀሪ የሚሰጥ ስምዖን፡ ብሉ፡
ደ 1738 ስምዖን፡ ብሉ፡ ነገሪ ስጦታ በሥነ ስምዖን፡ ብሉ፡ ነገሪ ስጦታ በሥነ ስምዖን፡ ብሉ፡ ነገሪ ስጦታ

[illegible]

የሰነዱ ዓላማ ማረጋገጫ ቤት ማድረግ.

Appendix XXVII

የይልማና : ዴንግ : ወረዳ : ግዛት :

ሕዝብ : በበገጡ : ፈቃዱ : ትምህርት : ቤት :

Nº 06997

ለማሠራት : ያደረገው : አስተዋፅዖ :

አዴት : 1. ህፃን ሀይለማርያም

ቀን : 10/12/67 ዓ. ም.

ተከፋ : ግ/ተማሪ ቤት 695/62

የከፋይ : ስም : ፍጥረት ሀይለማርያም

የገንዘብ : ልክ : በአኃዝ : 8 ብር : ሣንቲም

የገንዘብ : ልክ : በፊደል : ሀገራዊ

የጸሐፊ : ፊርማ :

የገንዘብ : ያዥ : ፊርማ :

ገገረ ሀይለማርያም

“መማር፤ መሥራት፤ መትጋት፤ የገንዘብ : ዋና : መሠረት : ነው። ስለዚህ : ኢትዮጵያዊ : የሆነ : ህጉ : ልጅህን : ባጠገብህ : ባለው : ተማሪ : ቤት : አስተምር። ልጄን : ያላስተማረ : ራሱን : እንደመግደል : ያስቈጥራል” ። ቀ. ኃ. ሥ. መስከረም : ፳፱ : ቀን : 10/12/67 ዓ. ም.

ሴ. ሀ.



Nº 12966

የዝርዝር : ገቢ : ደረሰኝ :

የከፋይ : ስም : ከነአባቱ

አውራጃው : በሐገ ጃር

ወረዳው : ደገማ ምዕራባ

ም/ወረዳው : ደገማ

ደብሩ : ሀገራዊ

ሥራው : ጽሑፍ

የከፈለበት : ምክንያት : ለደገማ ምዕራባ ወረዳ : ልማት : መዋጮ

የገንዘብ : ልክ : \$ 7 ሰባት : ብር :

ወር : ፋህረሐይ

ቀን : 10/12/67 ዓ. ም.

የጸሐፊ : ፊርማ :

የገንዘብ : ተቀባይ : ፊርማ :

ዘሐንድ አብነት

ግዴ : ግ/ተማሪ ቤት 10237

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources material used have been dully acknowledged.

Name

Geremew Eskezia Addam

Signature



Place

Addis Ababa University

Date of Submission

September 2015