



**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIS**

**Department of History and Heritage Management**

**A HISTORY OF ADET TOWN FROM ITS FOUADATION UP TO 1991**

**BY**

**MIHIRET AYELE**

**Advisor: GenzebAtalay (RP)**

**November: 2022**

**DEBRE BERHAN: ETHIOPIA**

**DEBRE BERHAN UNIVERSITY**

**SSCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE  
MANAGEMENT**

**A HISTORY OF ADET TOWN FROM ITS FOUNDATION  
UP TO 1991**

**BY**

**MIHIRET AYELE**

**ADVISOR: Genzeb Atalay (RP)**

**A ThESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE  
STUDIES OF DEBRE BERHA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY AND HERITAGE  
MANAGEMENT.**

**November: 2022**

Debre Berhan University

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Mihiret Ayele entitled: The History of Aét towm(west Gojjam, Ethiopa) and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of History and heritage management compiles with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality;

Signed by the Examining Committee

Examiner-----Signature-----Date-----

Examiner-----Signature-----Date-----

Advisor-----

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgement.....	III
List of figures .....	III
Key to the Translation Systems .....	V
Preface .....	VI
Abstract.....	VIII
UNIT ONE .....	1
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1. Background for the Rise of Urbanization in Ethiopia.....	1
1.2. Early Foundation of Adét Town .....	5
1.2.1. Geographical Location .....	5
1.2.2. Establishment of the town of Adét.....	8
1.3. Adét and its environs to the beginning of 17 <sup>th</sup> century.....	8
1.3.1. The Predominance of the Oromo and the Emergence of Yelemana Dénsa as A Distinct Administrative Unit: c.1700-c.1770s .....	17
UNIT TWO .....	29
Adét Town from 1901-1936 .....	29
2.1. Administrative setting of Adét town During the Period of <i>Ras</i> Haylu Täklä Haymanot: 1901-1932.....	29
2.2. Taxation and Other Tributes of <i>Ras</i> Haylu in Adét: 1901-1932 .....	39
2.3 The Socio-Economic Condition of Adét: 1901-1936.....	42
2.3. 1. Land Tenure .....	43
2.3. 2. The Development of Trade in Adét.....	45
2.3.3. Handicrafts man ship.....	49
2.3.4. The Social Condition of the People of Adét from 1901—1936.....	53
2.3. 4. 1. Local Rulers and Balabbats .....	54
2.4. Adét Town during the Period of <i>Ras</i> Emeru Haylä Sellasie: 1932-1936 .....	56
UNIT THREE .....	60
Adét during the Period of Italian Occupation (1936-1941).....	60
3.1. Italian Subversive Activities in Adét and Other Places (C.1928-1935) .....	60
3.2. Adét and the its environs under Italian Occupation (July 1936-February 1941) .....	64
3.3. Patriotic Resistance in and Around Adét Town .....	70
UNIT FOUR .....	83
Adét Town from Liberation to Revolution: (1974—1991) .....	83

4.1. Administrative and Security Conditions.....	83
4.2. Taxation and Tax .....	87
4.3. Socio-Economic Conditions of Adét Town (1941-1974) .....	93
4.3. 1. Change and Continuity in Land Tenure.....	93
4. 3.3. Social Services .....	99
4.4. Adét under the Därg Regime and Socio-Economic Changes .....	104
4.4.1 Adét under the Därg Regime 1974-1991 .....	104
Conclusion .....	109
Bibliography .....	111
Glossary .....	121
List of Informants .....	124
Acronyms .....	127
Appendixes.....	128

## Acknowledgement

First and for most, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to my thesis advisor, Instructor (Asp) Genzeb Atalay, who has shown the interest and patience to construct the drafts of my thesis. I am very much indebted to his constructive comments, corrections and criticisms, through telephone 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.

Secondly, I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to teacher Destaw Zeleke for lending me some of his personal books to be references in the thesis. The services and affectionate librarians of the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency and Däberä Mareqos 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, and all my oral informants and government workers at Adét, particularly *Ato* BeruhWubešät (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* Wärqu Negatu, *Ato* Gäbrä Mäseqäl Tebäbu, *Ato* Aläbäl Tayä, *Ato*Fänta Eneyäw 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 mother Emahoy Ferdulanč Kassa for her constant and unreserved moral, material and financial support through my academic life. I am also indebted to my sister Wäyzäro Mulu Ayälä and all my other family members and relatives for their continuous and unreserved moral and material support.

## List of figures

Figure 1: Map of amhara regional administrative boundaries .....	6
Figure 2: Map of the district of West Gojjam Zone.....	7
Figure 3: Map of Yelemana Désa Wäräda by Käbälés.....	7
Figure 4: Monastery of Weyzazert Kidane Meheret. ....	15
Figure 5: Yebaba Bete Mengst .....	16
Figure 6 : Picture of Ras Mikael Sehul and Wodage Asahel .....	22
Figure 7: Photograph of Church of Medehane Alem from 1978-2005 e.c.....	28
Figure 8: Picture of Ras Hailu Tekle Haimanot and his local agent of Yelmana Densa District. ....	36
Figure 9: the Camp of Ras Hailu Tekele Haymanot at Adet in 1929.....	37
Figure 10: Catle Market place at Adet .....	38
Figure 11: Map of trade routes until 1935 .....	47
Figure 12: Photos of handicraft products.....	52
Figure 13: Pictures of some patriotic leaders who fought against the Italian fascist in Adet and its environs.....	75
Figure 14: Photograph of Adama Mountain one of the strategic places during the Yedbi Italian wars in 1937. ....	82
Figure 15: Photograph of Yedbi defeating the Italians by the Adet and its environs patriots in 1937 .....	82
Figure 16: Pictures of the governors of Adet and its environs from 1941-1974.....	85
Figure 17: Map of Awrajjas of Gojjam.....	87
Figure 18: Picture of Aleqa Sirak Zegeye.....	101

## Key to the Translation Systems

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

	<u>Vowels</u>		<u>Symbols</u>		<u>Example</u>
1 st order (Gè, ez)	ä	በ	Bä	በላይ	Bälay
2nd order (Kaèb)	u	ቡ	Bu	ቡሪ	Buré
3rd order (Sales)	i	ቢ	Bi	ቢገወደድ	Bitwäddäd
4th order (Rabé)	a	ባ	Ba	ባላባት	Balabbat
5th order (Hanes)	é	ቤ	bé	ቤት	Bét
6th order (Sades)	be	ብ	be	ብር	Geber
7th order (Sabe)	Bo	ቦ	Bo	አቦ	Abbo

II. Consonants are represented as follows:

<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Symbols</u>	<u>Example</u>
ሸ	š.....ሸዋ	Šäwa
ቸ	č.....ቸና	Bečäna
ኸ	ñ.....ኸኸ	Ñoñño
ጸ	ž.....ጸሸ	Gäž
ጃ	j.....ጃጃ	Däjjäč
ጠ	ṭ.....ጠና	Ṭana
ጸ	p.....ጸውሎስ	pawlos
ቀ	q.....ቀበሌ	Qäbälé
ጨ	çhä.....ጨዋ	Çhäwa
ሀ/አ	Ṣ.....ሀሀዩ	Ṣähayu
ሚ	mwa.....ሚ	Lamuwa

III. Gemination is indicated by doubling the consonant letter

Example

ጃጃ

Däjjč

አበደ

Käbbädä



## Preface

The town of Adét has played an important role in the cultural, social, economic and political development of the country. However, like many other towns in the country, Adét has until now been a center of scholarly study. Therefore, the aim of the current research is to reconstruct the 17th century history of the town of Adét until 1991. The study is also intended to fill gaps in the existing literature on Ethiopian urban street histories.

A number of sources have been used to reconstruct the history of Adét. The first way to gather resources was through extensive library research at the Ethiopian Studies Institute (IES) libraries at Addis Ababa University. I also gathered information from the libraries at 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 Pawlos Ñoñño, chronicles, traveler accounts, and the accounts of Fitawrari Täklä Hawariyat Täklä Maryam, *Ras Emeru Haylä Sellasé* and *DäjjazmačKäbbädä Täsämma*. Then, extensive library research enabled me to establish the overall framework of the thesis. I also have enough background knowledge to write about the history of the town of Adét from its foundation until - 1991. The second way to collect information is to carefully examine the source of the archives at the financial office. Travel Information and communications of Yelemana, Dénsa and municipal offices of the other archival sources involved in the study, those of which I have gathered from the rich archive repositories of the National Archives and Libraries Service, the Däbrä Marqos University Archives and Research Center and the Wäldä Masqäl Tariku Memorial Research Center (IES) are most vital. Manuscripts, correspondence and other sources that I have gathered from individuals are also other valuable assets of the thesis.

The most informative of them is the handwritten manuscript of *Qäññzemač* Negatu Säyfu about the genealogical relations of the Adét people with other Ethiopians and the administrative relations of the *Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanote*. The article has two sections and pages in Ge'ez numbers, and therefore, I have them separately used them as Negatu (I) for genealogy and Negatu (II) for the part written in the period of *Ras Haylu*. One of the sources used in this study even described it as "the Chronicle of *Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanote*". It is currently found in the hands of *Ato Wäрку Negatu* living in Bahr Dar. Others like obituaries, receipts, and personal land-related

documents were also voluntarily made available by individuals and used to write the thesis. I have also systematically interviewed knowledgeable informants living in Adét and elsewhere on the main subjects of study.

Fortunately, I still found it necessary to use the most important oral resources I compiled in 2005-2006 E.C for my undergraduate thesis on the history of Şereha Şeyon Bääata Lämariam Church in Adét. 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 allows me to appreciate the changes in oral information from generation to generation. Data collected from secondary, archival, and oral sources were carefully selected, checked, and checked for correctness. Information from authentic and trusted sources are then interpreted and analyzed to reconstruct the history of Adét during the study period. 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 town for the period under investigation. I did my best to fix the first problem at least by traveling to Baher Dar, Däbrä Marqos and Addis Ababa to get the archive, which I have had great success with.

The thesis consists of four main chapters. The first chapter of the study examines the pre-20th century history of the town of Adét as a background to the main themes of the thesis. The next chapter examines the major political and socioeconomic issues of Adét during the first three and a half decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The third chapter of the thesis focuses on the Italian interregnum, during which the country's social, economic, cultural and political affairs were destabilized, especially in the town of Adét. The final chapter of the thesis also deals with the history of the town of Adét in the post-liberation period, in which the change and continuity was analyzed. Finally, the conclusion section of the dissertation integrates the discussions of the main themes of the dissertation and provides some concluding remarks.

## **Abstract**

*The historical studies so far conducted on Ethiopian urbanization emphasized the foundation, growth and development of big towns. As a result, the urbanization process of small towns such as Adét got little or no attention by these studies. Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill the gap by dealing with the historical development of Adét town from its foundation to 1991. The research has examined the different socio-economic and political factors that were responsible for the emergence, growth and development of the town. It also tries to show that the long established assumption that the foundation of Adét town was closely associated with the growth of long distance trade in the area seems groundless. The town was founded around the sixteenth century AD. The research also attempts to settle the controversies about the origin of the name of the town, Adét by cross checking the different sources. The thesis has credited that the growth of long distance trade and passed through the area, and the Italian occupation have great contribution to the development and subsequently in giving modern urban feature to the town.*

*Since the research covered the period from the establishment of the town to 1991, the study will contribute to urban studies of the country in general and Adét town in particular. Additionally, the study will serve as a spring board for the reconstruction of the economic, cultural and social history of Adét town. Furthermore, the outcome of the study will hopefully be helpful for future researchers who would be interested in the history of the town. Generally, the output of this study will be important for historians, students of history as well as general readers.*

## UNIT ONE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Background for the Rise of Urbanization in Ethiopia.

Urbanization is one of the most important developments in human history that started many years ago.<sup>1</sup> During the evolution of human history, the origins of urban centers can be traced back to the time of state formation in the Middle East and ancient Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Mesopotamia saw the rise of the great cities of the world that developed near the Tigris and Euphrates rivers<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the study of urbanization (small and large towns) can be a focal point in the study of human history as it changes the lives of people from rural to urban.<sup>4</sup>

Towns and Cities are defined in terms of concepts with different characteristics, such as clustered settlements where the population is primarily engaged in urban occupations.<sup>5</sup> However, sometimes urban centers are difficult to distinguish from villages because there are village agglomerations. There are many clustered villages that look like the cities and towns of Ethiopian history that were established a few years ago. Therefore, most cities in Ethiopia are categorized into small or medium category. According to Jonathan Baker, small towns have a population of 2,000 to 5,000 people. The quality of judgment on whether these cities are small or medium-sized by Ethiopia's own standards is expected.<sup>6</sup> As Markakis also stated, most towns in

---

<sup>1</sup>Däräjä Täklé, "Military Garrisons as Factors of Urban Formation and Socio-Cultural Transformation: The Case of Fiche Town in North Shewa", (MA Thesis, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 2007), p.8.

<sup>2</sup>Michael Pacione, *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective* Second Edition, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.42.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid

<sup>4</sup>Jonathan Baker, "The Growth and Functions of Small Urban Centers in Ethiopia," *Seminar Proceedings in Small Towns in Africa: Studies in Rural-Urban Interaction*, (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies No. 23, 1990), p. 210.

<sup>5</sup>Ronald J.Horvath, "Towns in Ethiopia (*Städtische Siedlungen in Äthiopien*)", *Erdkunde*, Bd.22, H.1,1968, p.43.

<sup>6</sup>Baker, p.210

Ethiopia (like Adét) are difficult to describe as full urban forms. Therefore, it is difficult to classify them according to different urban types.<sup>7</sup>

Towns are hubs for residential institutions such as schools, health centers, transportation, communications, and other services, such as the postal service. These towns have played a pivotal role in rural Ethiopia by connecting the peasant to a market and limited urban technological development. Many towns in Ethiopia did not meet all the quality of urbanization as described above. However, they functioned as a central place in the provision of goods and services mainly for the rural population. In service, Farming communities live and visit towns. Which increases the importance and character of the town. Towns also act as the last link in the cultural, social, political, administrative, bureaucratic and economic interaction between urban and rural society.<sup>8</sup>

The term town may also talk to functions with some type of municipal administration, and the community pursuing an urban way of living and with various social services. The subsequent are a number of the factors that identified a town. These are being a chartered municipality, jurisdiction of the municipal departments, having local officers for collecting tax and quite simply if the town is taken to be a town by the chiefs and elders of the world.<sup>9</sup> In 1968 the CSO (Central Statistical Office) also defined a settlement as urban or a town if it fulfilled the subsequent. At now the quantity of population settled in an exceedingly geographical region or in a town was not taken into consideration.

The following criteria were some of the considerations taken by the Central Statistical Office: - if the buildings were contiguously aligned, if there was a minimum of one public bar selling alcoholic beverages, if there was a minimum of one hotel, i.e. a place where a stranger could pay for a bed for an evening, if there was a minimum one permanent shop selling differing kinds of products and if there was a weekly market.<sup>10</sup>

There are still many characteristics that will define the area as a metropolis. (City or town) For example, if a town is the headquarters of a region or district, it is considered urban. After the area was established because it was a provincial or

---

<sup>7</sup>John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of Traditional Polity*, (Addis Ababa: Division of Shama plc., 2006), p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> Baker, p. 210.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 211

<sup>10</sup> Baker, p. 211.

regional office, many new settlers flocked to the town and gave them a whole new facet of urbanization. Furthermore, as noted above, Baker defined towns based on the idea of various characteristics, including the size of the Town's population, the geographic extent of the town, and the availability of social services within the town.<sup>11</sup> However, the council of ministers approved the revised definition of urban places in Ethiopia in March, 2005.

Town bases in Africa and Ethiopia in particular have a long history. Many studies show that Africa has its own way for urban areas.<sup>12</sup> The individuals instrumental in founding these towns in Africa were traders and craftsmen who developed markets and marketing.<sup>13</sup> Generally, urban foundation in Africa was the result and external factors.<sup>14</sup> Internal factors include caravan trade, religious centers, and local markets. Long-distance caravan traders on the caravan trade routes needed resting places. Later many of these resting places became urban sites. People in Africa gather for marketing purposes on a given day. On these fixed days therefore, sorts of commodities were brought into the market places. They exchanged commodities at these market places and the market places also served as an area where people met a day of the week. Over time, these markets became urbanized<sup>15</sup>

The advent of European colonial power was the external factor in the foundation of more towns in Africa. Many African urban sites were established as a result of European colonial expansion and administration in different parts of the continent.<sup>16</sup> European colonial powers built new urban sites and consolidated established towns in Africa. After the towns were overrun by colonial expansion and the consolidation of already existing towns, new urban elements were introduced by the colonial power. Thus, colonial towns in Africa were founded in the late 19th and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries following the approach of European colonial powers.<sup>17</sup> European colonial

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, p. 208

<sup>12</sup>Yohannes Abatä, “*Urbanism and Urbanization*”, A Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion, Vol. 8, No. 4 Africa 2000(Winter, 1978), p.23.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid, p 54

<sup>14</sup> Gosa Asnakä, “*A History of Hirna Town from its foundation up to 1991* (MA Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2015), p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Marina Ottaway, *Urbanization in Ethiopia: A Text with Integrated Readings*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1976), p.46.

<sup>16</sup> Bahru Zewde, *Society, State and History: Selected Essay*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2008), p.485.

<sup>17</sup>Ottaway, p.46.

powers in Africa established urban sites to administer colonial regions and to facilitate the colonial exploitation of African human and natural resources. During the European colonial conquest communication systems were improved, new towns were built and preexisting ones were expanded<sup>18</sup> and then there was more reason for the foundation of towns.

The birth and development of Ethiopian towns is not an overnight phenomenon, but a slow and steady historical process.<sup>19</sup> Like other African towns, internal and external factors play the pivotal role in the formation of towns in Ethiopia as well.<sup>20</sup> In accordance with H.J. Doys, for example, "Ethiopian towns were established to defend or attack the enemy, a forum for the local people to exchange goods, and the administrative headquarters of government officials."<sup>21</sup> Internal factors also included garrisons, market towns, or administrative centers. Garrisons (*kätämas*) are places where a group of soldiers who live in an area and later turn into a town take shelter. The contact of people because of the market was also a cornerstone for the rise of towns normally in Ethiopia and specifically in the Northern Province. The establishment of administrative centers changed over time into towns.

The external factor for the inspiration of towns in Ethiopia was the Italian colonial occupation of Ethiopia from 1936-1941.<sup>22</sup> The Italians consolidated the urbanism process of the many *kätämas* (garrisons) emerged in several parts of Ethiopia for political and strategic purposes which played a big role within the foundation of towns.<sup>23</sup> The Italian colonial conquest also led to the rise of latest towns and also the expansion of some old towns within the country as external factor.<sup>24</sup>

Generally, the period of inspiration of towns in Ethiopia can be divided into two. The main period in which the country saw the establishment of towns was the period of

---

<sup>18</sup> Tebäbä Ešäté, "*A History of Jijiga Town 1891-1974.*" (MA Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 1988), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Husén Adäm, *History of Awash Sebat Kilo Town from 1880s to 2008.* (MA Thesis, Department of History and Heritage Management: Haramaya University, 2014) p.3

<sup>20</sup> Däräjä Täklé, p.11.

<sup>21</sup> "H.J. Doys, *The Study of Urban History.*" In the Proceedings of an International Round Table Conference of Urban History Group at Gilbert Murray Hall University of Leicester, (St. Martin's Press. 1968), p.156.

<sup>22</sup> Horvath, p.45.

<sup>23</sup> Nelson Anderson, (ed), "*Urbanism and Urbanization*" International Studies in Sociology and Anthropology, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), p. 66.

<sup>24</sup> Ottawa, p.303.

Aksumite culture. During the Aksumite civilization period, the town of Aksum flourished in northern Ethiopia. The second period in which Ethiopia formed towns was the period after the collapse of the Aksumite civilization. After the fall of the Aksumite civilization, Ethiopia's urban history was characterized by mobile royal capitals but with some permanent urban centers, especially towns such as Dabra Berhan, which was founded by Zära Yaqob in 1445, and Gondar, as the capital was founded by Fasilädäs in 1636.<sup>25</sup>

From the beginning of the twentieth century, towns entered a new era in their expansion with new structural formations. The expansion of the empire's power to the newly formed regions resulted in the formation of kätāmas (garrisons), which became towns.<sup>26</sup> State organs established permanent administrative seats in provinces and districts. The permanent seats of state institutions later became towns proper.<sup>27</sup>

## **1.2. Early Foundation of Adét Town**

### **1.2.1. Geographical Location**

The district of Yelmana Dénsa is found in Western Gojjam. The town of Adét serves as its administrative center. Currently, the districts of Meḥa in the west, Gonj-Qolälla in the east, Qwarit and Säkāla in the south, and Bahr Dar Zuriya in the north are on Yelmana Dénsa borders. In the northeast, the Abbay (BlueNile) River divides it from South Gondar.<sup>28</sup>

The total area of Yelmana Dénsa is 999.8 square kilometers or 99,180 hectares. It is divided in to 33 rural qābālés. 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 dāga (cold) agro-climatic condition. Much of the central and larger part of Yelmana Dénsa (64%) is also plain and experiences a

---

<sup>25</sup> Šefāraw Bākālā,(ed), *An Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era 1941-1974*, (Codesria Book Series, 1995),p.301.

<sup>26</sup> Akalu Wäldä-Mikael. “*Urban Development in Ethiopia (1889-1925) Early Phase*”, Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. 11, No. 1 ,(January 1973),p.1.

<sup>27</sup> Tebābā Ešäté, p. 1; Šefāraw Bākālā, p.304.

<sup>28</sup> Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, " *Yelmana Dénsa Wäreda 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.

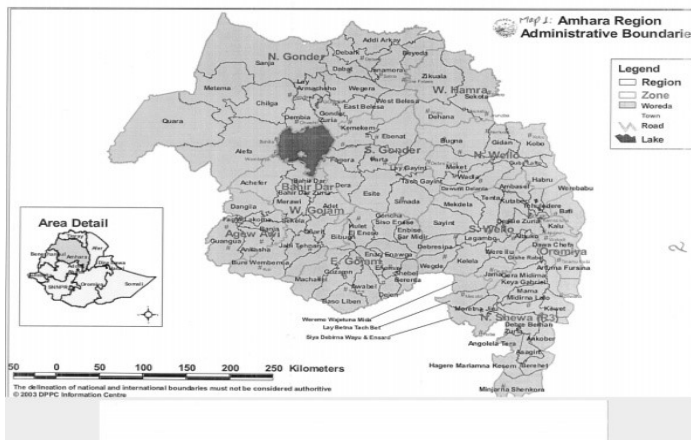


wäyna däga (moderate) climate which is conducive for agricultural production. Hence, this agro-climatic zone is more densely populated than others. However, the qolla area of Yelmana Dénsa along the Abbay gorge in the north (12%) has the lowest altitude and experiences hot climate. By contrast, the lowest point in Yelmana Dénsa is found in the qolla areas with an altitude of 1,500 meters<sup>29</sup>.

The town is surrounded by two rivers, to the west Šegäz and to the east Šena. When the two rivers meet in the north they create the Mägänañña River and contribute to the Nile. The town is 2,250 meters above sea level. It is located 445 km from Addis Ababa and 43 km from Bahir Dar.

The Adét Agricultural Research Center reports that the weather is mild, with a mean temperature of 25.70C and a maximum of 6.40C. It gets enough rain, with the heaviest down pours occurring between July and September. The months with the least precipitation have an average rainfall of 1337mm. May and October crops grown in different varieties all across the town.

Adét has 16856 females and 17025 males, making up a total population of 33881. Orthodox people make up the bulk of the population, while a small number of people also practice Islam.<sup>30</sup>



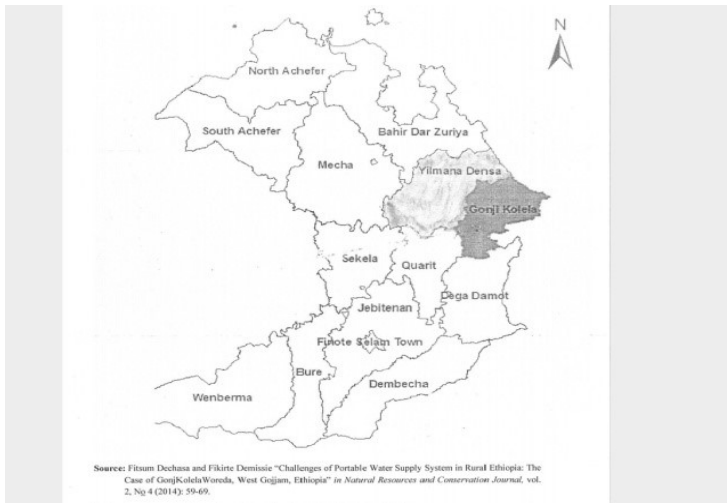
**Figure 1: Map of amhara regional administrative boundaries**

Source: J. Sanford Rikoon Journal of Rural Social Science Copyright by the Southern Rural Sociological Association (2017), p.84.

<sup>29</sup>Yelmana Dénsa District Government Communications Affairs Office, "Yä YelmanaDénsa Wäraäda

Gäšeta" (Leaflet, Adét, Yäkatit, 2004 E.C.).

<sup>30</sup>Ibid, p.6



**Figure 2**Map of the district of West Gojjam Zone

Source: Fitsum Dächasa and Fekertä Dämessé"Challenges of Portable water Supply System in Rural Ethiopia: The Case of Gonj Kolälla Wäräda, West Gojjam, Ethiopia" *in Natural Resources and Conservation Journal, vol. 2, NQ 4 (20 14): 59-69.*

N.B. Gonji Qolälla district was a part of Yelmana Dénsa district from 1947 to 2006



**Figure 3:** Map of Yelemana Désa Wäräda by Kábälés

Source: Fitsuin Dächasa and Fekeretä Dämessé"Challenges of Portable water Supply System in Rural Ethiopia: The Case of Gonj Kolälla Wäräda, West Gojjam, Ethiopia" *in Natural Resources and Conservation Journal, vol. 2, NQ 4 (20 14): 59-69.*

### 1.2.2. Establishment of the town of Adét

An elderly woman who resided in Adét Hanna, at own located approximately 5km to the east of Adét, gave the area its name. The society allegedly appended a "t" at that point, leading to the adoption of the name Adét.

Evidence reveals that before the town was established, the area was forested, known as "Kenebaba Abo," and had a market and settlement. Although the precise date of the siege of Adét is unknown, it is believed to have been founded in 1591 by Mrs Adé and *Ras Bitäwädäde* Wäledä Giworgis. People from other areas arrived and settled there. Since then, these people had alot of enjoyable land. It is common knowledge that the majority of Ethiopia's towns evolved from commercial villages and communities. Evidence suggests that the market, which served as the village's market at the time, was known as HailuMarket. Both Christians and Muslims are the most important traders at the Hailu Market and the town of Adét. It is clear that Adét was created and established for commercial purposes.<sup>31</sup>.

### 1.3. Adét and its environs to the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century

The prevailing literature reveals that the Agäw people dominated the region south of Lake Ṭana including present day Adét and its environs during the period from the 13th to 17th centuries. It also seems that the Amädamit-Gonj areas around present day Adét were a vital Agäw political center within the past.<sup>32</sup>

However, the Agäw people were not the earliest inhabitants of Gojjam. As an example, both Agäw and Gumuze traditions recognize that the Gumuze were displaced by the Agäw from the region south of Lake Ṭana as far as present day district of Meçha and therefore the frontiers of Damot.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, Täkelä Eyäsus, Fanetahun and other authors argue that the Gafat were also one among the

---

<sup>31</sup>Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup>Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: the Claredon Press, 1972), pp. 63, 196, 202., " Twelfth " International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. 1 (Michigan State University, 1994), p. 957.

<sup>33</sup>Tsega Endaläw, *Inter-Ethnic Relations on a Frontier: Metekel (Ethiopia), 1898 -1991* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp.15, 27. ; Tadesse Tamrat, "Nilo- Saharan Interactions with Neighboring Highlanders: The Case of the Gumuz Resettlement in Ethiopia" (Addis Ababa University. Institute of DevelopmentandResearch (IDR), 1988), pp. 3-4

earliest inhabitants of Gojjam living on both sides of the Abbay (Blue Nile) River.<sup>34</sup> They argue that from among the descendants of ancient Gafats, occupied present day Adét, Ačäfär and Zägé long before the approaching of the Agäw.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, it seems that afterward the Agäw of Gojjam dominated the Gafat yet. During this case, Agäw traditions explain that "La Néla Awiya" the Seven Houses of Agäw came to Gojjam from Lasta as hunters during the Zagwé period.<sup>36</sup> However, it seems more probable that they came to Gojjam as patrons of ancient Aksumite trade routes in an earlier time<sup>37</sup>.

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 or Gojjam are not clearly known. Anyway, early Agäw kings used the royal title of *Jan* or *Žan* (Lord).<sup>38</sup> In terms of faith, the Agäw of northern and eastern Gojjam was worshippers of mountains, rivers, and trees before they embraced Christianity.<sup>39</sup> It also seems that the Agäws were worshippers of the *Zar* cult (Agäw sky-god) and spirits like Ghion.<sup>40</sup>

However, particularly from the 13th century onwards, both Zagwé and Solomonic emperors tried to increase their rule over the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam through expanding the frontiers of Christianity into the region south of Lake Ṭana. As an example, hagiographical traditions, as cited by Taddässa, indicate that Emperor Lalibela (r. c. 1185-1225) sent a military led by his nephew, Näakuto Lä'Ab, to suppress the rebellion of an Agäw ruler of Gojjam. It seems that Nä'akuto Lä'Ab

---

<sup>34</sup>Täkele 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.

<sup>35</sup>Tekelä Eyäsus, p.45.; Taddässa, "*Ethiopia in Miniature ...*", p. 956.;

<sup>36</sup>Tadesse Tamrat, "*Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The case of Agaw*" in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No 1, (1988), p.11.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid

<sup>38</sup>G. W. Huntingford, *The Historical Geography of Ethiopia: From the First century AD to 1704* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.79, 87

<sup>39</sup>J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p.20. For instance, the names of Agäw kings like *Jan Čuhay* (14th century), *Jan Kemer* (15th century) and geographical features like *Abola Negus* and *Jan Kemer*, denote the lords or mound of earth and stones, see Huntingford, p. 87.

<sup>40</sup>Trimingham, pp. 27, 257.

succeeded in suppressing the rebellion a minimum of temporarily.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, there are traditions even about new population settlement of the supporters of Lalibäla in Gojjam during the political conflicts between Emperor Harbē (r.c.1160 - c.1185) and him.<sup>42</sup> Sources also agree that earlier Zagwē attempts at extending their rule the region south of Lake Ṭana were intensified under the new Solomonic rulers. During this case, the year 1316/ 17 was a turning point within the history of Gojjam.<sup>43</sup> The chronicler mentions that in this year Emperor Amedä Şeyon reached the Amädamit area where Agäw kings exercised political power. This was the primary written mention of the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam. Anyway, from the 1316/17 onwards Gojjam became a tributary province of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia.<sup>44</sup> However, local opposition to the expansion of Christianity and foundation of churches within the region south of lake Ṭana was still considerable even after the incorporation of Gojjam into the Christian state of Ethiopia. As an example, during the first years of AmedäŞeyon's reign a monk named Yafqränä Igzi of Gugban didn't preach Christianity outside of the Lake Islands because he was resisted by the Agäw king named Wedem<sup>45</sup>. Later on, within the early 1340, another Christian monk named Abba Zä Yohannes, founding father of the Island monastery of Keberan, was imprisoned within the mountains of Amädamit by the king of the Agäw of Gojjam named Žan Çuhay. As a result, Emperor AmedäŞeyon sent many Christian soldiers into Gojjam who released the monk by killing Žan Çuhay.<sup>46</sup>

Therefore, it seems that due to the persistent resistance put up by the Agäw of west Gojjam, the influence of Christianity within the region was minimal before the start of the 17th century.<sup>47</sup> Against this, AmedäŞeyon's conquest of Gojjam perceived to are

---

<sup>41</sup>Taddäsä, *Church and State*, p.63. In addition, according to legend, all the demons with human flesh making troubles upon Lalibela's Sainly activities in the region were buried beneath mount Abola (Abola *Negus*) near Adét town with the help of Angel Ragu'el, see *Dīyaqon* Yaréd Gäbrä Mädhén & Alula Ṭelahun, "*KäWašära Eskä Gärägära*," Hamär Zä Orthodox (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Mahebärä Qedusan, Magazine, Vol. 10, No. 2, Ginbot/ Sene 1994 E. C.), p. 22

<sup>42</sup> Täklä Eyäsu, pp. 162- 163.

<sup>43</sup>Taddäsä, *Church and State*, p.190.

<sup>44</sup>Näbeyu Eyasu, "*Administrative History of Gojjam: 1941 -1974*" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2004), pp. 7-8

<sup>45</sup>Taddäsä, *Church and State*. p. 191 .

<sup>46</sup>Ibid, pp. 195-196.

<sup>47</sup> Taddäsä 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.

followed by intensive evangelical activities and settlement of Christian families in eastern Gojjam particularly during the reign of Emperor Dawit (r.1382-1412) and Yeshaq (r.1414-1428).

As a result, famous monasteries like Däbrä Wärq, Däbrä Dima and Märtulä Maryam were founded within the region during the 14th and early 15th centuries. These monasteries and Christian settlements around them seem to possess then served as points of further evangelical activities within the interior of Gojjam.<sup>48</sup> Subsequently, other famous monasteries like Wašära Maryam, Gonj Téwodros Mika'él, and Şelalo Amanu'él were founded to the east of present day Adét within the course of the 15th century<sup>49</sup>. Regarding this, tradition has it that Emperor Yesehaq founded the churches of Adét and Yädawéré east of in the present day Adét. Both of which dedicated to the ark of Abunä Gäberä Mänefäs Qedus commonly referred to as Abbo. Then, the emperor granted large tracts of land to both churches and therefore the *balabbats* whom they had settled at both places.<sup>50</sup>

It also seems that the Agäw of Gojjam were continuously pushed further west them by pushing the Gumuz in to the recent area of Mätäkäl.<sup>51</sup> There was a adage in eastern Gojjam as regards to this which reads: "አገው ሲሰደድ አግራ ሲለምድ"::literally, as *the Agäw migrated, the Amhara adapted [the land]*.<sup>52</sup>

Here, within the early 16th century, Alvarez also mentioned that the foremost important estates of Empress Eléni were found in eastern Gojjam.<sup>53</sup> As results of the gradual pressure from the Christian state from the east, during the peroid before the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, eastern Gojjam had already become an area of distinctively

---

<sup>48</sup>Taddässä, *Church and State*, pp.202-203.;

<sup>49</sup>Mäzämer Abbay and Däbbasu Hulgezé, "Gonj Téwädros Mika'el , Wäyzazert Kidanä Meherät and Gonj Şelalo Amanua'el" (West Gojjan Culture and Tourism Office, Bahr Dar, 1989 E. C), p.2.

<sup>50</sup>Informants: Meničel Bayä, Biyazné Ejegu,..."Yä Adét Kätäma Tarik" (Amharic, n.d.), p. 2. ; Gärämäw Eskäzia, "A History of Adét Town from its Foundation to 1974" (B. Ed. Thesis in History, Bahr Dar University, Department of History, 2000), p.3

<sup>51</sup>Tadässä, *Church and State*, p.27., Taddässä Tamerat, "Nilo- Saharan Interactions with Neighbouring Highlanders", pp. 5-6.

<sup>52</sup>Täkelä Eyäsus, p. 163.; Bälay Mäkonän (*Liqa Heruyan*), *Etégé Taytu BäDäbrä Mäwi* (Addis Ababa: Ṭana 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.

<sup>53</sup>Huntingford, p.119.

Christian and Amharic speaking people.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, the rulers of the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries assumed Christian names.

The Gonedärine 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 Ṭana by revoking the land grants of previous reigns and allocated it among, "Çhäwa troops, royal relatives and the church. Because of this, a new form of land tenure began in the region where the town of Adét including the Yelemana Dénsa was situated.<sup>55</sup> In fact, provincial governors ever since the reign of Susenyos recruited part of their Çhäwa troops from among the descendants of earlier Çhäwa settlers who had already owned *rest* lands.<sup>56</sup>

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 Çhäwa regiments with gult land rights in Damot, Gojjam, Baneja, Bälaya and Bajana (in Lay Armaçheho).<sup>57</sup> Here, Ašemä Giyorgis mentions that Susenyos settled the Meçha, Qéro, Basso and other Oromo clans in the region to the south and south west of Lake Ṭana.<sup>58</sup> The Chronicler Täklä Sellasé in his part mentions that Emperor Susenyos also settled the Wärränteša Oromo in Gänje north of modern Däbrä Mäwi.<sup>59</sup> The other important and well documented land grants made by Emperor Susenyos were the lands granted to his Catholic half-brother *Ras* Se'hele Kerestos in 1627 in present day Säkäla-Däberä, Mäwi area such as Lejj Amebära, Şima *Ras*, Käbäsa (now JevAsera), Quleçhe, Şaläñña, and in Bägémeder.<sup>60</sup>

Furthermore, *Ras* Sahelä Kerestos and his commander Asegader Amdä Eyäsus had both Amhara and Oromo Çhäwa troops operating in Damot including present day Adét against the anti-Catholic partisans.<sup>61</sup> Täklä Selasé states that Asegader was a

---

<sup>54</sup>Taddässä, *Church and State*, p. 203.

<sup>55</sup>Informants: Dästaw Zäläkä., Hubtamu Mänegseté, Täwabä *Ayeçäh.*

<sup>56</sup>Abir, p. 197. The good example for these Çhäwa troops were the Hénaçh Hadari in Qollälla.

<sup>57</sup>Crummey, p.74. ; Aman, p. 336.

<sup>58</sup>Bahiru, pp. 280-281.

<sup>59</sup>Täklä Selasé, p. 105.

<sup>60</sup>Huntingford, p. 179. Täkelä Sellasé further mentions that Sahelä Kerestos was also given lands from Emfraz to Qaroda in Bägémeder.

<sup>61</sup>Täkelä Selasé, p. 139., Pankhurst, p. 341, Bahiru, pp. 394-395.

Hénaçh *Azemač* (commander of the Hénaçh troops) under Sahelä Kerstos.<sup>62</sup> The Amhara çhäwa troops were recruited from Sayent, Wadela, Lasta and other adjoining areas.<sup>63</sup> In relation to this, Täklä Eyäsus mentions the names of the localities in Damot Proper which were under the *rest-gult* supervision of *Ras* Asegader. They included Zägé as a whole, Meçha, Gafit Gäbra'el, Dehit Gäbra'el, Mändärä Eyäsus; Ayqätuba Giorgis east of Adét, and Yenaçh Abbo and Yenaçh Maryam from Qollälla.<sup>64</sup> *Ras* Amdä Eyäsus (Amedo) Téwädros was the other military leader of *Ras* Sahelä Kerestos.<sup>65</sup> Amdä Eyäsus had lands at Gafit Gäbráel, Tängova Abbo and modern Adét localities on which he had settled parts of his çhäwa troops.<sup>66</sup> Part of *Ras* Sahelä Kerestos's troops also consisted of Muslim contingents called Kokäb (Star).<sup>67</sup> For instance, a certain Muslim named Ali who was under Asegader has been traditionally recognized as the founding father of *rest* land owning Muslims of Adét. In short, it seems that *Ras* SaheläKerestos and his commanders settled all their Amhara and Oromo Çhäwa troops, among others, in present day Adét, Méçha, Ačäfär and Agäw Meder<sup>68</sup>.

The Gafat were the other group of people who settled in present day Adét during the reign of Suseneyos<sup>69</sup>. Inlinewith tradition, the leader of the Gafat of the locality of Adét during the first 17<sup>th</sup> century was a particular *Däjjazemač* Dämahuné. The land granted to them extended from Adét to the Šena River within the east and Felesäta Däber within the south. Negatu mentions that the land granted to the Gafat at Adét was called "የሰባቱ (ባሰ) ፈረስ የጋፋቶች መሬት"/*the land of the seven Gafat horse men*. This means that the seven Gafat families of Adét locality were originally horsemen, and hence, military settlers.<sup>70</sup>

The Oromo, Amhara and Gafats were only the larger settlers of Adét during the first 17<sup>th</sup> centtly. There have been other smaller and isolated groups who settled within the

---

<sup>62</sup>Täkelé Sellasé, p. 238.

<sup>63</sup>Bahiru, pp,879-880.

<sup>64</sup> Täkelä Eyäsus, p. 263.

<sup>65</sup>Negatu ,pp. 35, 56.

<sup>66</sup> Informants: Ašageré Čäkol , Taddäsä Gäbrä Maryam, Täwabä Ayečäh and Ašäbr Bayh.

<sup>67</sup>Abir, p. 198.

<sup>68</sup>Täkelä Sellasé, p. 190., Dawit, p. 4.

<sup>69</sup>Taddäsä Tamrat, "*Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of Gafat* Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. XXI, November 1988, pp. 142, 145.

<sup>70</sup>Negatu, pp. 36-37



same area at about the identical time.<sup>71</sup> This best exemplifies what the first 17th century Jesuit Missionary, Manoel de Almeida, remarks about the mixture of ethnic groups and languages in Gojjam. Almeida says: " ... with in an exceedingly short distance are found one village of Damotes, another of Gafats, another of Xâoas, another of Zeites, another of Xates except for the Agaus [Agäw], Gongas [Šenašas] and others who are more native to the country"<sup>72</sup>. „ However, it should be noted that one in all the lasting effects of the expansion of the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia, ever since the first medieval period, was the spread of Christianity and Amharic language in newly conquered areas.<sup>73</sup> Thus, all the group of individuals who had settled in Adét during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and also the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries eventually evolved into Christian and Amharic speaking peoples, because it was the case in other parts of the Gonedärine Kingdom. It seems that they intermarried with the already existing communities, and with each other, to the extent of completely losing their original identities and customs.<sup>74</sup>

Gonedäréne monarchs since the reign of Fasilädäs also redistributed land within the kingdom among their Amhara and Oromo retainers and soldiers, and therefore the church within the region south of Lake Ṭana. Start with, the military leaders of emperor Fasilädäs, *Rasbitwäddäd* Wäldä Giorgis in Damot<sup>75</sup> and *Ras* Asegadere Amdä Eyäsuse in Gojjam, were the two most significant military leaders accountable for the identical task.<sup>76</sup>“In conection to this, oral tradition states that: **ፋሲለ ሲሲራ ወልደጊዮርጊስ ስሲያሰማራ**"/as *Fasil worked, Weldä Giorgis distributed the land*.<sup>77</sup> Regarding this, Aman suggests that Wäyzäro Adi (Ady) was one amongst the wives of Emperor Fasilädäs and mother of Inqoyopazeyon (Säbelä Wängél after 1686).<sup>78</sup> Consistent with tradition, the church of Adét Hanna and also the

<sup>71</sup>Ibid

<sup>72</sup>Taddesse, "Ethiopia in Miniature," p. 960.

<sup>73</sup>Crummey, p. 21.

<sup>74</sup>Geremew, p.6.

<sup>75</sup>Negatu (I), p. 21. ; Zäläläm Abära, "Adét: *A Historical Survey to 1991*" (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Hislory, 2000), p. 2.; Geremew, pp. 9-10

<sup>76</sup>Habtamu, p. 31. ; Täkelä Eyäsus, p. 263

<sup>77</sup>Informants: Dästaw Zäläkä, Menečel Bayä,... Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Orfice, "Yämäseheb Habetoč Ṭenatawi Märäja", p. 7.

<sup>78</sup>Aman, p.344. The same author describes Wäyezäro Ady (Adi) of being a daughter of a Wagšum of

Laseta (Zagwe).

approximately seven gaša lands around it called Gomānegé belonged to *Wäyzäro* Adi.<sup>79</sup> Many localities of Gänž and Qollälla were also the gult (fiefs) of her daughter, Inqoyopazeyon, better known by the name Säbelä Wängel.<sup>80</sup> Besides, Inqoyopazeyon's husband, *Däjjazemač* Wällé, definitely an Oromo by origin, was made governor of Damot which he ruled until he rebelled in 1686.<sup>81</sup> Tradition has it that Säbelä Wānegél built houses product of stone and lime at her fiefs at Safetāmāññ in Gänž and Gemeb Kidanä Meherät near Fasilädäs locality in Qollälla.<sup>82</sup> Additionally, she built the church of Wäyzazert Kidanä Meheret in Qollälla and granted lands to that.<sup>83</sup> The 18th century Scottish traveler, James Bruce, describes about this fact like:



**Figure 4: Monastery of Weyzazert Kidane Meheret.**

*Source:* Yelmana Dénsa district bahel ena tourism birro(office), *Yä Adét Kätäma Tarik* (Amharic, n.d.), p. 7

<sup>79</sup> *Yä Adét Tarik* / *History of Adet Town*, Amharic, n.d. ; Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Yämäsheb Habetoč Ṭenatawi Mārāja", p. 7.

<sup>80</sup> Märed Wäledä Arägay, "Some in edited *Land Charters of Emperor Särşä Denegle*", pp. 91,95.

<sup>81</sup> Aman, p.344.

<sup>82</sup> Informants: Ayalu Alänä, Šetahun Muçhä...  
Mäzämer and Däbbasu, p. 30.

<sup>83</sup> Bruce, VI.IV.,p. 25

The county round lbaba [Yebaba} is that the most pleasant and fertile not of Maitsha [Mäča} only, but of all Abyssinia [Ethiopia}, especially that a part of Colaäa [Qollälla} between lbaba [Yebaba} and Gojam, where the principal Ozoros [Wäyzeros} have houses and possessions, called Gault [gult} or fiefs, which they need received from their respective ancestors.<sup>84</sup>



Figure 5: Yebaba Bete Mengst

Source: Yelmana Dénsa district bahel ena tourism birro (office), "Yä Adét Kätäma Tarik" (Amharic, n.d.), p. 9

Undoubtedly, Bruce's description includes princess "Säbelä Wänegél," her mother, "Wäyzäro Adi" (Ady) and other lesser gult owning Wäyzäros. These gult lands were free from state taxes, tribute and other exactions. In reference to this, tradition says: "በወይዘሮ የለ ግብር በሰማይ የለ ምድር/ there's no tribute among the Wäyzäro as there's no land within the sky/."<sup>85</sup>

Similarly, among others, the locality of Adét extending up to the parish of Šeggäz Eyäsus now came under the gult jurisdiction of *Rasbitwädäd* Wäldä Giyorgis, as mentioned above. Tradition has it that Wäldä Giyorgis exchanged the land at Adét by his land at Däredära Abbo in modern Meçha district with the sooner Oromo gult land owners. Anyway, Wäldä Giyoregis built the monastery of Adét Mädhané Aläm within the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Then, he made his four sons namely *Däjjazemačs* Wäsänsägäd, Mika'el, ZäMäläkot and Gälawedewäs reste-gult land owning *Gäbäzes* (secular protectors of the monastery) in perpetuity. Likewise, Wäledä Giyorgis made his four sisters namely Eksosawit, Wälätä Hawaryat, Fasikawit and Gešawit monastic reste-gult landowners. *Rasbitwädäd* Wäldä Giyorgis also gave land to a Muslim

<sup>84</sup>Tekile Sellasie, p. 213.

<sup>85</sup>Täkelä Eyäsus, p. 200. ; Negatu, pp. 16, 23,25. ; Wärqenäh Gétahun, "Yä Adét Tarik, p. 1

named Ali, described above, at Ereberab within the southern parts of the town of Adét. Therefore, these nine intermediate ancestors were traditionally called "ስምንቱወግዴወችዘጠነኛውአሊ" / *the eight Wägdé, the ninth Ali*/. This was because Wäledä Giyorgis and his sisters maternally belonged to Wägedé in Amhara Saynt. Then, Wäledä Giyorgis granted several rim lands, including the large tracts of land of Wäyzäro Adi at Adét Hanna (Gomängé), to the monastery of Adét Mädhané Aläm. Here, it should even be noted that the name Adät comes from the name of Wäyzäro Adi (Ady).<sup>86</sup>

Emperors Eyasu I and Bäkafa (r.1706-1730) continued the Gonedärine tradition of land redistribution. Among others, Eyasu I settled several Oromo clans as Çhäwa regiments in present day Adét, Meçha and Ačäfär districts.<sup>87</sup> Likewise, on coming to power Emperor Bäkafa made land grants in areas of Dénsa, Gänj and Damot to Çhäwa regiments, royal relatives, churches and zälans (nomads).<sup>88</sup> Sources indicate that Bäkafa was born within the locality of Adét by the granddaughter of *Ras Bitwädäd* Wäldä Giyorgis namely Wäyzäro Maryamawit Mika'el.<sup>89</sup> Hence, Bäkafa claimed parts of Dénsa and Gänj as: "ሞሰቦን ለነጭሳፍተመኝንለጠጅ" / *as Mosäbo is nice for white téff [Eragrotis téff], Safetämänn is nice for mead [honey]*.<sup>90</sup> Besides, Emperor Bäkafa built the church of Fateman Mika'el at the southern end of the parish of Adét and granted lands to that on which he settled four *balabats*. Then, Bäkafa made this newly constructed church a qefäf or rim of the monastery of Adét Mädehané Aläm<sup>91</sup> with a complete annual tribute of 60 madege (jar) of grain<sup>92</sup>.

### **1.3.1. The Predominance of the Oromo and the Emergence of Yelemana Dénsa as A Distinct Administrative Unit: c.1700-c.1770s**

As mentioned above, Emperor Susenyos had begun the method of settling Oromos within the region south and south west of lake Tana extending to incorporate present day Yelemana Dénsa district. Additionally, Negatu indicates that one amongst *Ras bitwädäd* Wäldä Giyorgis's war commanders and brother-in-law in Adét was

<sup>86</sup>Pankhurst, pp. 317 - 319.

<sup>87</sup>Negatu, pp.33, 65-66; Informants:Mulu Kābādā, Ayalu Alānā, Yāšewas Anagāw, Gezē Bālay.

<sup>88</sup>Tāklā Eyāsus, p. 200.; Nigatu, pp. 33-34. ; Tekiletsadiq, p. 233. ; Aman, p. 366.

<sup>89</sup>Informants: Biazené Ejjeju, Aduñña Ayčäh, Amäšä Jämbäré.

<sup>90</sup>Negatu, pp. 33-34,

<sup>91</sup>Informants:Amäšä Jämebäré, Biazené Ejjeju

<sup>92</sup>Gärämāw, Eskāzia, (MA Thesis *a History of Yelmana Densa District from 1901- 1974* Addis Ababa University, 2015) p. 24.

*Fitawrari* Dissassa who was an Oromo by origin. Furthermore, tradition has it that Emperor Fasilädäs settled ten Gutta Oromo clans in Sareka around present day Däbrä Mäwi.<sup>93</sup> The method of settling peaceable Oromos as military regiments in Yelemana Dénsa and other areas of the Gonedarine 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 river and settled them along the Abbay river in Gojjam and within the region south and southwest of Lake Ṭana as military regiments. Here, Bruce provides us particular references to the Ilima and Dénsa (also called Almaná Dénsa) Oromo clans who were made Ḑhäwa settlers in modern Yelemana Dénsa by Eyasu I within the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>94</sup> As usual, the tribute obligation of those Ḑhäwa regiments was offering military service to the Gonedärine state. In line with tradition, the district name of Yelemana Dénsa comes from the names of those two Oromo clans-Ilima and Dénsa. Informants claim that every of the two Oromo clans originally consisted of 500 horsemen originating from Gendä Bärät area south of the Abbay River.<sup>95</sup>

Moreover, thanks to the increasing settlement of assorted Oromo clans in it, a brand new ethnogeographical and administrative body called "Méḑha Proper" emerged out of "Damot Proper" within the region to the south and southwest of Lake Ṭana. Méḑha Proper took shape apparently during the first 18th century. Bruce mentions that Méḑha Proper extended from the Abbay River within the west to Abeya River within the east and from Lake Ṭana within the north to Jämna River within the south and to Agäw Meder within the south west. The capital of Méḑha proper was Yebaba, which was one amongst the most important towns of the Gonedärine kingdom. The town had a daily market and presumably an outsized population. However, in earlier times Yebaba was the capital of the full region comprising Gojjam, Damot and Agäw Meder.<sup>96</sup>

As mentioned above, Yebaba was the seat of a politician called Yebaba *Azaḑ* (governor of Yebaba). The Yebaba *Azaḑ* was a trusted official accountable to the *Rasbitwädäd* of the Gonedärine emperor.<sup>97</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century British envoy to the court

---

<sup>93</sup>Negatu (I), pp. 3 1-3 2. ; Informants: Biyazené Ejegu, Fantahun Enyäu.

<sup>94</sup>Bruce, Vol. III, pp. 421 ,545-546 and Vol. , IV, p. 23. ; Bairu, p. 878. See also Pankhurt, pp. 315-317.

<sup>95</sup>Informants: LakäAsägé, Negatu Bitäwe, Alämu Gétahun.

<sup>96</sup>Bruce, Vol. IV, pp.23-25.

<sup>97</sup>, Bälay, p. 54.

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 Yelemana Dénsa had much resemblance with the language of the Oromo south of the Abbay River. This reveals that the various Méçha Oromo clans settled within the province of Méçha had already been assimilated with the already existing Christian and Amharic speaking population.<sup>98</sup>

Besides, the 18<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the steady growth of the influence of the Oromo of the kingdom, including those from Méçha province, within the Gonedärine politics. To start 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 particular Barbela Wärräñña with the potent name of Emperor AmdäŞeyon at Yebaba. However, after three weeks AmdäŞeyon 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 either side, among others; many prominent leaders of the *Qebat* (Uktion) faith from Gojjam were slain.<sup>99</sup> The soldiers of Däremän also killed the Agäw chief named *Azaž Çuhay* and plenty of his fighters. However, in keeping with Bruce, the best loss on the side of the rebel army fell up on the common men of *Ilmana Dénsa*" (now *Yelmana Dénsa*).<sup>100</sup> Thereafter, a relative of AmdäŞeyon namely *Däjjazemaç Wäldä Abib* became a rebel in Méçha and Damot areas. Other loyal supporters of Eyasu I like the Agäw nobles were also waiting the approaching of an opportune time to avenge his death<sup>101</sup>. In June 1708, Emperor Täklä Haymanot marched to what Bruce describes that ... the country called "Adi [Ady]"<sup>102</sup>(now Adét) to attack *Däjjazmaç Wäldä Abib*. However, a preplanned conspiracy made by the Agäw nobles at Adét ended up within the assassination of Emperor Täklä Haymanot

---

<sup>98</sup>Walter Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla country* (London: 1868), pp. 251-252

<sup>99</sup> Crummey, p. 9 1. ; Bruce, Vol. II , pp. 530-531.; Taddessc, "*Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration*," p. 17.

<sup>100</sup>Bruce, Vol. II , p. 530. ; Dässé Qaläab, *Tarikä Nägäst* (Addis Ababa: The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Mahbärä Qedusan, 2007 E.C.), p. 296. For *Azaž Çuhay*, see Täklä Eyäsus, "Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter 20", pp. 135-136.

<sup>101</sup>Täklä Şadeq , pp. 214-215. , Aman, p. 363.

<sup>102</sup> Bruce, Vol. II , p. 531

at Azäna Mika'el in Agäw Meder<sup>103</sup>

Wäréñña was given the post of Yebaba *Azaž* including the territories of Ilmana and Dénsa additionally to the governor ship of Damot and Agäw Meder reciprocally for his active roles within the suppression of the rebellion in Gondär.<sup>104</sup> Wäréñña was also given the rank of *Fitawerari* and commanded the disastrous expeditions of 1742 and 1744 against the dominion of Funj (Sennar) within the Sudan.<sup>105</sup> This campaign is traditionally known in Yelmana Dénesa as Yä Bäläw *Zämäčä* (the Bäläw Campaign)<sup>106</sup>. Eventually, for his bravery and faithful works to the Gondärine state, Emperor Eyasu II made Wäréñña the governor of all the southern provinces comprising Damot, Méčha, Agäw Meder and Bägémeder with the rank of *Däjjazemač*.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, *Däjjazmač* Wäréñña was, united of the foremost influential persons of the period, permitted to grant gult governorships to his soldiers within the provinces under his rule. Additionally, Wäréñña brought new Oromo fighters from Genedä Bärät and Amuru areas south of the Abbay River and granted gult lands to them.<sup>108</sup>

*Däjjazemač* Wäréñña died in 1763 while fighting against the Agäw peoples led by Nanna Giyorgis.<sup>109</sup> His son, *Däjjäč* (later *Ras*) Fasil, succeeded him as governor of Damot in 1764. Fasil took this post by killing the new appointee of Menetwab, *Däjjazmač* Eshäté Märqoréwäs, at a battle.<sup>110</sup> Besides, informants state that one of Fasil's seats of power was at the plain on the top of Adama Mountain in Dénsa.<sup>111</sup> 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 within the provinces of Méčha, Buré-Damot, Agäw Meder and Bägémeder since the 17th century have come to be identified by the name Yä Oromo Serrit (the lands granted to the Oromo) or YäGalla [Oromo] Wäläd (the lands of Oromo descent). Just like the case of

---

<sup>103</sup>Täklä Şadeq , pp. 214-215. ; Aman, p. 363.

<sup>104</sup>Bruce, Vol. II, p. 624.

<sup>105</sup>Asrat, p. 14.; Pankhurst, p. 443.; Crummey, p. 98.

<sup>106</sup>Negatu , pp. 28, 95.

<sup>107</sup>Pankhurst, p. 319.; Asrat, pp. 14- 15

<sup>108</sup>Asrat, p. 15.

<sup>109</sup>Pankhurst, 320.

<sup>110</sup>Bruce, Vol. III, p. 533. ; Pankhurst, p.321.

<sup>111</sup>Infirnants: Hailu Metku, Bayäh Feleke, Ameshe Jemberie.

Gondärine Emperors before them, oral tradition states that: **ወሬኛ በቀመረዉ ፋሲል በደለደለዉ**/ as *Wäréñña granted, Fasil redistributed [the land]*.<sup>112</sup> Because of 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 17<sup>th</sup> cenmry”. They evidenced this event, among others, by the name of Šeggáz (that which was ruled by one thousand [Çhäwa]) river which bisects the territory of Dénsa in to two parts.<sup>113</sup>

Moreover, the influence of the Oromos of south and southwest of Lake Ṭana at the court of Gondär reached its peak under *Ras* Fasil. He commanded his strong Oromo cavalry. *Ras* Fasil also participated in the early power struggles of the Zämänä Mäsafent (Era of Princes).<sup>114</sup> In 1769 Ras Mika'el Sehul of Tegray defeated Fasil first at Azäzo near Gondär and then at Fageta in Agäw Meder<sup>115</sup>. Fasil retreated in to the Oromo lands across the Abbay River and returned to Damot as Mika'el withdrew from the region<sup>116</sup>. Similarly, Bruce provides a witnessing account that, like *Ras* Fasil, an Oromo chief of Ilmana Dénsa named Wädajä Asahel “... had an invincible hatred to *Ras* Mikael”. Thus, Ras Mika'el made devastating campaigns against Wädajä and Fasil as far as Agäw Meder.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup>Asrat, pp. 15-16., Tākelä Haimanot Gäbrä Selasé, "The Waito of Lake Tana: An Ethno- History" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History 1984) p. 28.

<sup>113</sup>Informants: Walä Ayečäh, Ayalu Alänä, and Aduñña Ayečäh

<sup>114</sup>Asrat, p.17. ; Tāklä Šadeq , p. 276.

<sup>115</sup>Pankhurst, p. 322, Asral, pp. 16-17

<sup>116</sup>Asrat.p. 17.

<sup>117</sup>Bruce, Vol. III, p. 421. ; see also Pankhurst, p. 323.



SOURCE : Pankhurst, R. The Ethiopian Border Lands.  
Lawrence Ville: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1997,  
pp.322 &323



Ras Mika'el 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.

32

Figure6 : Picture of Ras Mikael Sehul and Wodage Asahel

Source: Pankhurst, R. The Ethiopian border Lands. Lawrence Ville: The Red Sea press, Inc, 1997, pp. 322-323

### 1.3.2. Adét during the Zämänä Mäsafent (Era of Princes, 1769-1855) and from: c.1770s - c. 1900

In 1775 *Ras* Fasil died while fighting with a coalition of Amhara nobles. Following this event, the areas of Adét, Mécça, Agäw Meder and Damot came under the rule of latest powerful lords of the period namely Ras Kenfu Adam<sup>118</sup> and his half-brother, Däjjazmač Haylu Adära.<sup>119</sup> The brothers partly belonged to the area of Adét. Haylu Adära was the nice grandson of Rasbitwädäd Wäldä Giyorgis, the founding father of the parish of Adät, and Kenfu Adam was the son-in-law of Ras Fasil Wäréñña.<sup>120</sup> Däjjazmač Haylu and Ras Kenfu actively participated within the politics of the

<sup>118</sup>Täkelä ,Šadeq, p. 290.

<sup>119</sup> Informants: Amäšä Jämbäré, Biazené Ejjegü, Aduññ Ayečäh.

<sup>120</sup> Informants:Hailu Meteku,Asčaläw Andualäm,Alämu Gétahun.

Zämänä Mäsafent until the start 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 Kenefu of Damot.<sup>121</sup> However, it seems that this soon led to the battle of Sabisa Bär between the half-brothers on the one hand and Haylu Yosedeq (r.1770-1794) of Gojjam on the other in which the former emerged victorious.<sup>122</sup> It was the order of the day that on July 17, 1779 Kenfu and Haylu Adära jointly proclaimed Täklä Gyorgis, nick named Feşamé Mänegeset, Emperor at Yebaba.<sup>123</sup> But, after some eight months, Emperor Täckelä Giyorgis learned that Kenfu had intended to enthrone Solomon once again. Nonetheless, the then ruler of Bägémder, *Däjjazmač* Mäbaras Bäweqätu, defeated the half-brothers at the battle of Maryam Wuha in May 1780, and handed them over to the emperor.<sup>124</sup> The chronicler further states that the brothers escaped from prison late in that year, but were recaptured around Danegela in June 1781.<sup>125</sup> Then, according to oral tradition, Emperor Täckelä 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 Gonji known as "የአይን ጥገና" / *reparation for the eye*.<sup>126</sup>

Since the early 1780s *Ras* Haylu of Gojjam gave continued military assistance to Emperor Täckelä Giyorgis against *Ras* Ali I (Ali Gwangul) of Yäjju (r. 1784-1789),<sup>127</sup> and the Emperor reciprocated this by recognizing Haylu as the governor of Gojjam and Agäw Meder.<sup>128</sup> The next Emperor, Hezekeyas (r. 1789-1794), also made *Ras* Haylu the governor of the whole river peninsula of Gojjam together with the post of Yebaba Azaž.<sup>129</sup> 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 Täckelä Giyorgis

---

<sup>121</sup>H . Weld Blundell, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 330. ;

<sup>122</sup>Blundell, p. 33 2.

<sup>123</sup>Blundell, pp. 23 1,234. ; W. E. A. Budge, *A History of Ethiopia: Nubia & Abyssinia* (Two Vols.) (Oosterhout N: B-Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1970), p. 477.

<sup>124</sup>Blundell, p. 254.

<sup>125</sup>Blundell, p. 266.

<sup>126</sup> Informants: Amäšä Jämebäre, Biazené Ejjegu, Aduñña Ayečäh.

<sup>127</sup>Fantahun, pp. 1-4. ; Dawit, p.6.

<sup>128</sup>Fantahun, p. 4.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid

in 1784.<sup>130</sup> However, the secondary literature mentions *Ras* Haylu of Gojjam as the founder of the same market place.<sup>131</sup> Anyway, Haylu Gäbäya seems to have become a famous regional market since then.<sup>132</sup>

However, *Ras* Haylu 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, Gošu Zäwdé of Damot (r. 1823-1855) in his an undated letter to Pope Gregory XVI, introduced himself as: "the *Däjjazemač* of Gojjam proper, of Damot, and of Méçha, and ... of the Oromo lands south of the Abbay River."<sup>133</sup>

This explains that the province of Méçha including the area of Adét was under the domination of the lords of Damot and Gojjam during the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries.<sup>134</sup>

Like other parts of northern Ethiopia, Adét also suffered from the fighting and political struggles among the lords of Bägémder, Damot and Gojjam during the late 18th and half of 19th centuries. The lord's of Gojjam and Damot didn't obey to the Yäjju lords. This led to devastating wars among them. Thus, the realm of Adét, due to its location between Bägémder and Damot, was one amongst the important battle grounds of the period. For example, Gošu of Damot and *Däjjazemač* Maru of Dämebya made an alliance against the Yäjju lord, *Ras* Yemam (r.1825-1828). This led to the battle of Kosso Bär close to Adama Mountain in November 1827. Gošu fled to the mountains of Damot before the start 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.<sup>135</sup> Similarly, *Ras* Dori (r.1831) made a campaign into Damot and Gojjam in 1831 to urge the submission of their rulers, *Dejjazemač* Gošu

---

<sup>130</sup>Informants: All of my informants agree on it

<sup>131</sup>Abdussämäd *Hajj* Ahmäd, "*Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1882-1935*" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1980), p. 29; Yelmana Densa District Culture and Tourism Office. "*Profile of Yelmana Densa Wäradä*", p. 3.

<sup>132</sup>Abdussämäd, p. 29.; Geremew, pp.15-16.

<sup>133</sup>Dawit, p. 6. ; Sven Rubenson, *The Survival of Ethiopian independence* (Addis Ababa; Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1976.), pp. 100-101.

<sup>134</sup>Dawit, pp. 5-6. ; Näbeyu, pp. 8-9.; Asrat, Pp. 18-19.

<sup>135</sup>Täkelä Şadeq Mäkuriya, *Aşe Téwäderos ena Yä Ethiopia Anedenät* (Addis Ababa: Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1981 E. C.), p. 53.

and his son, Berru, respectively. Nevertheless, Gošu and Berru jointly defeated Dori at the battle of Amädamit. In anger, Dori pillaged the area of Adét and returned to Däbrä Tabor.<sup>136</sup>

However, the subsequent Yäjju lord of Bägémeder, *Ras Ali II* (r. 1831-1853), was ready to get the submission of Däjjazemač Gošu in 1841. Late therein year, *Däjjazemač* Berru temporarily defeated his father, Gošu, 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 Mäneta Däber, about 10 kilometers east of Adét, and summoned the father and son for submission to him.<sup>137</sup> Consistent with Täkelä Eyäsus, *Däjjazmač* Berru refused to submit and went up to Somma Amba. But *Däjjac* Gošu submitted because he wouldn't wish to break his allegiance.... *Däjjac* Gošu... Became loyal to *Ras Ali*<sup>138</sup> ...”

additionally, Plowden, who was at Färäs Wägga near Däbrä Mäwi by the time of *Ras Ali* 's 1841 campaign into Gojjam, describes that the then Azaž of Adét *Fitawrari* Gäbrä Eyäsus, was a strong rivalry with the Azaž of recent méçha district namely *Däjjazemač* Asäné Deräs over the standard office of Yebaba Azaž. Azaž Gäbrä Eyäsus was backed by Berru Gošu of Gojjam, and Asäné by *Ras Ali II* of Bägémeder. Plowden also witnessed that Gäberä Eyäsus and his troops assisted Berru in ravaging Däberä Tabor<sup>139</sup> on 7 February 1842.<sup>140</sup> Informants confirm the description of Plowden about the rivalry between Gäbrä Eyäsus of Adét and Asäné of Méçha districts by the poems which run:

**እናንተ ዴንሰኞች ክረምት አትውደዱ።**

**ያ ሰኔ ይመጣል ማቱ ነጎድጓዱ።<sup>141</sup>**

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 thunderstorm.*

**እናንተ ሜጨኞች ዳጉሳያላችሁ።**

**ገብሬድ ሀኪደግነው ጤፍም አይላችሁ።<sup>142</sup>**

<sup>136</sup> Täkelä Şadeq, *Yä Ethiopia Tarik*, p. 320. ; Täkelä Eyäsus, "*Yä Gojjam Tarik*, Chapter 22", p.1 72.

<sup>137</sup> Plowden, p. 261 .

<sup>138</sup> Täkelä Eyäsus, "*Yä Gojjam Tarik*, Chapter 22" p. 178.

<sup>139</sup> Plowden, pp. 253-254, 275.

<sup>140</sup> Rubenson, p. 93.

<sup>141</sup> Informants: Dämälaše Yämataw, Amäšä Jämbäré.

The free English translation of this couplet is:

*You the Meçhaññas you have the crop of millet, Gäbré  
[Gäbrä Eyäsus] is so poor that he will not want to téf.*

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Emperors Téwädros II (r. 1855-1 868) also attacked and looted Adét and that of Qollälla simultaneously. He burnt the monasteries of Adét Mädehané Aläm and Şelalo Amanua'el and looted their ecclesiastical properties.<sup>143</sup> In addition, the emperor looted the monastery of Gonj Téwodros Mika'el. In this regard, Pankhurst argues that Emperor Téwädros II looted the ark 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<sup>144</sup>. 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 into Adét after seven years of captivity.<sup>145</sup> Besides, several of the verses about Emperor Téwädros II are said to have been made by one the captives from Adét area namely Wätäzér Fänta.<sup>146</sup> Among others, this woman made the following verse:

**እንግዲህ ለታቦት አልሰጥም ስለት፡፡  
አዴት መድሃኒአለም ነዶ አገኘሁት፡፡**<sup>147</sup>

The English translation of this couplet is:

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

Administratively, Ras Adal (*negus* Täklä Haymanot since 1881) Täsämma (r.1874-1901) was the primary ruler of Gojjam who effectively ruled the entire river peninsula of Gojjam and also the territories of northern Wälläga since about 1874.<sup>148</sup> Instead of

---

<sup>142</sup>Informants: Çhané Agedé, *Agafari Bälay*

<sup>143</sup>Informant: Amäšä Jämbäré, Şetahun Muçhä, Gizé Bälay

<sup>144</sup>Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid Nineteenth Century to 1935*(Stuttgart:

Franz Steiner Verlag wiesbaden, 1985), p. 67 .

<sup>145</sup>Informants : Aduñña Ayeçäh, Şägayä Amära, Ayalu Alänä.

<sup>146</sup>Bälay Mäkönnän (*Liqe Heruyan*), *Yäqenē Kāwakebet* (Addis Ababa: Ṭana Printing Press, 1990 E. C ), pp. 88-94.

<sup>147</sup>Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns*, p. 67. ;

Teklä Şadeq, *AşéTewädros Ena Yä Ethiopia Anedenät*, p. 246.

<sup>148</sup>Şemälaš Bäkälä, "Yä Bahr Dar Katama Açher Tarik" (A typed material in the hands of the writer, Bahr Dar, N. D.), p. 3. ; Dawit, p. 7. ; Rey, *In thecountryofBlue Nile*, pp. 235-236.; Gäberu, p. 163.

the standard "Proper" system discussed above, Negus Täklä Haymanot divided Gojjam into smaller territories called Endärasé whose rulers were directly accountable to him. Accordingly, during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Adét, Gonj Qollälla and Méçha were the three neighbouring areas independently accountable to Däbebrä Marqos<sup>149</sup>. Thus, below *Negus* Täkelä Haymanot, there<sup>150</sup> were local rulers such as *Däjjazmač* Yegzaw Enegeda of Adét, *Fitawerari* Mäšäša Wänedé of Gonj Qollälla<sup>151</sup> and *Däjjazmač* Šefäraw Emeru of Méçha districts. The hereditary rulers of Adét still retained the traditional title of Yebaba Azaž.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, economically, the Saturday weekly market of Adét, popularly called Haylu Gäböya and the annual three days market called Ṭeqemet Sellasie, held at Färäs Mäsk in the parish of Zära Beruk south of Adét, were the most important attractions of merchants as far north as Asmära and as far south as the Oromo territories south of the Abbay river during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>153</sup> as will be more elaborated in the next chapter of the thesis.

---

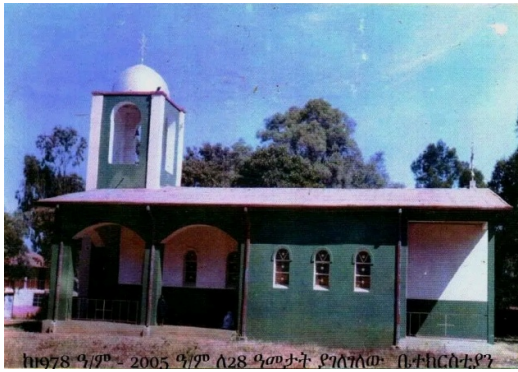
<sup>149</sup> Selçene Seyum, "A History of Bahr Dar Town, 1936- 1974" (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1988), p. 70

<sup>150</sup> Bälay, Etege Ṭaytu Bädäberä Mäwi, p. 36.

<sup>151</sup> Pawlos Ñoñño, *Aşé Menilek Bä Hager West Yeteṭaṭafačäw Däbedabéwäč*, (Addis Abäba: Astér Nega Publisher, 2003 E. C.), p. 218

<sup>152</sup> Dawit, p. 7

<sup>153</sup> Abdussämäd Hajj Ahmäd, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam," pp. 29-30.



**Figure 7: Photograph of Church of Medehane Alem from 1978-2005 e.c**

Source: Yelmana Dénsa Wārāda Bahel and Tourism office, *Yä Adét Kätāma Tarik*" (Amharic, n.d.), p. 11.

## UNIT TWO

### Adét Town from 1901-1936

The year 1901 was a turning point within the history of Gojjam generally and Adét specifically. This was because therein 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 main political and socio-economic developments within the town of Adét and its environs from 1901 to the coming of Fascist Italians in 1936.

#### 2.1. Administrative setting of Adét town During the Period of Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot: 1901-1932

Emperor Menilek's intention was to exchange the hereditary rulers of Gojjam by rulers appointed directly by him.<sup>154</sup> Accordingly, in 1901 Menilek made *Ras Bitwädäd Mängäša Atikäm* governor of Damot, Agäw Meder, Mechça, Adét, Ačäfär, Wändägé and Quwarit. The Emperor also gave the governorship of Gojjam Proper to *Däjjazmač Seyum* (*Ras Haylu* since April 1909), son of Negus Täklä Haymanot. However, *Däjjazmač Seyum* was soon imprisoned at Afqära in Mänz thanks to his false accusation on *Rasbitwäddäd Mängäša*. *Ras Bözabeh Täklä Haymanot* (r. 1902 - 1905) replaced Seyum up on his marriage to *ZänäbäWärq Mika'el*. In 1906 Menilek released Seyum and within the next year reinstated him as governor of Gojjam Proper<sup>155</sup>.

During the primary decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Adét was thus an independent area governed by its hereditary officials called *Endärasé* with the standard title of *Yebaba Azaž*. *Däjjazmač Yegzaw Engeda* was the ruler of the areaby then.<sup>156</sup> The *Endärasé* was accountable to *Rasbitwäddäde Mängäša* whose seat of power was at Buré. He was assisted by the *gultä gež* and *çheqa šum* (village chief) to keep up law and order, collect the tithe, and other tributes. Each of those local officials had his own numerous *gult lands* from which he received tribute in lieu of salary from the peasants who worked on them.<sup>157</sup> Here, a number of the letters of Emperor Menilek II addressed to Mängäša explain that the central state was collecting significant amount of tribute within the variety of honey, grain and other things from Adét and other territories around it. It also seems that the local rulers of Adét and other adjacent territories over

---

<sup>154</sup> Gäberä Sellasé, p. 294. ; Gäbru, p. 163 . ; Näbeyu, pp. 9- 10 . ; Dawit, p. 8. ; Asrat, p. 22.

<sup>155</sup> Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia: A New Political History* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 136. ;

<sup>156</sup> Negatu (I), p. 46.; Bälay, *Etégé TaytuBädäbräMäwi*, p. 36

<sup>157</sup> Informants: Hailu Bitäw, Biazené Ejjeju.



exacted the population so as to induce the favours of the emperor. for example, the *Endärasé* of Adét over exacted the population under the order of *Rasbitwäddäde* Mängäša.<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup>

However, Emperor Menilek II perceived to be cautious. Among others, in an exceedingly letter dated Hidar 8, 1898 E.C. [November 17, 1905] Menilek admonished Mängäša for over exacting the people of Adét and Méçha after hearing their appeals through their representatives who travelled to the capital of Ethiopia in November 1905. The response of the emperor reads as:

የሜጫና የዴንሳ የይልማና ሰው ተሰብስበው መጥተው ጮሁልኝ....  
ሜጫና ይልማናን እንዲህ አድርገህ ታስጨንቀሃለህን? እኔስ ጋሻ  
ስደድልኝ ማለቴ ሽዚያ አገር ጋሻ ሰርጓጅ ብዙ ነው እና በትቂት ዋጋ  
ይገኛል ብዬ ገዝተህ እንድትሰድልኝ ነው እንጅ ከመኪንንቱ እና ከባላገሩ  
የጋሻ ፈሰስ ጥለህ መቼ አስመጣልኝ አለኩህ:: ነጭ ማርም ስደድልኝ  
ማለቴ የዚያ አገር ሁሉ ማር መልካም ነውና ላንተ ከሚገባልህ መርጠህ  
ላክልኝ አልኩህ እንጅ ነጭ ማር ካላመጣችሁ እያልክ ድሀውን  
የምታስጨንቀው በምን ነገር ነው? የዛሬ ድሀ የለው... እንዲህ አድርገህ  
ድሀውን ብታስጨንቀው ምን ትጠቀማለህ? ይህ ሁሉ የጨዋ ልጅ  
ሽማግሌ እንግዲህ ተመልሰን አገራችን አንገባም የራስ መንገሻንም ፊት  
አናይም እንደ ወጣን እንቀራለን ብሎ ከዚህ መጥቶ ያለቅሳል ይህንን  
እግዚአብሔር  
ይወደዋልን...አሁንምከዚህቀደምእንደነበሩእንደጥንታቸውይኑሩእንጅቀድሞ  
ያልነበረነገርአትንካ::  
ነገርግንደብዳቤምብልክብህብመክርህምአትሰማኝምተመክረህአትድንእንግዲህ  
ሁለተኛእንደዚህአይነትነገርየሰማሁእንደሆነመንገሻሙትማርያምን....ይህንን  
ደብዳቤበነሱእጅ ከምሰድብዬበቃቤቱበቢያድግልኝእጅነውየሰደድኩልህ::<sup>160</sup>

The English translation of this quotation is:

<sup>158</sup>Pawlos, p. 54 and 407. The first letter is quoted below, and the second letter, dated Ginbot 23 , 1900 E.c

<sup>159</sup>Mezemr and Debasu, p. 32.

<sup>160</sup> Pawlos, p. 54.

*The people of Mécça, Dénsa and Yelmana together came and cried to me ... Why do you make the people of Meçha and of Yelmana honye? 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. Mary! You should not repeat the same mistake. I have sent you this letter in the hands of my treasurer, Biadgeleñ, 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 *Däjjazmač* Scyum within the afterwards described him by the name *Ras Haylu*.<sup>161</sup> Sources also reveal that in October 1910 *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša died<sup>162</sup> and Agäw Meder, Adét locality Yelmana Dénsa, Méçha, Ačäfär, Wändgé, Qwara and Aläfa were given to *Däjjazmač* (later *Ras*) Käbbädä Mängäša. However, in 1911 Käbbädä was removed from power, and Adét, Méçha and Ačäfäre were given to *Ras Haylu*. Agäw Meder, Qwara and Aläfa were also transferred to *Ras* (later *Negus*) Wäldä Giyorgis Aboye of Bägémeder, 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<sup>163</sup>.

*Ras Haylu* divided the province of Gojjam in to 14 administrative units called *wäräda* (district), each of which was divided in to *meselänéwäč* (equivalent to sub-districts)<sup>164</sup>. 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*

---

<sup>161</sup>puwlos, p. 543 .

<sup>162</sup> Nebeyu, p. 10.

<sup>163</sup>Negatu (II), p. 5. In 1925 Ras Haylu also received the territory of Ashifa along Sudanese boarder in the west; see Rey, In the country of the Blue Nile, p. 136.

<sup>164</sup> Nābeyu, p. 11 . ; Dawit, p. 8

(sub-district)."Accordingly, Yelmana Dénsa, Lejj Ambära, Gänje, Yäwodi and ZägéMedrä-Bäd meslänéwoch were brought under the district administration, with its center at Adét. This apparently took place by 1911.<sup>165</sup>

However, beginning from his designation as the ruler of Gojjam in 1901 Ras Haylu carried out šum šer (promotion and demotion). He removed his father's officials and appointed his own favorites. Among others, Haylu replaced the hereditary ruler of Adét, *Däjjazmač* Yegzaw Engeda, by one of his favourites, *Fitawrari* Amära Täsämma in 1911.<sup>166</sup> He also made *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu of Zära Beruk the secretary of Amära.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, Ras Haylu exploited the traditional rivalry between the rulers of Adét and Méçha. Therefore, in July 1920 Haylu ordered *Fitawrari* Amära Täsämma to attack the *Endärasé* of Méçha, *Däjjazmač* Šefäraw Emeru, also named Šefé Abba Gumed (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 Sänkwa Giyorgis in Méçha. Every now and then popular parlance dignified *Fitawrari* Amära by the following verse:

**ያስመራ አባ ገልብጥ የራስ ቀኝ እጃቸው፣**

**ማክሰኞ ተነስቶ ሮብ ያዘላቸው።<sup>168</sup>**

The rough English translation of this couplet is:

*Amara Abba Gelbit (literally, Father of the Mowel) 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, respectively<sup>169</sup>. On the Day of Saint John in September 1923 *Fitawrari* Amära died and Qeññazmač Negatu became the *Endärasé* (governor) of Ras Haylu over Adét and its surrounding areas.<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> Negatu (II), p. 7

<sup>166</sup>Slṭene Seyum, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam, 1936-1941 "(Ph.D. Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1999), p. 25. ; Negatu (I), p. 68.

<sup>167</sup>Negatu (I), p. 37. Negatu (II), p. 17.

<sup>168</sup> Informants: Alämayähu Endaläw, Alämu Gétahun, Asmarä Ayené.

<sup>169</sup>Dawit, p. 10.

<sup>170</sup> Informants: Haylu Metku, Amäšä Jämebäré, Aduñña Ayečäh Negatu (II), pp. 54, 67 .

The *Endärasé*, *mesläné* and other officials below them such as the *gultä gäz* 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 area. The *gultä gäzes* were the rulers of parishes in the town . In their absence, the *çheqa šum* (village chiefs) administered their respective parishes efficiently. In addition, the *gultä gäz* and the *çheqa šume* were responsible for the collection of *asrat* (tithe). Together with the town 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*, *mesläné*, *gultä gäz* and the *çheqa 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<sup>171</sup>. Likewise, great monasteries of the town and the surrounding areas like *Adét Mädhané Aläm*, *Däbrä Mäwi Mariam* and *Agetta Eyäsus* owned vast *gult* lands known as *qefäf* 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 *gäbäzs*, *liqäräds* and *liqähérans*, respectively<sup>172</sup>.

However, *Ras Haylu* notoriously violated the standard legal right and native administration systems. To start 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*, *Haylu's* store houses were *Adét*, *Adét Hanna*, *Erebereb*, *Zära Beruk*, *Mändärä Eyäsus*, *Däbrä Mäwi*, *Färäs Wägga*, *Yebaba*, *Enägadé*, and in *Qollälla*.<sup>173</sup> Besides, peasants were obliged by responsible local officials like the *mesläné*, *hudad*, *Endärasé* and *çheqa Šum* to figure on *Ras Haylu's* estates. Every peasant had to figure in *Haylu's* estates in monthly rounds as scheduled by these officials. Peasants administered plowing, planting, weeding and harvesting of *Haylu's* estates.<sup>174</sup> Informants state that the immense amount of *teff* produced annually from *Haylu's* estates in *Adét* was

<sup>171</sup>Dawit, pp. 8- 9. ; Nābeyu, p. 10. ; Donald N. Levine, Wax & Gold: *Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd ., 1972), pp. 57 - 58.

<sup>172</sup> *Negatu* (I), p. 25. ; *Belay, Etege Taytu Be Debre Mawi*, p. 66.

<sup>173</sup>*Negatu*(II), p. 15.

<sup>174</sup> *Negatu* (II), pp. 16- 17. ; *Dawit*, pp. 11 -12

usually stored within the big store house at Adét until it absolutely was sold by his agents, during the season at relatively higher prices. The shop house of *Ras* Haylu at Adét was popularly called Yä Haylu *Jemruk* [gumruk]. *Ras* Haylu also had other similar residential and store houses near Adét at Däbrä Mäwi, Adét Hanna and including Zägé.<sup>175</sup>

Furthermore, *Ras* Haylu made several localities of Adét and other adjacent territories *ganägäb* (personal gults) territories. They were Ambatna, Saftämänn, Walka, Şeyon, Mändärä Eyäsus, Dängya Bät, Konč, Yädaweré (Edawré), Enägadé, and Wäyzazeret (in Qollälla).<sup>176</sup> These *ganägäb* territories within the town of Adét and also the other areas were go past the gult *Endärasés* (superintendents) and their secretaries who were accountable to the Adét *Endärasé*. The gult *Endärasé* (also called *asaraš*) of *Ras* Haylu had the proper to require one third of the local taxes and court fees collected within the areas under his jurisdiction. Similarly, the secretary of a gult *Endärasé* had the proper to gather a *qunna* of grain from each harvest of every peasant in his gult territory. Additionally, he received a monthly salary of two *madegga* of grain, one *madegga* of tēff, two amolés (salt bar) and four *qunna* of pepper, and an annual payment of ten Maria Theresa Thaler for clothing.<sup>177</sup> 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, and pepper and Maria Theresa Thaler for their maintenance.<sup>178</sup> Criminals, except murderers, were also required to pay for their crimes through working on *Ras* Haylu's estates<sup>179</sup>. However, *Ras* Haylu commuted death penalties of murderers to life sentences and jailed them in a special prison called ጸመላሽ (avenger), for instance, those at Ereberēb and Adét Hanna. Nevertheless, in rare cases *Ras* Haylu also cruelly punished recalcitrant criminals including his own *Šumes* (officials) through burning those alive in honey soaked muslin<sup>180</sup>.

The highest point of *Ras* Haylu's control over the *meslänés* of Adét came in 1925 when he took the traditional office of *gäbäz* of Adét for himself ostensibly by force.

---

<sup>175</sup>Bälay, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däberä Mäwi*, p. 75.;

<sup>176</sup>Negatu (II), p. 16.

<sup>177</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 16- 17.

<sup>178</sup>Abdussämäd, "*Trade and politics in Gojjam*," p. 63.

<sup>179</sup>Rey, *inthecountryof 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.

<sup>180</sup>Griaule, pp. 115, 131, 181, 182. ; Greenfield, p. 137.

He delegated this traditional office to one of his loyal servants, *Qäññazmach* 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 Mädhané Aläm. 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 Mädhané Aläm. He also confiscated the vast fertile *teff* growing land at the confluence of Šeggäz and Šena Rivers to the northern of Adét town. As compensation *Ras* Haylu repaired and decorated the monasteries of Adét and DäbräMäwi.<sup>181</sup> Marcel Griaule, the leader of the French anthropological mission, who 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"<sup>182</sup>.

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, *wämebärs* (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.<sup>183</sup>

*Ras* Haylu made administrative and judiciary activities including Šum Šer of local officials in his stay at Adét. For instance, as will be more elaborated below, he promoted local *Çheqa Šum* of Adét and other places in to the rank of *Gerazemač* and assigned them to carry out various responsibilities. Similarly, *Ras* Haylu reorganized the administrative structure of the churches of the Adét and the surrounding areas under study. Here, ten or so neighbouring churches of each area were put under the supervision of a *Liqä Kahenat* (superior of the clergy).<sup>184</sup> Haylu also promoted other church officials by receiving appointment fees.<sup>185</sup> Further, the business minded *Ras* of Gojjam designated a *Gerazemač* over craft workers, a *Liqämäqwas* over the *Azmari*

---

<sup>181</sup>Infonnants:Hailu Deräs, Biazené Ejjegu, Šetahun Mučhä.

<sup>182</sup>Griaule, pp. 181. See also Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile of Yelmana Densa Wereda", p. 4.

<sup>183</sup>Greenfield, p. 136. ; Näbeyu, p.10.;R. Pankhurst, *State and Land in Ethiopian History*(Addis Ababa: Haile Sellasie I University Press, 1966), p. 112.

<sup>184</sup>Negatu (II ), pp. 13 -20.

<sup>185</sup> Näbeyu, p. 11 .

(minstrels) and *Amina* or *Hamana* (dawn time singers) of Adét. Obviously, the most important task of these local officials was the collection of taxes for *Ras Haylu*.<sup>186</sup> 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*.<sup>187</sup>



Ras Haylu Tikli Haimanot

Qäññazmač Negatu Säyfu at his old age

Figure:8 Picture of Ras Hailu Tekle Haimanot and his local agent of Yelmana Densa District.

Source: Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wäradä", p. 4.

<sup>186</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 19-20.

<sup>187</sup>Selṭanä Seyoum, "A History of Bahr Dar Town, 1936-1974" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1988), p. 63.

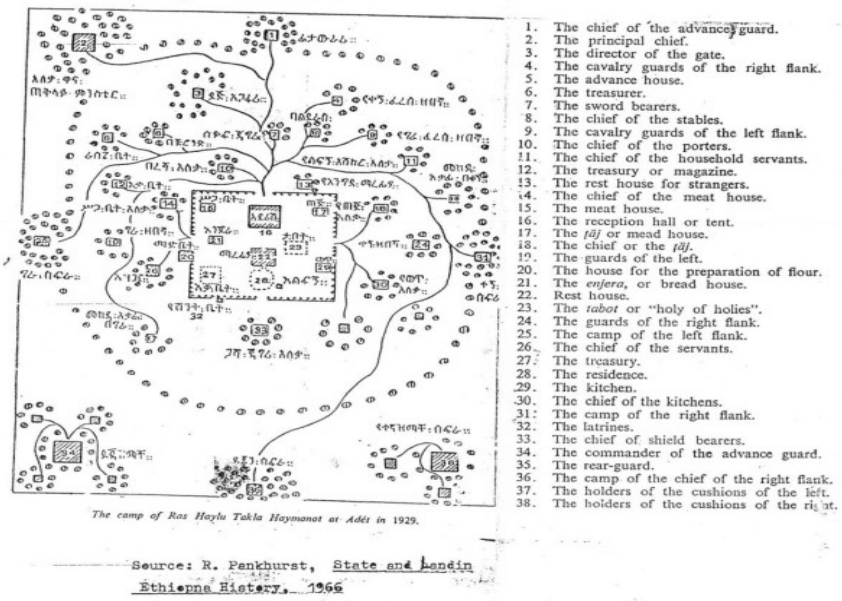
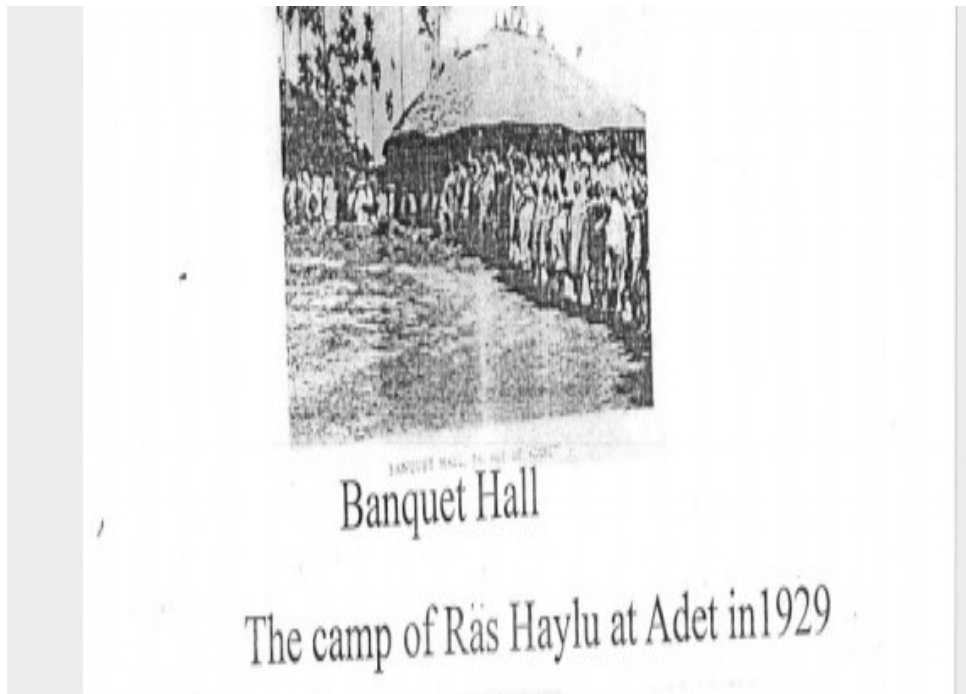


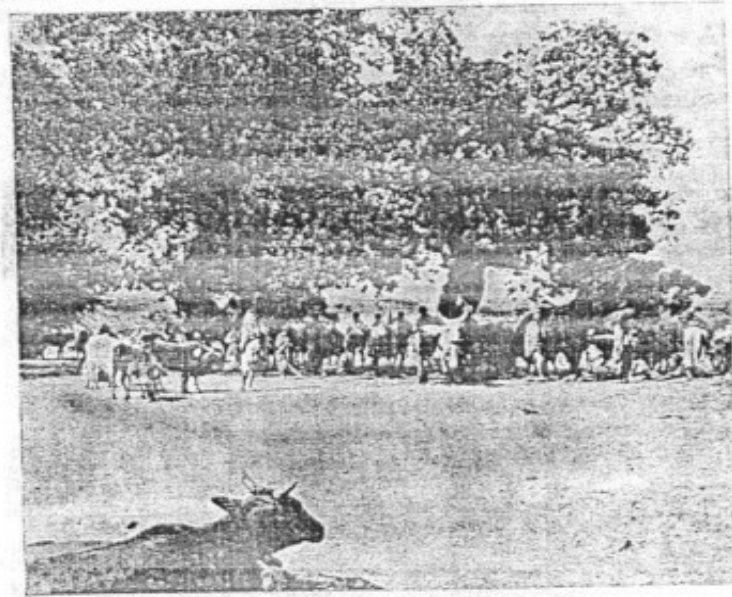
Figure 9: the Camp of Ras Hailu Tekle Haymanot at Adet in 1929

Source: R. Pankhurst, state and land in Ethiopian history, 1966





5:



CATTLE MARKET, ADIET

**Figure 10: Cattle Market place at Adet**

Source: Griaule.M. *The Burner of Men*.1935

The period of *Ras Haylu* was marked by considerable growth of trade and commerce in locality Yelmana Dénsa and Adét town as it was true in other parts of Gojjam. However, *Ras Haylu* tried to discourage the interchange slaves through highly taxing the traders particularly after his tour in Europe with *Ras Täfäri Mäkönnän* in 1924.<sup>188</sup> *Ras Haylu* helped the town of Adét to grow by constructing sizable amount of tavern houses and butcheries on the southern side of Haylu Gäböya. In connection to the present, Abdussämäd says: "The princes of Gojjam needed the event of market centers like Adét, Bure, Dangela and Moṭa. They also encouraged artisans to supply craft goods and merchants to conduct trade. However, society set boundaries between respectable and disrespectable jobs."<sup>189</sup> Informants also state that *Ras Haylu* and his officials at Adét encouraged the local people to consume *Tälla*, *aräqi*, *Täjj* (mead) and meat from Haylu's tavern houses. Besides, *Ras Haylu* personally advised *mäšta* ladies and craft workers to improve their little business. He also introduced eucalyptus tree,

<sup>188</sup>Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile Adet town ", p. 4.;

<sup>189</sup>Abdussämäd *Hajj Ahmäd*, "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.

the name of a quarter in Addis Ababa, Arada, and night time curfew into Adét town.<sup>190</sup> One of my informants expressed the growth of Adét town by then and the attraction of the rural people from the surrounding areas towards it by the following verse:

**በሳምንት በሳምንት አዴት እየመጣሁ፤  
መዳኛ የሌለው ህመም ይዠ መጣሁ።**<sup>191</sup>

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 within the late 1920s, as will be more elaborated in chapter three of the thesis. This led to the quarrel between *Ras* Haylu and *Ras* Täfäri (later Emperor Haylä Sellasé). Then, in 1930, under the order of *Ras* Täfäri, an enormous army commanded by *Šalāqa* Säyfu took *Ras* Haylu from his camp at Däbrä Mäwi in to Addis Abäba never to return again<sup>192</sup>. *Ras* Haylu's rule was unpopular throughout Gojjam, especially among the clergy and local nobility who had lost their political and economic privileges. Emperor Haylä Sellasé took this into his own advantage. Among others, in 1931 the inhabitants of Zägé peninsula presented a case against *Ras* Haylu to the Emperor. In the same year, in the name of punishing *Ras* Haylu, Emperor Haylä Sellasé converted the territories of Zägé and Adét in to crown lands and put them under an imperial appointee named *Däjjazmač* Mäsfen Gämmäč.<sup>193</sup> In 1932 *Ras* Haylu was detained and *Däjjazmač* Sebehatu Yegzaw was installed as the Enedärasé of Adét, as will be discussed below.<sup>194</sup>

## **2.2. Taxation and Other Tributes of *Ras* Haylu in Adét: 1901-1932**

As indicated above, *Ras* Haylu's rule over Gojjam was marked by excessive taxation and exploitation of the people of Gojjam normally and Adét particularly. The *Ras* made his utmost efforts to spice up his revenue. Apart from land tax, Haylu received revenues within the variety of tributes, taxes, fees and bribes. to start with, *asrat* (tithe) was collected by *Ras* Haylu 's officials like the *mesläné*, *gultä- gäž* and *Çheqa Šum*. Initially, *asrat* was collected in a similar way by groups of Haylu's tax collectors

---

<sup>190</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 19-20

<sup>191</sup>Informants: Haylu Metku, Amäšä Jämbäré, Aduñña Ayečäh

<sup>192</sup>Selṭanä, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 16- 20. ; Näbeyu, pp. 12-13.

<sup>193</sup>Ibid

<sup>194</sup>Selṭanä, p.26.

(including the *Çheqa Šum*) in each area. They were called *asāfari* (measurers) who were shortly afterwards renamed as *gotāra asekāfač* (assessors of the granary). The *asāfari* retained a 3rd of the quantity of the tithe and was allowed to gather two *qunna* of grain from each peasant for his service. For that reason, *Ras Haylu's* tax collectors were sometimes called *yāgol qunna Šums*.<sup>195</sup>

Later on, however, *Ras Haylu* found this method of collecting inefficient and also the collectors corrupted. As a result, Haylu changed the payment of *asrat* in to cash. He imposed 8800 Maria Theresa Thaler on the town of Adét and its surrounding areas alone consisting of the *meslānés* of Dénša, Yelmana, Gānj, Yāwodi, Lejj Ambāra and Zāgé Medrā-Bād. Seven elders were elected in Adét and from its surrounding areas, *meslāné* and village levels to assess the wealth of their inhabitants. Then, the quantity of *asrat* imposed by Haylu was divided among *meslāné* and villages according to their wealth.<sup>196</sup> 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 *Yā golqunna Šums* who were also given some localities as *gult* for their service.<sup>197</sup>

It seems that the peoples of Adét were proud of the conversion of taxes into cash because they might now harvest their crops without expecting the approaching of tax assessors.<sup>198</sup> Any extra amount of cash collected in a part was also shared by the *meslāné* and his secretary. Here, the *Endārasé* of Adét since 1925, Negatu Säyfu, remarks that the new system couldn't prevent corruption by tax collectors, and hence, the number of tax collected from his area usually dwindled to 6,000 Maria Theresa Thaler.<sup>199</sup> *Ras Haylu* also received taxes of various other forms from all adults cherish their occupations. The foremost unpopular tax was *yāçhes Geber* (hat tax) which was later on changed in to *yāqob Geber* (head tax) paid by all adults. Besides, Haylu took *yāqānd Geber* (tax per head of cattle) and *ambo Geber* (tax on mineral waters). *Yāqānd* and *yāamboğebers* were collected by local *Grazemaçes* promoted by Haylu for the identical purpose. *Māšāta* ladies and widows were also required to pay

---

<sup>195</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 5-6

<sup>196</sup>Negatu (II)pp. 6-7

<sup>197</sup>Babr Dar Center of Edegät Bāheberät Amātawi Report, 1967 E. C. - Sāné.1968 E. c."P.61.

<sup>198</sup> Negatu (II), pp. 6-7. ; Abdussāmād, "*Trade and Politics in Gojjam*". p. 33.

<sup>199</sup> Negatu (II), p. 8. See also "Bahr Dar Center of Edegät Bāhbrät", p. 61.

a tax called *yägofäre* (hair tax).<sup>200</sup> Additionally, *Ras* Haylu promoted local *çheqa Šums* to the rank of *Grazmč* and assigned them to gather market dues from the attendants of Adé. Further, *Ras* Haylu brought the craft workers of every *mesläné* of Adét like tanners, weavers, black smiths and jewelers under a *Grazmač* and required them to pay taxes entitled *yäkasma* (peg tax), *yägwddegwad* (hole tax), *yädäbälanssa* (smiths tax) and *yämanaŋfia* (bellow tax) respectively.<sup>201</sup>

The amount of all the above taxes varied from person to person consistent with their status and amount of wealth. for example, as indicated above, ordinary people like *mäšäta* ladies, minstrels and *Aminas* or *Hamanas* (dawn time singers) were required to pay one Maria Thresa Thaler, and craft workers two Maria Theresa Thaler, per year. Market day taxes called *yädeläla* (brokerage tax) were usually two Maria Theresa Thaler per mule or donkey loads.<sup>202</sup> Monasterics, mineral waters and the Anegar (in Yelmana) and Wanzayä (in Bagemder) hot springs were also expected to pay a share of the amount they collected.<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup>

One of the other sources of Haylu's revenue was called *yämäšomeya* (appointment fee) demanded from all his officials. To begin with, *Ras* Haylu appointed *yä golqunna Šums*, new *gultä-gäž*, and recognized hereditary *gultä-gäžs* by receiving appointment fees from all of them<sup>205</sup>. Besides, Haylu received appointment fees from *Wämebärs* (local judges), ecclesiastical officials, *Liqämäkwases*; and the *Gerazemačes* of craft workers, cattle herders and market day tax collectors.<sup>206</sup> People were also expected to pay fees to *Ras* Haylu so as to get military ranks like *Fitawerari*, *Balamebäras*, *Šamebäl*, *Qäññazmač* and so on<sup>207</sup>. Likewise, a *Nägaderas* was expected to pay an appointment fee usually amounted to 2000 Maria Theresa Thaler. All the officials of

<sup>200</sup>Abdussämäd Hajj Ahmääd, "Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and World Economy, 1901-1935"

(Ph.D. Dissertalion, University of Urbana, History, Illinois, 1986), pp. 71-73.

<sup>201</sup>Negatu (II), p. 13. ; Tekle Haimanot, pp. 44-45

<sup>202</sup>Negatu (II), p. 13.; Dawit, p.11.

<sup>203</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 13- 14

<sup>204</sup>Dawit, p. II

<sup>205</sup>Näbeyu, pp. 10- 11. ; Negatu (II), pp. 8-1

<sup>206</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 8- 12. ; Abdussämäd, "Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and World Economy", p.87.

<sup>207</sup>Negatu (II), p. 14. ; Dawit, p. 11. Asrat, p. 26.

*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.<sup>208</sup>

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.<sup>209</sup> 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."<sup>210</sup> He also confiscated slaves in Zägé<sup>211</sup> Furthermore, according to Abedussämäd, *Nägaderas* Abeduleqader Aman of Adét 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 Mändärä Eyäsus<sup>212</sup> .

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.<sup>213</sup> Sources agree that no significant amount of revenue was sent to the treasuries of both the central state and church.<sup>214</sup> Instead, Haylu invested much of his revenue in Addis Ababa in cinema, night clubs, taxi service and the like.<sup>215</sup> 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 propaganda to accuse him.<sup>216</sup>

### **2.3 The Socio-Economic Condition of Adét: 1901-1936**

This sub section of the thesis will assess the economic and social conditions of the people of Adét and its environs during the period from 1901 to 1936 by taking tenure, trade, handicraftsmen and native social organization in to consideration.

---

<sup>208</sup> Dawit, p. 9. ; Näbyu, p. 11.

<sup>209</sup>; Abdussämäd, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 62.

<sup>210</sup> Informants: Haylu Metku, Amäšä Jämbäré, Aduñña Ayečäh.

<sup>211</sup> Abdussämäd, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", p. 30.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid

<sup>213</sup> Bahru Zewde, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia (1916- 1935)" *Journal of Ethiopian studies*, Vol. XVII (November 1984), p.18.

<sup>214</sup> Näbeyu, p. 10. ; Negatu (II), pp. 13-20.

<sup>215</sup> Informants: Haylu Metku, Amäšä Jämbäré, Aduñña Ayečäh, Biazené Ejjigu.

<sup>216</sup> Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 144 .

### 2.3. 1. Land Tenure

During the early 20th century, there were three forms of land tenure in Adét. They were *rest* (communal), church and state tenures. To begin with, parishioner villagers owned *rest* land in each locality or parish of Adét. 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 Adét were often described as *balabats* (literally, those who have fathers). *Rest* lands owned by *balabbats* were managed by family elders in each locality of Adét.<sup>217</sup>

The other form of land tenure in Adét 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 *qefäf*. Church lands of this form were under the *gult* supervision of the big monasteries of Adét and its environs like Adét Mädhané 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 Balay*, Däbrä Mäwi annually received 800 *madegga* of grain and 400 *amolés*, from its twenty-two *qefäf* (monastic *gult* lands).<sup>218</sup> Similarly, informants explain that the monastery of Adét Mädhané Aläm received large quantities of grain and *amolé* each year from its eighteen *qefäf*.<sup>219</sup> Until the time of *Ras* Haylu these and the other monasteries of Adét 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.<sup>220</sup> The second form of church tenure was called *yäsenedé märét* (wheat land) or *yämäseqäl märét* (Cross-land) which was common to all the churches in Adét. For instance, Adét Mädhané Aläm obtained large quantities of grain from its *yäsenedé märét* (wheat land) located to the east of Adét at the locality of Dängäz. Similarly, Däbrä Mäwi Maryam had approximately four *gašaof yäsenedé märét*. Parishioner villagers directly cultivated these church lands for its maintenance. These church lands were also free from the payment of the state *asrat* (tithe)...<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>217</sup>Ibid

<sup>218</sup>Bälay, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66

<sup>219</sup>Informants: Haylu Metku, Amäšä Jämbäré, Aduñña Ayičäh, Biazené Ejjegü.

<sup>220</sup>Negatu (I), p. 25.

<sup>221</sup>Bälay, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66. ; Negatu (I), pp. 33, 34, 37. ; Gärämäw, pp. 22-24

As indicated above, the third form of tenure in Adét 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 Adét, converted them in to his own estates and sold the produce. Haylu also had several *ganägäb* (personal gults) in Adét and the surrounding areas. In addition, Ras Haylu took lands for irrigation purposes and started to construct small dams across the Šena (at Gomängé), Šeggäz (around Adét) and Țul rivers. State tenure in Adét 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 reciprocally for his or her services.<sup>222</sup> Like *rest* land rights, *gult* rights were hereditary in Adét and also the adjacent areas before the period of Ras Haylu. They were often described by the term *rest -gult*. However, in the 20th century Ras Haylu began to appoint his own favourites as *gultä-gäž* or *gultEnedärasé* particularly for the *ganägäb* localities mentioned above. In fact, he did recognize a number of the hereditary *gultä Gäž* or *balä gult*.<sup>223</sup>

For the majority of the villager parishioners of Adét, 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 balabbats, churches and monasteries of the area were usually rented to those in need under different tenure arrangements most commonly on the basis of share cropping.<sup>224</sup> 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.<sup>225</sup> However, like other parts of the country, *rest* land owners of the town and the surrounding area 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 Aläm and often described as *yägädam rest*. Hence, owners of this *gädam* land had service or tribute obligations.<sup>226</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup>Negatu (II), pp. 8-11.; Nābeyu, pp. 10-12.; Dawit, p. 9. Crummey, pp. 194-232.

<sup>223</sup> Nebeyu, pp. 10-12 .

<sup>224</sup>Informants:Tämäsgän Adam, Bayeh Fälākä, Yäšewas Anagäw

<sup>225</sup>Informants: AyaluAlänä, Šetahun Muçhä, Gizé Bälay.

<sup>226</sup>Informants:Amäšä Jämbäré, Šetahun Muçhä

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 town under investigation<sup>227</sup>.

### 2.3. 2. The Development of Trade in Adét

In addition to cultivating the land, some people of Adét town, 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 first 20th century. The existence of the famous Haylu *Gäbäya* at Adét and therefore the annual market place called *Ṭeqemet Sellasé* held for three days at *Färäs Mäsk* (in *Zära Beruk*) to the south of Adét attracted merchants as far north as *Asemära* and as far south as the Oromo territories south of the *Abbay* river. In other words, Adét were one in all the market towns of *Gojjam* which tapped most of the regional trade.<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup> In addition, there were rural markets in the adjacent areas of Adét like *Yezora*, *Agetta*, *Färäswägga*, *Enägadé* and *Gonj* (in *Qollälla*) which were visited by local merchants.<sup>230</sup>

The most important caravan merchants of Adét during the early 20th century included *Nägadrases* *Abedulqader Aman*, *Fänta Negusé* and *Ali Ahemäd* (later *Nägadräs Hajj*), *Grazemač* *Asäggé Yemär*, *Zärihun Ali*, *Qaçhenu Adäm*, *MuhéAdäm*<sup>231</sup> and *Abba Wäldä Eyäsus*.<sup>232</sup> According to *Abdussämäd*, the Saturday market of Adét popularly known as *Haylu Gäbäya* was " ... an important enterpot for imported goods from Arabia, Egypt, India, etc., and amole from *Tegray* ... " *Abdussämäd* 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 *Meçha* brought agricultural products to the market during this harvesting season.<sup>233</sup> In addition, the craft workers of Adét and rural localities like *Agetta*, *Gošäyä*, *Däbrä Mäwi* and others supplied their products to the same market. Hundreds of merchants from *Agäw Meder* and *Däga Damot* also visited the weekly

---

<sup>227</sup>*Gärämäw*, p. 2

<sup>228</sup>*Abdussämäd*, "Trade and politics in *Gojjam*," pp. 27-30.

<sup>229</sup>Informants: *Ašäber Bayeh*, *Lakäw Gété*.

<sup>230</sup>Informants: *Šägayä Amära*, *Alämayähu Endaläw*, *Alämu Gétahun*.

<sup>231</sup>Informants: *Šetahun Muçhä*, *Biazené Ejegu*, *Ašäbere Bälay*.

<sup>232</sup>Informants: *AyaluAlänä*, *Šetahun Muçhä*, *Gizé Bälay*

<sup>233</sup>*Abdussämäd*, "Trade and politics in *Gojjam*", pp. 29-30.; *Geremew*, p. 23



Saturday market of Adét to sell their horses and mules. These merchants in turn took amolé and skin works from Adét market to their respective areas.<sup>234</sup> Merchants from Bägémdar were also particularly interested in mules from the market at Adét.<sup>235</sup>

The most important items that were brought to Adét across caravan routes via Bahr Dar and Alata were cloth, *zāha* or *buti* (yarn), perfume, firearms, metallic objects and utensils. These goods mostly came from Asemära or Massawa and the Sudan.<sup>236</sup> 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 Adét needed by both local merchants and those from other places included honey, butter, spices, pepper, hides, skins, craft works and other items brought from south of the Abbay river.<sup>237</sup>

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 Däberä Wärq was extended to Addis Ababa. The Buré-Amädami line also connected Adét with Gemeja Bät, Enjibara, and Dämbäṣa and beyond. Likewise, the route from Färäs Wägga was extended to Danegla, Bahr Dar and Zägé and Mätämma. The route from Alata also reached Bägémdar, which extended to Gonedär. Most of these routes were also used by long distance merchants; that is, to and from Mätämma, Asemära, and the region south of the Abbay River<sup>238</sup>.

---

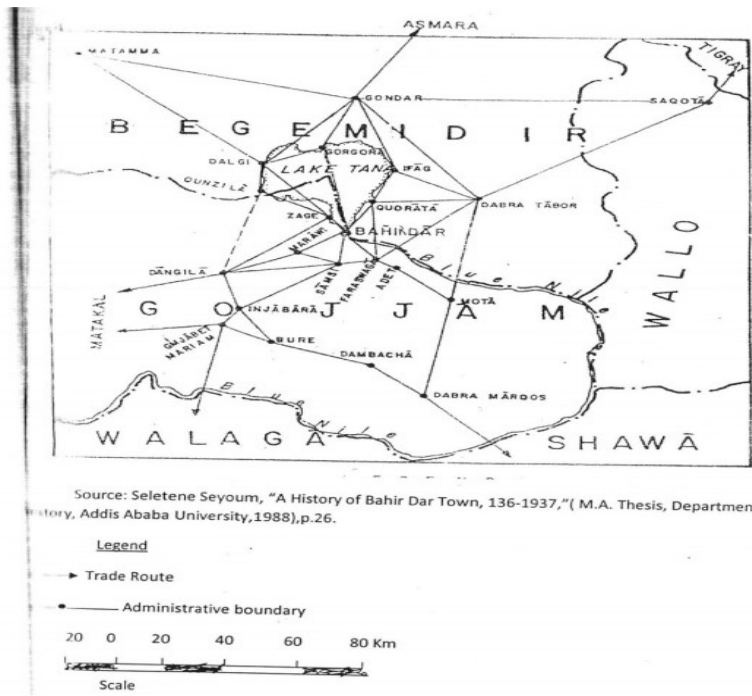
<sup>234</sup> Abdussamad, *Ibid*.

<sup>235</sup> Informants: Şägayä Amära, Biazené Ejjeju, Bayeh Fäläkä.

<sup>236</sup> Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism office, profile of the town of Adet, p. 4., "Seltene Seyuom p.16.

<sup>237</sup> Seltene, "*A History of Bahr Dar*", pp. 59, 68.

<sup>238</sup> Sltene, p. 27.



**Figure 11: Map of trade routes until 1935**

Source: Seletene Seyoum, "A History of Bahir Dar Town, 136-1937," (M.A. Thesis, Department of history, Addis Ababa University, 1988), p.2

As mentioned above, the presence of the three days annual market of Teqemet Sellasé was a good advantage for the event of long distance exchange at Adét during the first 20th century. Informants invariably state that merchants from Šäwa, Bägémdir, 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 most reason for this was the massive quantity of production of luxury goods by the "work shop" organized by Ras Haylu near Däbrä Marqos. Likewise, those merchants from Bägémeder were very curious about 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 mandatory trade items.<sup>239</sup> 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

<sup>239</sup>Gärämäw, pp. 19-20.

merchants from Däbrä Wärq and Bičäna in their stay at Adét, whose statements run:

**አዴት ከከተማው ከጥጉ ደርሽ፣**

**ወይ አለመታደል መጣሁ ተመልሽ።<sup>240</sup>**

The English translation of the couplet reads:

*I have the nearest to arrive into the town of 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 Danegela, Sigadi (in Mätäkkäl), Dämbäçha, Däbrä Marqos, Däbrä Wärq and Märṭulä Maryam towns.<sup>241</sup> As noted above, considerable number of merchants of the town, particularly Muslim merchants also participated in long distance trade as far as Asemära in the north and as far as the territories south of the Abbay River in the south. Local merchants and their goreddemans (loaders and unloaders) headed by their *Nägaderas* usually started their journey by the middle of November and reached Asemära after two months of travel. Then, they returned home and reached Adét at the beginning of April.<sup>242</sup> Interestingly, workers temporarily employed by the Italians in Tripoli were able to return home safely accompanying long distance merchants of Adét. Other local long distance merchants also travelled as far south as Jemma.<sup>243</sup> The most famous of all the *Nägaderas* during the period of RasHaylu was *Nägaderas* Abedulqader Aman (Alqader) of Mändärä Eyäsus to the west of Adét. He could bring 300 to 400 mules' load of *Yäbaheer eqa* (goods imported by sea) and other items from Asemära.<sup>244</sup> The people of Adét were happy the moment Abedulqader 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 ይሞላል የዴንሳ ባላገር፣**

**ይለወጥ ነበረ ዘጠኝ ጨው ባንድ ብር።<sup>245</sup>**

The English translation of this verse is:

---

<sup>240</sup>Informants: Hailu Deräs, Biazené Ejjegü, Šetahun Muçhä.

<sup>241</sup>Abdussämäd, "*Trade and Politics in Gojjam*", p. 31

<sup>242</sup>Abdussamad, "*Trade and Politics in Gojjam*", pp.37-38.

<sup>243</sup>Informant: Biazene Ejjegü.

<sup>244</sup>Abdussämäd, "*Trade and Politics in Gojjam*", p. 30. ; Gärämäw, p. 19;

<sup>245</sup>Geremew, pp.23-25

*When Abedulqader reached at Adét, the people of Dénsa became very happy because, it was possible to exchange nine amolé with one Maria Theresa Thaler.*

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.<sup>246</sup> Informants remembered that Haylu exported whatever items he could get from Adét and its surroundings including bulls, cotton cloths, coffee, bean, pea, pumpkin and cartridge in to Mätamma and Massawa.<sup>247</sup> 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 täjj at Adét.<sup>248</sup> 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 enjära supplied to him by the local people as *mätät tax*.<sup>249</sup>

### **2.3.3. Handicrafts man ship**

In addition to merchant community members, there have been several other professional groups scattered throughout the encompassing areas of Adét 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.<sup>250</sup> 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 a part of their tribute obligation.<sup>251</sup> Some of the important handicraft specializations practiced at least in the *meslänés* of Adét are discussed below.

To begin with, tanning, flying and leather working were practiced, among others, at Qura Şeyon, Gafat and Ayqätuba surrounding Adét town; Wäybeiññ and Jangäbbär in Däbrä Mäwi; Teruḥäbba, Yäqoränḥ, Menaqäbäḥ, and Goşäyä. The tanners of these and other localities of Adét manufactured different articles from locally obtained

---

<sup>246</sup>Ibid

<sup>247</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 17.

<sup>248</sup>Informant: Haylu Metku.

<sup>249</sup>Informant: Amäšä Jämbäré, Aduññ Ayečäh.

<sup>250</sup>Informants: Alämayähu Endaläw, Alämu Gétahun

<sup>251</sup> Abdussämäd, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam", pp. 28-30.

skins and hides.<sup>252</sup> They mainly manufactured sleeping skins, thongs, ropes, bags, belts, saddles, bridles, shields and so forth. Handicraft workers of Adét and the adjacent areas largely depended on the Saturday market of Adét to sell their products. Hence, according to Abedussämäd, Adét was famous among long distance caravan traders particularly for its supply of *anqäleba*.<sup>253</sup> 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<sup>254</sup>.

Likewise, other localities like *fateman*, *Jangäbär*, *Amebatna*, *Sänqäñña* and *Gošäyä* 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.<sup>255</sup> Like tanners, blacksmiths manufactured agricultural implements, household utensils and ecclesiastical articles, including the plough, axe, swords, knives, spear heads, bells and nails.<sup>256</sup> Iron bead was brought to Adét from Massawa, Mätämma, Gonedär and Addis Ababa by long distance merchants.<sup>257</sup> Furthenmore, jewelers such as copper and silver smiths of *Gošäyä*, *Šeggäz*, *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 town and its surrounding areas and merchants. They also manufactured paraphernalia for horses and mules. These human and animal ornamentations were so popular in Adét that a jeweler had a less pejorative identification, *anteräñña*, than a black smith, the *däbälansa*. Besides, local jewelers purchased some quantities of jewels from long distance merchants and sold them at local markets.<sup>258</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup>Gärämäw, p. 23

<sup>253</sup> Abdussämäd *Hajj* Ahmääd, "Gojjam, *Trade, Early Merchant Capital*", p. 203.

<sup>254</sup> Informants: AmäšäJämebäré, Aduñña Ayečäh.

<sup>255</sup> Gärämäw, pp. 21, 22, 23.

<sup>256</sup> Abdussämäd, "Gojjam: *Trade, Early Merchants Capital*", p. 203.

<sup>257</sup> Informants: Alämayähu Endaläw, Alämu Gétahun

<sup>258</sup> Gärämäw, pp. 19 -20.





**Figure 12** Photo graphs of hdicraft products

*Source: Yelmana Dénsa District Culture and Tourism Office, "Profile of Yelmana Dénsa Wārāda", p. 9*

Muslim weaver and merchant farmers also had clustered villages throughout Adét and the adjacent areas during the early 20th century. Mändärä Eyäsus, Adét, Ereberb, Ayqätubba, Agetta, Wänäba, Yebaba and Ali Mäsk (in Qollälla) were the major dwelling sites of the Muslims of the town<sup>259</sup>. Although many of the Muslims of Adét practiced some farming and long distance trade, other social groups of the town always identified them as Šāmané (weaver).<sup>260</sup> In fact, there were also Christian weavers in the town, who were accorded the same identification. Some of the important sites of Christian weavers were *Anbatna, Adét, Däbrä Mäwi, Jangäbär and Gošäyä*. Christian weavers were more favoured than their Muslim counter parts by the neighbouring Christian farming households. This was chiefly because the

<sup>259</sup>Imformants:Alämayähu Endaläw,Alämu Gétahun

<sup>260</sup>Negatu (II), p. 19. ; R. Pankhurst, *Economic Histoy of Erhiopia, 1800-1935* (Addis Ababa: Haile Sellasie I University Press, 1965), p. 38.

garments woven by Christian weavers were believed to have curative value through satisfying the spirits called *Zar* and *Wuqabi*. At any rate, Muslim weavers of the town manufactured varieties of textiles that were highly demanded by local peoples and merchants. Weaving was carried out using materials of foreign as well as local origin. For instance, long distance merchants brought *zaha or buti* (yarn) to the market at Adét from faraway places like Asemära and Mätämma. Muslim women also practiced spinning from raw cotton supplied by the peasants of Yelmana, Qollälla, Méçha and Bägémdar. In fact, this traditional spinning was skilfully and also practiced by Christian women for the manufacture of their personal garments.<sup>261</sup> In relation to the manufacturing of cloths, it should also be noted that *Balamebäras* Wärqnäh Kassa of Ayqäṭubba (north east of Adét) introduced some sewing machines before the Italian occupation period.<sup>262</sup> 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<sup>263</sup>.

Furthermore, pottery making was practiced by female peasants of Danebaš, Daval, Deguṭit, Yezora (Däräqé), Gošäyä, Jangäbär and other places of Adét and the surrounding areas. But, better quality utensils made of pottery manufactured in the neighboring districts of Qwarit and Ṭaliya-Lejj Amebära were sold at the weekly Saturday market of Adét.<sup>264</sup> Pottery makers of the town manufactured varieties of cooking and food receptacles and other utensils from locally obtained clay mud.<sup>265</sup> Other peasant women of the Däga (high land) areas of Yelmana Dénsa and Däga Damot were also suppliers of baskets of different sizes.<sup>266</sup>

#### **2.3.4. The Social Condition of the People of Adét from 1901—1936**

During the first 20th century, Adét, like other parts of Gojjam, had a distinctively ranked society supported land ownership and gult administration rights. It absolutely was also composed of both Christian and Muslim parishioner members with a particular Christian majority. The foremost important social components of the district under investigation are discussed under this sub section of the thesis.

---

<sup>261</sup> Informants: Hailu Deräs, Biazené Ejjegu, Šetahun Muçhä

<sup>262</sup> Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 59.

<sup>263</sup> Alämayähu Endaläw, Alämu Gétahun, Asmarä Ayné

<sup>264</sup> Informants: Aduñña Ayçäh, Šägayä Amära, Ayalu Alänä

<sup>265</sup> Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, p. 276.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid



### 2.3. 4. 1. Local Rulers and Balabbats

As mentioned above, supported customary law and oral tradition land ownership and native administrative rights were always reserved for *balabbat* families of Adét. Against this, landless members of the villages or parishes were *çhesäñña* (dependents or tenants) of the *balabbats*. A brand new comer to a parish could become a *balabbat* through marriage, but as long as he or she belonged to a socially recognized family. Therefore, local rulers formed the upper echelon of the people of Adét during the first 20th century followed by *balabbats* including the clergy.<sup>267</sup>

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.<sup>268</sup> Furthermore, *balabbat* families were generally dignified by different honorific terms like *yäsäw lej* (laity), *telq sew* (great man) and *yäçhäwa lej* (courteous). More specifically, tribute payin g parishioner members of the town were identified by particular terms admires their jobs. They included *kahenat* (clergy), *Çhäwa* (courteous) or *balagär* (peasant) and *Çhesäñña* (dependent or tenant). The clergy of huge monasteries of Adét and the surrounding areas were also identified by the term *mahebäroč* (monastic communities).<sup>269</sup> Christian family heads had vol untary religious associations during the period under study called *mahebäre* held once monthly in commemoration of Saint Mary, George, Mädhané Aläm, Archangels Gabraél and Mikaél so forth. Further, it absolutely was socially obligatory for each of the households of the parishes of the town to organize a ceremony in the name of a selected *tabot* (ark) once each year and feed relatives, the clergy and passers-by reciprocally for managing the social and spiritual affairs of local communities of every parish. The clergy were also beneficiaries of spiritual feasts collectively called *mäharra* including *sänbäté*, *kerstena* (baptism), *täzekar* or *yämutamät* (memorial feast of the anniversary of the dead) and also the like.<sup>270</sup> Finally, *Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot* introduced in to Adét what has been termed *feneter* (drink after doing a business). This was a supply of *onemadegga tälla* (a jar of

---

<sup>267</sup> Informants: Hailu Bitäw, Biazené Ejjegu.

<sup>268</sup> Negatu (II), pp.8-12.

<sup>269</sup> Informants: Hailu Bitäw, Biazené Ejjegu.

<sup>270</sup> Gärämäw, pp. 24-25.

local bear) to elders who arbitrated disputes or negotiated the exchange of cattle and pack animals.<sup>271</sup>

#### 2.3.4.2. The Social Status of Occupational (Professional) Groups

Regardless of their services and also the tributes they paid to local ecclesiastical and secular rulers, professional groups were commonly considered as complementary social categories. Because it was true in other parts of the country, local co-resident farming community members of Adét invariably looked down up on crafts men, merchants and other professionals. In other 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 town, professionals were considered as religiously “impure.”<sup>272</sup> Craft workers were identified by a generic name of *ṭäyb* or *ṭäbib* (plural, *täbiban*).<sup>273</sup> Black smiths were identified by the name *däbälansa* or *aräbäñña*<sup>274</sup> instead of "the worker in iron."<sup>275</sup> Similarly, pottery makers were mentioned by the name *fälaša*<sup>276</sup> instead of "potters."<sup>277</sup> Further, tanners of the town were commonly identified by the term *faqi*<sup>278</sup> instead of “the worker in leather.”<sup>279</sup> Weavers were also indiscriminately called *šämmané* with pejorative implication.<sup>280</sup> In the past, the inferior position of a merchant of Adét manifested itself by insulting phrases accorded to him like *mäçhañña näkaš* (biter of the leather rope).<sup>281</sup> No matter how large *rest* lands a craft worker might own, he could never be accorded socially honorific titles described above<sup>282</sup>.

Moreover, professional groups of the town under investigation were more secluded in case of marriage than other social affairs.<sup>283</sup> Regarding this, Negatu mentions that

---

<sup>271</sup>Bäläy, *Etégé Ṭaytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, pp. 76-80. ;

<sup>272</sup>Informant: Aduñña Ayečäh, Šägayä Amära, Ayalu Alänä

<sup>273</sup>Hoben, pp. 201, 204. ; Levine, pp. 70-71.

<sup>274</sup>Negatu (II), p. 19.

<sup>275</sup>Informants: Amäšä Jämebäré, Šetahun Muçhä, Gizé Bäläy.

<sup>276</sup>Ibid

<sup>277</sup>Negatu (II), p. 19.

<sup>278</sup>Ibid

<sup>279</sup> Negatu (II), p. 19. ; Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia*, p. 45

<sup>280</sup>Negatu, Ibid

<sup>281</sup>Pankhurst, p. 45

<sup>282</sup>Hoben, p. 128.; Levine, p. 71.

<sup>283</sup>Negatu (II), p. 19

while giving traditional titles like *Gerazmač* and *Liqāmākwās*, *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot strictly forbade the marriage relations between professional groups and the farming *balabbats*.<sup>284</sup> Nor could they were allowed to have a seat a longside the *balabats* 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".<sup>285</sup> Hence, a range of sources explain that, the belief in the *buda* syndrome was psychologically damaging to occupational castes in general.<sup>286</sup> 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 *buda*.<sup>287</sup>

#### 2.4. Adét Town during the Period of *Ras* Emeru Haylä Sellasie: 1932-1936

The year 1932 was a turning point within the history of Gojjam generally and Adét in particular. This was because Gojjam lost autonomous status and also the dynasty of *Däjjazemach* Yosédéq (18th century) of Gojjam resulted in 1932. *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot and *Ras* Täfäri were in dispute particularly within 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.<sup>288</sup> Later on, in June 1932 a case which was used as a pretext to confiscate the complete property of *Ras* Haylu and convey the province of Gojjam under the direct central government control was dropped at the Emperor. Here, *Ras* Haylu was allegedly accused of guilty of involving within the escape of Lej Eyasu from prison at Fečä under the ultimate verdict of Emperor Haylä Sellasé. As a result, *Ras* Haylu was sentenced to immurement and his entire property was confiscated<sup>289</sup>. At Adét *Ras* Haylu's property was auctioned at lower prices by his trade agents like *Fitawrari* Kassa Enegeda and *Ato* Mulat, Gulilat, Ṭerunähe Käbbädä and AšagréṬerunähe.<sup>290</sup>

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 of Gojjam Awrajja

<sup>284</sup> Negatu, (II), p. 19

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Mussé, pp.15,78-80, see Wäledä Mariam(*aleqa*) p. 92., Plowden, pp. 259-60., Wäldä Mariam, in his explanation Téwädros's stay at the locality of Abola to the north of Adét town states that, "...አባላ ማለት ንጉስ የቡዳ ሁሉ ማለት ነው"/Abola means a king including the buda/.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid

<sup>288</sup> Dawit, p. 12., Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 12.

<sup>289</sup> Seltene, p. 13.

<sup>290</sup> Informants : Hailu Deräs, Biazené Ejjegu, Šetahun Mučhä

(province). However, *Ras Emeru's* decree Gojjam was preceded by an interim administration of Kántiba Matábé Däresso from the *gebbi* (compound) of *Ras Haylu* at Däbrä Marqos. It seems that the foremost task of Matábé 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.<sup>291</sup> The Gojjames opposed the situation from two grounds. The first was that Gojjam was the domain of the descendants of *Däjjazemač Yosédéq* as recognized by the Gonedärine monarchs.<sup>292</sup> 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.<sup>293</sup> In this case, Negatu remarked that the expectation of most Gojjam notables was that the emperor would appoint *Däjjazemač Kassa Mäsfen* of Damot and Agäw Meder, a descendant of *Ras Kenefu Adam*, as the governor general of Gojjam province<sup>294</sup>.

The first reaction against the new arrangement of Emperor Haylä Sellasé came from the son of *Ras Haylu*, *Fitawrari Ademasu*<sup>295</sup>. Informants indicate that Admasu and his brother, Täsämma, went to Däbrä Marqos through Dénesa where their soldiers killed seven people at a place called Gošäyā because of a skinnish with its inhabitants.<sup>296</sup> On arriving at Däbrä Marqos, Admasu was able to force Matábé temporarily to retreat into the distant hill of Yäwäš at the beginning of October 1932. However, Ademasu surrendered soon and was sent to Addis Ababa. By contrast, *Fitawrari Täsämma* complied and was temporarily reinstated as the governor of Méçha.<sup>297</sup> Immediately after the end of the rebellion of Admasu, *Ras Emeru* came to Gojjam on October 22, at the head of a huge army.<sup>298</sup>

*Ras Emeru* redivided the province of Gojjam in to 12 administrative units called

---

<sup>291</sup> Merse'e Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's Collection, "Selä*Ras Haylu* Nebrät Mäwäräs Ena Däberä Marqos Bätänäsaw Amba Gwaro Bezu Säw Mägodatu", N. A. L. A., Folder Number መ. ታ.ወ.ቀ.63.1 Fil Number 33. 13.

<sup>292</sup> Negatu (II), pp. 22-24.

<sup>293</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", p. 23. Dawit, p. 12.

<sup>294</sup> Negatu (II), p. 22. Wäyzäro Negest Täkelä Haymanot was married to *Ras Mäsefen* of Agäw Meder and Damot, see Täkelä Sellasé, "Yä Gojjam Tarik, Chapter, 43", p. 168.

<sup>295</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjarm", p. 24.

<sup>296</sup> Informants: Aduñña Ayečäh, Šägayä Amära, Ayalu Alänä

<sup>297</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 24-26.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

*abägadoč* which were further divided in to *wärädas* (districts). Accordingly, Adét was designated collectively *abägaz* and its former *meslänés* were renamed as *wärädas* (districts). He also appointed officials supported political considerations. *Ras* Emeru forcibly imprisoned many Gojjam 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).<sup>299</sup> For instance, *Qäññazemač* Käbädä Beru was assigned as a financier in charge of controlling the collection of the tithe, fines, court fees and other tributes. *Nägaderas* Säršä Wäld was also appointed to channel out all custom revenues from Gojjam to the imperial treasury. Similarly, *Fifawrari* Kenfä Manyazäwal, seconded by *Abba* Gälan, was in charge of the provincial troops of *Ras* Emeru.<sup>300</sup>

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, *Däjjazemač* Sebhatu Yegzaw and *Fitawrari* Šefäraw Emeru were reinstated as governors of Adét and Meča, respectively.<sup>301</sup> Sebehatu's nephew, *Fitawrari* Yegezaw Kassa was also made his secretary. Both the local rulers govemed Adét from their seat at Qwayt (in Anebäesit), southeast of Adét During the interim period in 1932. That is, before the installment of *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu, the responsibility over Adét had been entrusted to *Fitawrari* Enegdayähu Mäsfen (brother of *Däjjazemač* Kassa described above) of Damot and Agäw Meder. However, the moment Engedayähu came to the area and stationed at Konče Sellasé to the south of Adét, *Fitawrari* Terfé Kassa of Adét, a loyal servant of *Ras* Haylu, skirmished with him. But, with the intervention of the clergy of Adét, Tirfé surrendered and was imprisoned for some times at Däbrä Marqos.<sup>302</sup>

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 corvee labour of *Ras* Haylu. Instead, Emeru institutionalized regular taxation system.<sup>303</sup> The other innovations of Emeru included the introduction

---

<sup>299</sup>Negatu (II), p. 23.

<sup>300</sup>Negatu (II), p. 22. For Negadras Säršä Wäled, see also Bahru, "*Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia*", p. 22.

<sup>301</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*", p. 26.

<sup>302</sup>Informant: Yärom Alämu

<sup>303</sup>Näbeyu, p. 18. ; Dawit, p. 12.

of modern education, court, military training and infrastructures in to Gojjam.<sup>304</sup> Shortly afterwards, *Ras* Emeru got the acceptance of the people of Buré-Damot, Adét and Méçha particularly following his marriage to the granddaughter of *Rasbitwäddäd* Mängäša Atikem, *Wäyzäro* Şegé Maryam Wäldä Rufaél. This was because Mängäša genealogically belonged to the peoples of all these territories.<sup>305</sup> 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.

---

<sup>304</sup>Negatu (I I), p. 24. ; Nābeyu, p. 12

<sup>305</sup>Seltene." *A History of Resistance in Gojjam*", pp. 28 -30.

## UNIT THREE

### Adèt 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.<sup>306</sup> Therefore, this chapter of the thesis will examine the major historical developments in Adèt and the adjacent areas during the period of Italian occupation (1936-1941) with main emphasis on Italian occupation and the resistance put up by the patriots of Adèt and the surrounding areas and its surrounding districts.

#### 3.1. Italian Subversive Activities in Adèt 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.<sup>307</sup> 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 (Gonedär) and Canero Medici (Däbrä Mareqos). 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 local chiefs to rise against the central government of Ethiopian.<sup>308</sup> 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.<sup>309</sup> It should also be noted here that the centralization policy of Emperor Haylä Sellasé created a favourable condition for the Italian subversive activities in Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian nobles who had lost their power including *Ras* Gugesa Wälé of Bägémeder, *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot of Gojjam and Däjjazemač Ayaléw Berru of Sämén and Wäleqayt sought Italian

---

<sup>306</sup>Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 151, 153, 176.

<sup>307</sup> Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 151.

<sup>308</sup>Seltene. "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 14, 15. ; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 150- 151.

<sup>309</sup>Greenfield, pp. 147- 148.

assistance to reassert their local authorities<sup>310</sup>.

One of all, the Italian consul at Gonedär, Di Lauro, exhaustively studied the Lake Ṭana region, including Zagé, 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 *Ras* Gugsä Wälé and Haylu Tākelä Haymanot to rise up against *Ras* Tāfāri (later Emperor Haylä Sellasé).<sup>311</sup> Moreover, the Italian consul at Dässé, Perazio Brielli, used to visit the court of *Ras* Haylu at Adét. For instance, in June 1928 Brielli had conversations with *Ras* Haylu at Adét and telegraphed to the Italian Legation in Addis Abāba about his visit and the political situation in north central Ethiopia.<sup>312</sup> Brielli described *Ras* Haylu as sympathetic to Italy.<sup>313</sup> In this case, the Italian historian Alberto Sbacchi states that Haylu also received a supply of arms from Rome.<sup>314</sup> 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.<sup>315</sup> In this case, Seltene argues that *Ras* Haylu strongly supported the Italian plan of constructing a railway in western Ethiopia.<sup>316</sup> 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.<sup>317</sup> Among the local chiefs who were persuaded by *Ras* Haylu to develop a strong pro Italian stance were *Fitawrari* Kassa Enegeda and *Qāññazmač* Negatu Säyfu of Dēnsa, *Qāññazmač* Bālay Māšāša of Qollālla, *Fitawrari* Terfē Kassa and *Agafari* Kebrit Zāru of Šābba in Yelmana. All these local chiefs, except the latter, were became important *baneda* (collaborator) leaders in Adét and the surrounding areas.<sup>318</sup>

---

<sup>310</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 15.

<sup>311</sup>Tāklä Šadeq Mākuriya, *Yethiopia Tarik KäAšé Tēwādroš Eskä Qādamawi Hayle Sellasie*, Second edition (Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Sālam Printing Press, 2000), pp. 208- 211.

<sup>312</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 15- 16

<sup>313</sup>Ibid

<sup>314</sup>Gārāmāw, p. 82.

<sup>315</sup>Seltene, "A History of resistance in Gojjam," p. 17.

<sup>316</sup>Ibid

<sup>317</sup>Informants: Hailu Deräs, Biazené Ejjeju, Šetahun Mučhä

<sup>318</sup>Informants: Aduññ Ayečäh, Šāgayä Amāra, Ayalu Alānä



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.<sup>319</sup> The Italian consulate at Däberä 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.<sup>320</sup> The Italian consulate in Däbrä Marqos, Canero 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* Ademasu Haylu in October 1932, and Lej Mammo Haylä Mikaél and *Däjjazmač* Gässässä Bäläw in the course of 1934-1935 against the new administration of *Ras* Emeru.<sup>321</sup> In short, Italian agents claimed that " ... all the populations of Gojjam are tired of Šäwan domination."<sup>322</sup> 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 Anchim (March 31, 1930).<sup>323</sup> The Italian governor of Eritrea, Corrado Zolli, confirms the fact by stating that initially *Ras* Haylu, seated at Däberä Mäwi in West of Adét, 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.<sup>324</sup> Zolli further states that on the eve of the battle of Anchim (March 31, 1930) *Ras* Haylu retreated from Adét to Däberä 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.<sup>325</sup> Emperor Haylä Sellasé also claimed that *Ras* Haylu and the Italians were behind the escape of *Lej* Eyasu from prison in May 1932.<sup>326</sup>

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 Bägémeder to propagate future Italian success with the aim of making local populations desperate towards Italian aggression." Regarding this, informants state that throughout the rainy season of 1935 a certain monk named *Abba* Šaräw of the monastery of Agetta Eyäsus was

---

<sup>319</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*," p. 17.

<sup>320</sup>Ibid

<sup>321</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*," pp.28- 29.

<sup>322</sup>Ibid

<sup>323</sup>Ibid, p.19.

<sup>324</sup>Zärihun Gäbré (trans.), *Yä Ethiopia Tarik Kä Ašé Na'od Eskä Alega Wäraš Täfäri Mäkönnäne*, (Addis Ababa: Eléni Publisher P. L. c., 1999), pp.248, 273—274.

<sup>325</sup>Zärihun, p. 274.

<sup>326</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*", p. 22.

telling the people of Adét on the market day about his “dream” that the time for Adét 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:

**"ሶስት ሺህ ነጭ ማር በይልማ ናዴንሳ ታዝሂል...ሽሽ እንጅራ ነው...ሽሽ እንጅራ ነው<sup>327</sup> ..."** / *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.<sup>328</sup>

In the case of Adét, for instance, about half of *guletā gāž* and their followers who had campaigned to Šeré lost their lives or were severely wounded. Among others, the *gobāz alāqa* of *Dājżmač* Sebhatu, *Qāññazmač* Deräs, lost seven of twenty-two relatives who had accompanied him to the Šeré war front. Sebhatu's treasurer, *Azaž Sāmaññe*, was also among those who lost their lives at the war front.<sup>329</sup> At the beginning of March 1936 the survivors of *Ras Emeru's* forces started to retreat from Šeré in April they entered Gojjam.<sup>330</sup> *Dājżmač* Sebehatu, *Qāññazmač* Deräs and their surviving followers reached Adét by then.<sup>331</sup>

Following the battle of *Mayçhāw* (March 31, 1936) Italian forces hurried to occupy all parts of Ethiopia. Accordingly, on May 3, 1936 fascist forces entered *Bahr Dar* from *Gondār*, 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 *banedas* (collaborators). Accordingly, the hereditary ruler of *Qolälla*, (*Qāññazmač* *Bālay Māšāša*), led the eastern column which followed the Adét- *Qolälla* - *Bičāna* line. The central column also proceeded along the *Dābrā Māwi* - *Amādami* - *Dāmebāçha* line led by *Dājżmač* *Gāssāssā Bālāw*. Likewise, the western column which followed the *Rim* (in *Méçha* district) - *Sākāla* - *Burē* line was led by *Qāññazmač* *Zālāqā Asāgē*.<sup>332</sup> All

---

<sup>327</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 39.

<sup>328</sup> *Gārāmāw*, p. 32.

<sup>329</sup> *The Life History of Dejjazmach Deräs*, p. 2.; *Negatu* (I), p. 66.

<sup>330</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 61 .

<sup>331</sup> Informants: *Aduñña Ayečāh* and *Şāgayā Amāra*

<sup>332</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 92.

these three Italian columns were under the command of General Achille Starance who was with Gässässä column and were destined to disarm the inhabitants along their routes and ultimately enter Däbrä Marqos.<sup>333</sup>

### 3.2. Adét and the its environs 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 Adét<sup>334</sup>. 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.<sup>335</sup> 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.<sup>336</sup> This promise of the Italians convinced the local people to say that:

**ገብሬ ገብሬ ነጭ አጥንቴ ወጣ፤**

**በገንዘቡ አዳሪ ሙሶሊኒ መጣ።<sup>337</sup>**

The English translation of this couplet is:

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

However, those who had been to the war front from Adét retreated into Adama in the mountain range of Amädamit. Chief among them were *Däjjazemač* Sebhātu Yegzaw, *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefäraw and several of their followers. The Italians in their part favoured lower ranked local chiefs like the, *çheqa šum* who had quickly surrendered to them at Bahr Dar. Hence, the local people who were agitated by the *çheqa 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 *Däjjazemač* Sebehātu of Adét and others from Méçha and Ačäfär districts surrendered to the Italians at Bahr Dar. But, some others like *Qäññzmač* Deräs

---

<sup>333</sup>Ibid.

<sup>334</sup>Seltene, p. 47.

<sup>335</sup>Ibid, p.92.

<sup>336</sup>Seltene."A History of Bahr Dar Town" pp. 49- 50.

<sup>337</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 57.

did not surrender<sup>338</sup>.

The Italians reinstated Sebehatu as the *mesläné* of Adét 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 Adét using *Çheqa Šums*.<sup>339</sup> Local people 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.<sup>340</sup> However, like the peoples of other areas, the people of Adét started to resent the collection of taxes because it was against the promises the Italians had initially made.<sup>341</sup> 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 Adét during the first few months of the occupation period.<sup>342</sup>

However, in August 1936 Italian authorities accused *Däjjazemač* Sebehatu and other ex-officials of *Ras* Emeru of planning to attack the Italian garrisons at Bahr Dar and Danegela. Hence, Sebehatu was summoned to Bahr Dar together with his relatives and followers on August 5, 1936. Then, on September 12, 1936 Sebehatu, his son *Lej* Bäzabeh, his nephew and secretary, *Qäññazemač* 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.<sup>343</sup> In place of *Däjjazemač* Sebehatu, the Italians appointed prominent local *bandas*, *Fitawrari* Terfé Kassa, as the *mesläné* of Adét and *Qäññazmač* Negatu Säyfu as his secretary. Like Sebehatu 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* Sebehatu. They

---

<sup>338</sup>Ibid, pp. 66, 88—89.

<sup>339</sup>Gärämäw, p. 32.

<sup>340</sup>Informants: Hailu Deräs and Biazené Ejjegu

<sup>341</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 50- 51. ;

<sup>342</sup>Gärämäw, pp. 31- 32.

<sup>343</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 113.

mobilized the local people of Adét and killed Terfé in an open battle, as will be discussed below<sup>344</sup>.

Basically, the Italians established a military administration in Ethiopia. Hence, on June 4, 1936 General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli became the first governor of *Governodell' Amara* (Amhara Governorate). Gojjam was also made a *Coimissarato* (Commissionership) and put under the military administration of General Achille Starance since May 20, 1936. Soon the Coimissarato of Gojjam was divided into five centers of administration known as *Rezidenza* (Residences). Accordingly, Adét and Zägé (including Méçha) each were made centers of *Vice Rezidenza* within *Rezidenza Ṭana Meridionale* (Residence of South Ṭana Zone) centered at Bahr Dar.<sup>345</sup> 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 redivided into three commissionerships in the years 1937 and 1938. Hence, Adét became an Italian center of *Rezidenza* under the Central Gojjam Commissionership centered at Buré.<sup>346</sup> In 1938 Gojjam was again divided into the commissionerships of Gojjam and Agäw 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 Däbrä Mäwi commanded by Major Tinetti Amato under the commissionership of Agäw Meder.<sup>347</sup> However, as indicated above, the political situation in Adét steadily became precarious especially after the execution of *Däjjazemaç* Sebehatu and his relatives. The Italians could not establish effective rule in the area. *Baneda* troops were also repeatedly beaten in the areas of Yezora, Méçha, Säkäla and Qwarit by newly emerging patriots.<sup>348</sup>

The Resident of the Italian administration in Adét 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 *Däjjazemaç* Sebehatu of Adét in most cases by drowning them into Lake Ṭana.<sup>349</sup> In August 1937 Corvo came to Dénesa with the

---

<sup>344</sup> Informants: Mulu Wäreqenäh, Taddäsä Endaläw and Haylu Meteku.

<sup>345</sup> Seltene, "A History or Resistance in Gojjam." pp. 95, 98.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid

<sup>347</sup> Käbbädä Täsämma (*Dejjazmach*), *Yä Tarik masetawäša*, Second Edition. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, Ltd 2007 E.c.), p.257.

<sup>348</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 106.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, pp. 51,109.

grand objective of subduing popular resistances in Adét, Säkäla, Qewarit and Méçha areas.<sup>350</sup> Nevertheless, Corvo and other Italian officers who came to Adét to assist him were disastrously defeated repeatedly by the combined force of the patriots of Adét 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<sup>351</sup>.

Seated at Adét, Corvo tried to force the local people of Adét and its environs to pay tribute and surrender their arms peacefully. Whenever possible, Corvo also intensified his atrocities on the people of Adét. A total of sixty churches including the monasteries of Adät and Däbrä Mäwi were burnt or partially demolished in Adét by Italians aerial attacks under the pretext that these churches served as shelters of the patriots. Among others, the monastery of Adét Mädhanieläm was burnt from the air on September 4, 1937. Then, the Italians cleared individual hamlets and trees of the Adét and its environs and forced the inhabitants to abandon their villages and take shelter among their relatives in distant places.<sup>352</sup> In those days people expressed their grief as:

**የሞፈሩ መርዘም የበሬው ጥናቱ፤  
አስመራ ተጠምዶ አዴት መፈታቱ።<sup>353</sup>**

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 Asmära and ended at Adét.*

**ያንች አባት ቢሞትሽ እኔም አዴት ሞተኝ፤  
ያንች እናት ቢሞትሽ እኔም አዴት ሞተኝ፤  
ያለናት ያላባት የሚያገለጡተኝ።**

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.*

<sup>350</sup>Informants: Ayalu Alänä and Biazené Ejjegu

<sup>351</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 126. ;

<sup>352</sup>"YäAdét Tarik" (typed, n.d.), p. 6.

<sup>353</sup>Informants: Şägayä Amära and Biazné Ejjegu

In addition, Corvo ruthlessly killed local minor chiefs of Adét 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.<sup>354</sup> In this regard, the Italian historian, Alberto Sbacci, as cited by Gärämäw, 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 ...<sup>355</sup> „Because of this, many people of Dénsa lost trust in the Italian authorities and joined the patriots.<sup>356</sup>

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 a center of Rezidenza.<sup>357</sup> 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 Däseta 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* Deräs in April 1938 at Buha Dängia. The survivors entered the Adét garrison for protection<sup>358</sup>.

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 the enemies, 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 Adét and its surrounding areas engaged in hand-to-hand combats with the enemy in

---

<sup>354</sup> Informants: Hailu Deräs, Biazené Ejjegu, Šetahun Muṭhä

<sup>355</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 134 .

<sup>356</sup> Gärämäw, p. 34 .

<sup>357</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 134—135.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid, p. 98.

which several of them were killed by fascist machine gun firings.<sup>359</sup> The Italians also demarcated the northern portion of Haylu Gäbäya for military training field and commercial purpose. In the 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 goods mainly between Itaans and askaris (Somali and Eritrean conscripts) with local *banedas* (collaborators) because the inhabitants were forced to withdraw from distant places by Italian authorities.

*Nägadras* (later also *Haji*) Ali Ahemäd, *Nägadras Fäneta Negusé*, *Däjjazmač* Husén Ešäté and *Nägadras* Muhammäd Aman were among the main *bandas* traders (formerly long distance merchants in Adét.<sup>360</sup> 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 *bandas* also exchanged these items with glasses, kittles, yarn and cloths in the Italian camp and sold them to the local people. Nevertheless, in many instance, *banda* traders were intercepted, looted and beaten by patriots.<sup>361</sup> As a result several known local merchants of Adét and its environs, for instance *Balamebäras* Wärekenäh Kassa, *Grazemač* Husén Ešäté Muhammäd Aman *Nägadras* Ali Ahmäd, left Adét for the Italian camp at Bahr Dar. The former head of finance office of *Ras* Haylu namely *fitawurari* Kassa Engeda went to Bahr Dar and became an important *banda* leader there with the rank of *Däjjazemač*.<sup>362</sup>

Finally as indicated above, most of the traders with the Italians and Askaris at Adét were Muslim merchant. This was because the Italian colonial policy favoured Muslims as opposed to Christians.<sup>363</sup> In fact, there few Muslim patriots like Qäçhenu Adäm and his brother Muhé Adäm from Ayqäṭuba locality to the northeast of Adét. Some local women and mäšäta ladies like Ténayä Berru also joined the Italian camp at Adét. In addition, Italian troops brought some women from rural areas of Yelmana Dénesa to the Adét garrison as captives during their military operations particularly in 1938.<sup>364</sup>

---

<sup>359</sup>Informants: Amäšä Jämebäré, Biazéné Ejjegü, Aduñña Ayečäh.

<sup>360</sup>"The Life History of *Qäññazemač* Däseta Yemam", p. no page

<sup>361</sup>Informants: Dämäläš Yämataw and Amäšä Jämebäré

<sup>362</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*", pp. 59, 68.

<sup>363</sup>Informants: Biazéné Ejjegü and Šägayä Amära.

<sup>364</sup>Informants: Addam Käbädä and Yärom Alämu.



### 3.3. Patriotic Resistance in and Around Adét Town

As mentioned above, Italian military garrisons were established at Adét and then at Däbrä Mäwi. 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.<sup>365</sup> In this case, Sbacchi states that the lack of colonial experience and ill temperedness of lower Italian officers who served as officials like Corevo at Adét and the atrocities they committed contributed a lot for the beginning of the patriotic resistance and consequent failure of Italian colonialism.<sup>366</sup> For instance, the main reasons for the outbreak of patriotic resistance in Adét and the surrounding areas were the Italian policy of disarmament and murder of *Däjjazemač* Sebehatu Yegzaw and his relatives at Bahr Dar and several others at Adét.<sup>367</sup> 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 Adét refused to surrender their arms and joined the patriots for they could not to escape murder even by doing so.<sup>368</sup> Italian military operations to subdue patriots also aggravated the resistance. Beside, Italian colonial policies lacked consistency. Before a policy was fully implemented, Italian 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.<sup>369</sup>

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 Sebehatu mobilized the people of Dénsa and ruthlessly killed the Italian appointee, *Fitawerari* Terefé Kassa, at a place called Enesät Meder in the locality of Anebäsit. They also captured Terefé's secretary, *Qäññazemač* Negatu Säyfu and the latter's son, Hunäññaw.<sup>370</sup> The rest of Terefé's *baneda* troops disintegrated. The victors distributed the arms captured from Terefé and his followers and the arms confiscated from the local people by him.<sup>371</sup> The leading participants of this battle who became patriots in the afterwards in Adama - Amädamit areas were *Asalafi* Ṭäbo, *Qäññazemač* Alämu

---

<sup>365</sup>Näbeyu, p. 23 . ; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" p. 7 1.

<sup>366</sup>Gärämäw, p. 98.

<sup>367</sup>Ibid

<sup>368</sup>Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town" p. 71.

<sup>369</sup>Gärämäw, p. 99

<sup>370</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 51, 108.

<sup>371</sup>Ibid

Tägäñña, Dameté Šebäše, Delé Ešäté, Kassa Ešäté, Adära Ešäté, Lanäh Haylu, Kassa Bazzabeh and Daññaw Mäkönnän. Adära Ešäté lost his life in the engagement.<sup>372</sup> Seltene argues that the battle of Enesät Meder was the first popular reaction against fascist Italian rule in Gojjam.<sup>373</sup>

Likewise, in January 1937 the people of Gänj- Agetta areas rose in arms against the Italian policy of disarmament and the appointment of *Fitawrari* Gässässä Wädan over them. They killed Gässässä, captured arms from his *baneda* troops and then descended in to the low lands in arms opposition to Italian colonialrule.<sup>374</sup>

The other reason for the rise of anti-Italian colonialrule was the resentment of the local people against the reimposition of taxes by the Italian authorities over the peasants. Because of this many peasants joined the rank of the patriots.<sup>375</sup> In addition, the favour of Italian authorities towards the Muslims and the aerial attacks on the churches of Adét and its surrounding areas 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 area by Italian aerial attack.<sup>376</sup> For instance, the monasteries of Adét and Däberä 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* Areya Sebehat of Däberä Mäwi areas of Dénsa were some of the examples of the clergy who soon became renowned patriots.<sup>377</sup>

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 Wänedem, Alämayähu Käbädä (of Yezora), Gärämäw Wänedawek and Bäläw Wäsän were from among the new patriot leaders who rejected the Italian order for submission and surrender of arms.<sup>378</sup> For instance, *Lej* Gärämäw Wänedawuk of Lejj

---

<sup>372</sup>Informants:Hailu Meteku,Asçaläw Anedualäm,Alämu Gétahun

<sup>373</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*," pp. 51, 108.

<sup>374</sup>Ibid

<sup>375</sup>Ibid, pp. 51—52.

<sup>376</sup>The Life History of Dejjazmach Dures " p. 3.

<sup>377</sup>Bäläy Mäkönnän, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däberä Mäwi*, p. 65. ; Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*," pp. 190, 195.

<sup>378</sup> Näbeyu, p. 24.; Seltne, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*," p. 106

Amebära started his career as a patriot leader by inflicting the first casualty on the Italian column led by *Däjjazemač* Gässässä Bäläw mentioned above at a place called Gomet in Qwarit district. The Adama - Amädamit massifs between Adét and Qwarit Säkäla areas became their main base.<sup>379</sup> In this way, the people of Adét and its surrounding areas joined hands with the people of other adjacent districts in their persistent resistance against Italian colonial occupation.<sup>380</sup>

In August 1937 the Italians resident in Bahr Dar led military operations to Adét - Sekela areas to subdue the patriots and disarm the local people.<sup>381</sup> 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.<sup>382</sup> Agitated by *Qäññazemač* Alämu Tägäññä, *Agafari* Gädäfaw Alämayähu, *Lej* Alämayähu Käbbädä, Käbbädä Denqé and Bitäw Dällällä (all of them from Yezora) using the phrase "አርዳ ለማተብ" /*fight for the cause of your religion*/, the people of Adét, Qwarit, Säkäla, Ṭaliya - Lejj Amebära and Méçha joined hands to resist the enemy. They were led by formidable patriot leaders such as Qäññazemač Deräs Šefäraw of Dénsa, *Lej* Gärämäw Wändawek of Lejj Ambära, Alämayähu Käbbädä of Yezora, Bäkälä Lämmu of Méçha and many others.<sup>383</sup> In this regard, citing Italian archival sources Seltene states that these patriot leaders were able to gather an estimated number of 2,700 fighters.<sup>384</sup> 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 sublieutenants namely Lazzari and Isola were killed at the same battle field. The patriots also captured a lot of guns like menišer, alebin 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 Adét, *Lej* Alämayähu Käbbädä.<sup>385</sup>

---

<sup>379</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 106

<sup>380</sup> Dawit, p. 34

<sup>381</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp.123—124

<sup>382</sup> Ibid, p.126.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid

<sup>384</sup> Ibid

<sup>385</sup> Näbeyu, p. 27;

Corvo and his surviving troops stayed the night of August 27, 1937 at a place called Daval Gäbra'el along Adama mountain and at dawn entered the Adét garrison for protection. The patriots of <sup>386</sup>Adét<sup>387</sup>, Säkäla, Méçha, Gänj, Yäwädi and Qwarit took turns in besieging the enemy (the 27th Battalion) at Adét.<sup>388</sup> Many noted patriots denied the enemy at Adét access to the waters of Šena and Šeggäz Rivers. This includes *Fitawraris* Bayabel Adegäh, Senešaw Alämu, Zägäyā Berelé, Nägaš Täšomä, *Qäññazemač* Deräs Šefäraw, Bāyänä Kenfu, Meseke Yemam and Tariku Šebäš and *Gerazmač* Ṭerunäh Aläme. There were also *Lejes* Admasu Däseta, Aneläy Haylé, Gärämāw Wānedawuk, Admasu Gugesa, Agāw Endalāw and many others.<sup>389</sup> 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<sup>390</sup>.

In fact, informants also state that during one of the turns of the patriots, one of the noted patriots, *Lej* Gärämāw Wānedawuk (*Däjjazemač* Matäbé, as the people of Qwarit and Enzägedem designated him in 1936-1937), and nine others lost their lives at the battle of Mugäçha Baher along Šena River by an Italian aerial bombardment on October 30, 1937.<sup>391</sup> On the other hand, Dawit argues that patriots from Dēnsa, Méçha, Damot, Säkäla, Bälāya and even Moṭa participated in the planned attack on the Danegela garrison from September 13- 15, 1937.<sup>392</sup>

On Saturday September 4, 1937, a number of patriot leaders held a meeting in Dēnsa by which they decided to incite the peoples of their respective areas to rebellion. Some of them were *Däjjazemač* Adal Täsāma and *Qäññazemač* Dires Šefäraw of Dēnsa, *Grazemač* Bäkälä Lämmu of Méçha, *Fitawerari* Bayabel Adegäh of *Lejj* Ambära, and *Qäññazemač* Alämayähu Wasé of Agāw Meder. They also elected *Dejjazemač* Mānegäša Jämebäré as their war leader.<sup>393</sup> Here, Sbacchi confirms that *Däjjazemač* Māngäša Jämebäré initially had some 3000 armed followers and

---

<sup>386</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam, p.126.

<sup>387</sup>The Life History of *Däjjazemač* Anläy Haylé (Obituary)( Bahr Dar printing press, 1990 E.C), p. no page.

<sup>388</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam", pp. 126—127.

<sup>389</sup>Ibid, p. 127.

<sup>390</sup>Dawit, p. 24. ; Nābeyu, p. 28.

<sup>391</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 164.

<sup>392</sup>Gärämāw, p. 104.

<sup>393</sup>The Life History of *Däjjazemač* Deräs, p. 3.

frequently moved in Dénša and Méçha areas.<sup>394</sup> At the same time, the patriots of Adét, Lejj Amebära, Gäñj, Yäwädi, Zägé and Mederä Bäd elected *Qäññazemač* Deräs as their war commander. On the other hand, as indicated above, laking this as a pretext on the same day Italian authorities burned the monastery of Adét Mädhane Aläm by the air.<sup>395</sup>

Therefore, the commander of the patriots of the former Adét and its surrounding area, below *Däjjazemač* Mängäša, *Qäññazemač* Deräs Šefäraw, also named *Abba Šäññäw* (literally, the Sender), who later on had about 4000 armed followers. The arebäñña *aläqas* (sub district commanders) below Deräs were Bäkälä Kassa of Dénša, Meseker Yemam and Zägäyä Birelé of Yäwädi (with about 1000 followers) and Miteku Zäru of *Lejj* Ambära. In addition, there were Bäzabeh Adgäh of Zägé, Amebaw Gäbrä Mädhene of Medrä Bäd, Tädla Yemär of Gäñj and Admasu Gugsä of Yelmana and Bäyänä Kenfu of Qollälla.<sup>396</sup> Below these sub district commanders there were gobez *aläqas* (zone commanders) who were the leaders of ordinary patriots called *tewagi* (young fighters). The patriots of Adét 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 *mädädé tor* (ordinary fighters) that was composed of peasants armed with their own guns.<sup>397</sup> Female patriots of Adét like Wäyzäros Agäññe Alamené, Wubeyä Alämu, Alämnäš Täfära, Maritu Bogalä, Wubesäw Dällälä and Manaheloš Čäkol also actively participated in the anti-Italian colonial struggle.<sup>398</sup>

---

<sup>394</sup>Amhara Region Planning Office, *Selä Merab Gojjam Astädädär Akababi Tarik Andand Näteboč* (MFN 1299 *Tahsas* 1982 E.C Bahr Dar), pp. 21- 23. ;

<sup>395</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*," p. 183 . ;

<sup>396</sup>Bäläy, *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi* , p. 65. ;

<sup>397</sup>Seltene, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam*, pp. 133—134.

<sup>398</sup>The Life history of *Qäññazemač* Dästa Yemam", p. no page.



**Figure 13: Pictures of some patriotic leaders who fought against the Italianfascist in Adet and its environs**

Source: Gärämä Eskäzia, History of Yelmaba Dénsa Distric, from 1901—1974 □MA Thesis, Addus Ababa University 2007, p. 105.

The second viceroy of Mussolini for the Italian East African Empire, Rodolfo Grazziani, 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 Däberä Tabor and Gonedär in November 1937.<sup>399</sup>

The column from Däberä Tabor, commanded by Colonel Di Lawrentis, arrived first at the bridge of Alata. However, the patriots of Gäñj, Dénesa, Damot and Moṭa organized by *Däjjazemač* Mänegäša Jämebäré and led by *Qäññazemč* Mäkonnäne (the chief of Gäñj) besieged Di Laurentis at the bridge. Then, the other Italian column arrived from Gonedär under Colonel Barbaccini and started fighting accompanied by heavy air bombardment to break the siege since November 26, 1937. On November

<sup>399</sup>The life history of *Däjjazemač* Deräs, p.3.

30, 1937, Barbaccini lifted the siege by breaking the encirclements of the patriots.<sup>400</sup> 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<sup>401</sup>.

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 Adét-Säkäla - Méçha 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 *baneda* leaders like *Qäññazemač* Negatu Säyfu and Dämeläw čäkkole and accompanied by heavy Italian air bombardment.<sup>402</sup> *Däjjazemač* Mänegäša led the patriots of Adét, Moça, Damot, Méçha, 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, Mänegäša 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 *alebin* and *menišer* hand guns were captured.<sup>403</sup> 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.<sup>404</sup> The survivors retreated to the west led by a *baneda* leader named *Qäññazemač* Negatu Säyfu and camped at a place called Mankitalong the border with Méçha district.<sup>405</sup> 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."<sup>406</sup> The

---

<sup>400</sup>Belata Marse'e Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's collection, "Selä Italiya Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññoč hunéta N.A.L.A", folder number መ.ኃ.ወ.ቀ 63.1 file number 38.15.

<sup>401</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 133 - 134.

<sup>402</sup>Ibid

<sup>403</sup>Belata Marse'e Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's collection, "Selä Italiya Ena Selä Gojjam Arbäññoč hunéta N.A.L.A", folder number መ.ኃ.ወ.ቀ 63.1 file number 38.15.

<sup>404</sup> Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 135.

<sup>405</sup>Ibid.

<sup>406</sup>Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," p. 136.

siege of Barbaccini was lifted later on by 60 Battalions of operational military force from Gonedär 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 Danegela and Enjebara garrisons.<sup>407</sup>

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 militaty zones centered in Adét, Däbrä Marqos, Danegela and Mätämma. Then, Mezzetti ordered several of his lieutenants to conduct militaty operations in the lowlying territories of Aläfa, Yesemala Giyorgis, Ṭis Esat Falls, Däbrä Mäwi and Adét areas. As indicated earlier, a military garrison was also established at Däberä Mäwi at this time under Major Tinetti Amato.<sup>408</sup> In this way General Mezzetti tried to restore temporarily fascist rule in Adét and other adjacent areas. However, according to Sbacchi, soon the local people of these areas joined the patriots.<sup>409</sup> For instance, the patriots of Adét and the surrounding areas 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 Adét led by *Fitawrari* Deräs at locality called Buha Dängay and the survivors were forced to enter the Adét garrison for protection.<sup>410</sup>

The major problems of the patriots were the problems created by *banedas* 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.<sup>411</sup> However, as mentioned above, the *baneda* were severely punished whenever the patriots captured them. The *baneda* had also to bear the mockery of patriots and their fellow citizens like:

**እነ ልባጥፋ፣**

**ያገለግላሉ እየተገረፉ፣**

**ጣሊያንም ታዝቦ ስሙን አለው ባንዳ፣**

---

<sup>407</sup>Ibid, p. 141.

<sup>408</sup>Ibid, p 152.

<sup>409</sup>Gärämäw, p. 108.

<sup>410</sup>The Life History of *Qäññazmač* Dästa Yemam",p. no page

<sup>411</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Resistance in Gojjam*",p. 137.



**እንዳህያ ጭና ፊት ፊት እየነዳ፣**

**ያውም አሽክሞ አሰራሁለት ኮዳ።<sup>412</sup>**

The rough English translation reads:

*the absent minded who are whipped to serve the enemy; and henceforth, the Italians named them baneda, 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, *Fitawerari* 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.<sup>413</sup> As far as the provisions of the patriots were concerned, they heavily relied on their own means without any external assistance. Patriots used their own *seneq* (provision) consisting of *dabbo* (bread), *qwuanta* (dried meat), *qowolo* (roasted grain), *bässo* (roasted powder) and water. Besides, local peoples voluntarily supplied them with *enjāra* and local drinks. Whenever there was the chance to do so, patriots slaughtered cattle captured from the *baneda*.<sup>414</sup> Sometimes the fascists and *banedatroops* 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 Bägēmeder using their own revenue.<sup>415</sup>

Further more, patriot leaders drew revenue from the collection of taxes known as *ašé qollo* (tithe) from the peasants who needed protection from them. Supreme commanders of the patriots, for instance, *Däjjazemač* Mängäša Jämbäré, also judged local affairs through the traditional *wämebär* system. In addition, the nominated 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 Säkāla promoted *Qäññazmač* Deräs Šefāraw of Dénsa to the rank of *Fitawrari*. Similarly, *Däjjazemač* Nägaš Bāzabeh promoted *Lej* Aneläy Haylé to the rank of *Qäññazmač*. In return, subordinate patriot leaders like *Fitawrari* Deräs had to

---

<sup>412</sup>Gärāmāw, p. 109

<sup>413</sup>The Life History of *Däjjazmač* Deräs, pp. 3- 4.

<sup>414</sup>Dowit, pp. 32- 34.

<sup>415</sup>The Life History of *Qäññazmach* Dästa", p. no page.

send tribute from they collected from peasants to Mängäša.<sup>416</sup> However, this subordination was usually a cause for the friction among the patriot leaders. Among others, Mängäša refused to recognize the authority of *Däjjazemač* 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 Gäreçhäçh in November 1940. This led patriot leaders to serious disputes among themselves rather than uniting their local fighters against their common enemy. It was only in 1940 that the leaders of Mission, Colonel Sandford and *Azaž* (later, *Däjjazemač*) Kābbädä Tāsämma, reconciled them.<sup>417</sup>

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 Gäböya (now Hamus gäböya), Mesker Gäböya (now Zäit) and Qoqār market places were established in Dénsa by patriot leaders such as *Däjjazemač* Adal Tāsämma Dārso, *Qāññazmač* Meseker Yemam and *Fitawrari* Senšaw Alämu, respectively. In addition, Dāmedängya in Gonj and Asetéryo Maryam in Dénsa areas were the other new market places which emerged during the occupation period.<sup>418</sup> In Italian controlled areas Italian *fracas* were used as a medium of exchange. However, in these rural market places, the people and patriots used *Maria Theresa Thaler* and traditional currencies such as *amolé* and *cartridge*.<sup>419</sup> The patriots and their leaders were responsible for the safety of the people and the security of the above mentioned local markets<sup>420</sup>.

Sources indicate that, with the help of the British in the Sudan, in May 1939 *Belaténgeta* Lorenzo Ta'ezaž, accompanied by the French officer namely Musie Paul and the translator, Major Asāgahāññ Are'aya, secretly entered Gojjam through what is today called *SābaraDeledey* (the Broken Bridge) with the help of the patriots of Bāgēmeder. *Fitawrari* Deräs and his followers moved to a place called TālebaMeder where the emissaries were waiting for their coming. However, the patriots led by Diräs were suddenly surprised by the enemy force coming from Moṭa at a place called Dāberä Meṭemaq. Deräs defeated the enemy force and joined the emissaries. Escorted by the patriots led by Deräs the emissaries managed to join *Däjjazemač* Mānegäša

---

<sup>416</sup>Dawit, pp. 32- 34. ; Nābeyu, p. 34.

<sup>417</sup>Dawit, pp.4 1—42.

<sup>418</sup>Informants: Hailu Meteku, Aseçalāw Andualām, Alämu Gétahun.

<sup>419</sup>Informants: Amāšā Jāmebäré, Biazené Ejjeju, Aduñña Ayeçäh.

<sup>420</sup>Nābeyu, p. 34.

Jämebäre 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 Bäläya. Undoubtedly, this encouraged the patriots of Adét and the other areas of Gojjam.<sup>421</sup> 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*) Mäsefen Seläš. *Šalläqa* Mäsefen installed a radio station at Sanegé in Säkäla and agitated the people and the *baneda* alike to join the patriots in which he was considerably successful. Together with *Däjjazemač* Mängäša Jämbäre, he also moved in Adét, Agäw Meder, Däga Damot, Säkäla, Ṭaliya- Lejj Ambära, Méçha, Ačäfär and Gutta areas and agitated the people to intensify the resistance.<sup>422</sup>

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 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 *Däjjazemač* Mänegäša Jämebäre received them. As indicated above, from Fagetta Sandford and *Azaž* Käbbädä travelled widely and reconciled disputing patriot leaders like *Däjjazemačes* Mängäša and Nägaš.<sup>423</sup> Besides, they issued the proclamations of the Emperor. The mission also distributed arms among the patriots.<sup>424</sup> For instance, some of my informants who were patriots state that *Fitawrari* Deräs and his men brought 50 *dimotefär*, 40 *amarika*, 50 *qogaläbän* (and *metad läbän*) and 50 *qänedo* rifles and 100,000 bullets of *albin* and *amarika* rifles from Bäläya to Adét and distributed it among patriots.<sup>425</sup> The morale of patriots considerably rose by this

---

<sup>421</sup> *Belata* Märs'e Hazän Wäldä Qirqos's collection, "Selä Italiya Ena Selä Gojjam Arebänñenät hunéta N.A.L.A", folder number መ.ገ.ወ.፳ 63.1 file number 38.15.

<sup>422</sup> Bahr Dar Awrajja Gezat Office to GojjamṬäqelay Gezat Office, Date, Tahsas 21, 1963 E.C., D.M. U.A.R.C., Folder No., 0083, File Number, መ.ገ. 6.

<sup>423</sup> Bahru Zewde. R. Pankhurst, Taddäsä Bāyānā, eds., Vol. I, p. 851.

<sup>424</sup> Dawit, pp. 41—42.

<sup>425</sup> Greenfield, p. 190.

international support and the news about the return of the Emperor.<sup>426</sup> Further, the British Royal Air Force established a base at Säkälä<sup>427</sup>.

The fascist mlers 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 Däberä Marqos as the *Ras* of Gojjam. But, it seems that fascist authorities were too late to be successful in reversing the situation<sup>428</sup>.

On January 3, 1941, the Gédéwon Force of two Battalions - the Commonwealih and the second Ethiopian Battalions-led by another British officer, Major Orde Charles Wingate, and accompanied by Emperor Haylä Sellasé, crossed the Ethiopian frontier at Omédla.<sup>429</sup> By the late February 1941 the Gédéwon 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 Šefäraw of Dénsa and Anläy Haylé of Qwarit each of them received two hand guns (*dimotfer* and *amarica*) and an automatic pistol from the Emperor.<sup>430</sup>

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 Danegela and on March 4 the Buré garrisons.<sup>431</sup> Here, sources explain that *Däjjazemač* Mängäša's forces severely attacked the retreating enemy forces, although accompanied by Italian air bombardment from Bahr Dar, all the way from Danegela to Mäšänti.<sup>432</sup> 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

---

<sup>426</sup>Greenfield, p. 192.

<sup>427</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Bahr Dar Town*," p. 72

<sup>428</sup> A. D. Shirreff, "The Ethiopian Patriot Contribution to the 1941 Campaign Against the Italians in Gojjam" *Proceedings of the Eleventh international Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, p. 852.

<sup>429</sup>Ibid, p. 853.

<sup>430</sup>Informants: Mulu Wärqenäh, Taddäse Endaläw and Haylu Metku, *Täklä Şadeq, Yä Ethiopiya Tarik Kā Aşé Tėwädros Eskä Qädamawi Haylä Sellasé*, p. 329.

<sup>431</sup>Shirreff, p. 855.

<sup>432</sup>Ibid

to Bahr Dar. This marked the end of the five years Italian occupation of Adét and its surroundings<sup>433</sup>.



**Figure 14: Photograph of Adama Mountain one fo the strategic place during the Yedbi Italian wars in 1937.**

Source: Dästaw Zäläkä, Biography of Däjjazemač Aneläy Haylé, 1902—1990 (MA Thesis, University of Gondär, Department of History and Heritage Management 2020), p. 32.



**Figure 15: Photograph of Yedbi defeated the Italians by the Adet and it's environ patriots in 1937**

Source: Dästaw Zäläkä, Biography of Däjjazemač Aneläy Haylé, 1902—1990 (MA Thesis, University of Gondär, Department of History and Heritage Management 2020), p. 22.

---

<sup>433</sup>Seltene, A History of Resistance in Gojjam, p. 350.

## UNIT FUOR

### Adet Town from Liberation to Revolution: (1974—1991)

Italian forces withdrew from the Adét and Däbrä Mäwi military garrisons on 23 February 1941. The study in this chapter will therefore assess the main administrative, social and economic developments in the town of Adét and its surrounding areas from the evacuation of the Italians to 1991.

#### 4.1. Administrative and Security Conditions

In the following few months after the withdrawal of the Italians, the inhabitants of Adét and Däbrä Mewi areas completely returned to their former dwelling sites. This is partly because, on route to the capital in 1941, the emperor issued an order to the patriotic leaders of Gojjam that all locals under their jurisdiction should only own property, including land that was of immediate concern to them.<sup>434</sup>

In addition, Emperor Hailä Selassé gave an order to *Däjjazemač* Mänegäša Jänebäre and other patriot leaders below him to properly administer their respective towns and the surrounding areas. Accordingly, Mänegäša was empowered to administer Adét, Méçha, Ačäfär and Agäw Meder with the title of *Ras.Fitawrari* Deräs Šefäraw also came to Adét as a *mesläné* of Mänegäša.<sup>435</sup> However, the emperor did nothing to the ordinary patriots. They simply returned to their respective localities to lead their former life.<sup>436</sup> *Däjjazmač* Mänegäša issued a taxation of 60 kilos of téff to be paid by each peasant to locality 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<sup>437</sup>.

In May 1942 locality governors were appointed by the then governor general of Gojjam *awrajja* (province), *Ras* Haylu Bäläw (r.1942-1945 and 1950-1957), under the approval of Emperor Haylä Sellasé. Well Known patriot leaders became high ranking officials or took other offices regardless of their level of education.<sup>438</sup> Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Deräs was transferred to Ačäfär and *Fitawrari*

---

<sup>434</sup>Informants: Taddäsä Endaläw, Gäbäyähü Qäññä. Aläbačäw Wagaw, Yärom Alämu and Zälläqä Allälleññ.

<sup>435</sup>Infonnants: Haylu Meteku, Yärom Alämu, Fätänä Aynaläm, Lemäneħ Baläw and Tafärä Ejegu.; Dawit,

p. 53. For the appointment of Mängäša, see Appendix X III

<sup>436</sup>Nebeyu, p. 39.

<sup>437</sup>Duwit, p. 53.

<sup>438</sup>Informants: Admasu Gugsä, Fäntahun Enyäw and Bayäh; Nebeyu, p. 51.

Abärä Yemam of Méçha was made the *mesläné* of Adét and its environs. Abärä briefly ruled Adét and locality Yelemana Dénsa from his administrative center at Däbrä Mäwi.<sup>439</sup>

The initial steps of administrative revitalization were made in Adét. However, there was a severe shortage of staff at all levels. For some times, the administrators of the areas also acted as heads of justice.<sup>440</sup> In this case, informants state that since 1944/45 district and subsidiary offices of the judiciary, treasury and police were formally established in Adét.<sup>441</sup> By 1943/44, a regular police force was established in the town. Furthermore, by 1944, *Qäññazmč* Ešäté Fäneta and *Amsa Aläqa* Alämayähu were appointed as the first heads of the Adét town justice and police departments respectively. On the other hand, a former Eritrean askaris in Adét, namely Gäbrä Mädhén Abeyu, was also appointed by the provincial government as a policeman for Adét.<sup>442</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1943 *Ras* Haylu Bäläw made an administrative rearrangement. Accordingly, Adét, *Lejj* Ambära, Méçha, Ačäfär and Zägé - Medrä Bäd were made Bahr Dar Special District 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. Also, unlike the governors of other districts in Gojjam province, the new governor of the Bahr Dar Special Region, Zäwedu Zämädagännähu (r. 1943–1947), held the traditional title of *Azaž* before the occupation. Thereafter, *Azaž* Zäwedu appointed *meslänés* to other regions (governors).<sup>443</sup> Accordingly, *Fitawerari* Deräs Šefäraw was appointed *mesläné* of Adét with the title of *Däjjazemač* in 1943. He was responsible to *Azaž* Zäwdu for all administrative and financial matters. The territories under Deräs's administration were Yelmana, Dénsa, Gäñj, Yäwädi, Lejj Amebära and Zägé -Medrä Bäd. The center of all the above areas was the town of Adét.<sup>444</sup>

Nevertheless, regardless of territorial changes made during this period, a total of five district governors ruled the Yelemana Dénsa district with its center at Adét from 1943

---

<sup>439</sup>Informants: Admusu Gugsä, Biyazne Ejigu, Yärom Alämu, Haylu Meteku and Tafärä Ejigu.

<sup>440</sup>Ibid

<sup>441</sup>Ibid

<sup>442</sup>Ibid. ; see also The Life History of Qäññazmač Dästa Yemam.

<sup>443</sup>Nebeyu, pp. 48- 50.; Geremew, p. 38.; Dawit, p. 55.; Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 78.

<sup>444</sup>Selten, "A History of BahrDar Town", p. 78. ;

to 1974. They were *Däjjazemač Deräs Šefäraw* (r.1943-51), *Anläy Haylé* (r.1951-63 and 1967-68), *Qäññazemač* (later *Fitawrari*) *Eyasu Zälläqä* (r. 1964-67), *Fitawrari* *Admasu Gugsu* (r. 1963-64 and 1968) and *Kälekay Abäša* (r.1968-74) in that order of importance. The primary responsibilities of all governors of this area include maintaining peace and security, controlling the duties and obligations of the entire town official, and hearing complaints from the public. They were also required to nominate important patriots who were eligible for awards and promotions and to submit monthly reports on all government activities in the area.<sup>445</sup>Hence, all the above district governors, except *Qäññazemač* *Eyasu Zälläqä*, constructed their residential houses at Adét with stone and wood.



**Figure 16: Pictures of the governors of Adét and its environs from 1941-1974**

Source: Gärämaw Eskäzya, History of the District of YelmanaDénsa from 1901—1974, (MA thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 2015), p. 118.

*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 offices of administration, justice, finance and police. He also appointed his

<sup>445</sup>Informants: Haylu Meteku, Çhane Enyāw and Fätānā Enyāw. ; Dawit, p. 57. See Appendix XIV



*meselānēs* (governors) for all the territories mentioned above. Below these lower officials of Adét and its environs, there were local *gultä gäž* or *gulteññas* (*gult* land governors), each of whom recognized his or her *çheqa Šums* (village or parish chiefs).<sup>446</sup> The police and other government officials were also appointed by the *awerajja gezat* (provincial government) at Däbrä Marqos.<sup>447</sup>

Moreover, according to Proclamation No. 9 of 1947, a local magistrate named *Aṭbia Däñña* was appointed for each locality in Adét and its environs which further reduced the political power of the *Guletä Gäž*. *Aṭbia Däñña* was answerable to the sub-district governor.<sup>448</sup> In this way, the restored government was fairly represented at all levels for the first time in Adét. However, as mentioned above, there was still acute shortage of personnel especially for the higher offices.<sup>449</sup>

Lower officials such as the *çheqa Šum*, *guletä gäž* and *aṭbiya dañña* were equally responsible for the *Şäṭeta* (maintenance of peace and security) and administration of justice at the local level in Adét. The *gultä gäž* and the *çheqa Šum* were also responsible for the collection of taxes.<sup>450</sup> The religious counterparts of the secular *guletäññas* were the *gult* land owning monasteries of Adét and its environs like Adét Mädhané Aläm and Däbrä Mäwi Maryam.<sup>451</sup>

However, a municipality office was set up at Adét in 1946 headed by *Qäññazmač Bäläw Wäsäne* of Buré and claimed the market dues from Haylu Gäböya held on Saturdays. The secular *gäbäz* of Adét had also to pretend practically as a separate *aṭbiya dañña* which considerably reduced his judiciary power.<sup>452</sup> Moreover, the military role of the *gultä gäž* was prohibited by the law during the post liberation period. “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,

---

<sup>446</sup> Nebeyu, pp. 92, 93, 95.

<sup>447</sup> Informants: Fäntahun Enyäu, Čäre Agäññ and Menalä Tezazu.

<sup>448</sup> Informants: Haylu Meteku, Tafärä Ejegu, Biyazne Ejegu and Fäntahun Enyäu. For the decree see,

Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*, p. 34. ; Nebeyu, p. 93. ; Alula, p. 75

<sup>449</sup> Gärämäu, pp. 38- 39.

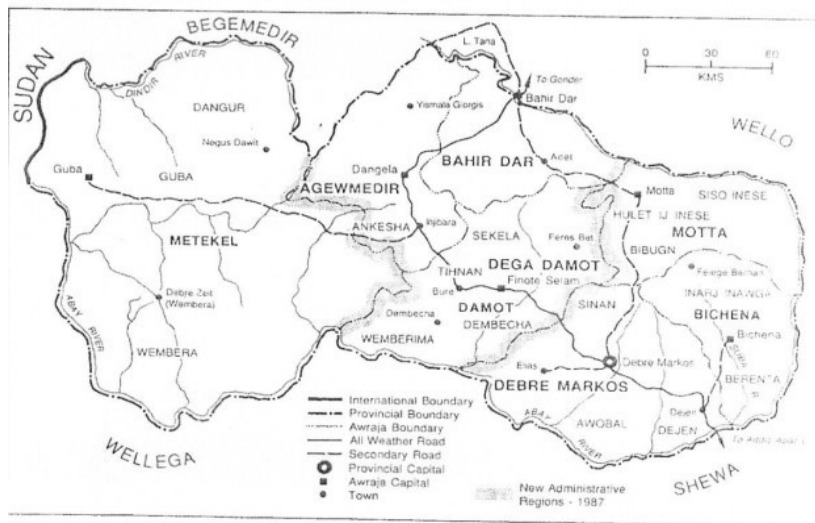
<sup>450</sup> Nābeyu, pp. 85, 90.

<sup>451</sup> Nābeyu, p. 100. ; Bäläy, *Etégé Ṭaytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*, p. 66.

<sup>452</sup> A Letter from Adét Municipality Office to *Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Office*, Date Mizya, 1, 1962 E. C., A. M. A., Folder Number 0 4 -50, File Number 0 4 . - 22.

appeals were now heard at the administrative level only when justice reached by the secular *gäbäz* of Adét Mädhané Aläme was seen unfair by the local people.<sup>453</sup>

In 1956, *Ras* Haylu Bäläw made another administrative rearrangement in Gojjam province. He redivided the province into seven *awrajjas* (sub provinces) by which Agäw- Bahr Dar *awrajjä* was split into two independent *awrajjas* of Bahr Dar and Agäw Meder. Accordingly, Yelmana Dénsa became one of the districts of Bahr Dar *awrajjä* centered at Adét.<sup>454</sup>



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

Figure 17: Map of Awrajjas of Gojjam

#### 4.2. Taxation and Tax

Haylä Sellase's restored government issued a series of decrees related to taxes and revenue. All taxes must be paid in cash and all government officials were repaid. All tax-related edicts of the period were intended to increase 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.<sup>455</sup> Since 1941, however, a significant part of the population of Gojjam in general refused to accept the

<sup>453</sup>Informants: Ašagré Čäkol, Menalä Tezazu, Aläbačäw Wagaw, Zäläqä Aläleññ, Fäntahun Enyäu, Biyazne Ejegu and Tafärä Ejegu.

<sup>454</sup>Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar", p. 89. ; Näbeyu, pp. 73- 74.

<sup>455</sup>Crummey, pp. 237- 238, Nebeyu, p. 89.

government's new tax systems. For example, land is not graded and measured based on its quality in Gojjam. The main reason for this was that the people of Gojjam, including Adét, often associated the implementation of the new government tax systems with the loss of their traditional right of ownership over *rest* lands. The clergy and farmers of Gojjam protested the government's new tax systems. Farmers in Gojjam paid taxes at the land tax rate in 1935 in addition to the estimated tithing until 1967.<sup>456</sup> Likewise, decree number 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 *gäbäze*. However, because of resistance church rights to tribute and labour were restored in 1947<sup>457</sup>.

The general trend of the post liberation period taxation system in Ethiopia was to limit the tax power of both the secular and religious *gultäñña*s.<sup>458</sup> Initially, in areas under secular government administration including Adét and its environs, the *çheqa Šum* collected taxes and handed them over to the area treasury. Then, based on the 1950 tax reform proclamation, taxes were collected by a local official called *tätäri* (accountable) from each locality of Adét and its environs corresponding to the size of land holdings. The *gultä gäž*, *çheqa Šum* and *aḥbiyadagñña* were also expected to assist the local tax collectors.<sup>459</sup> 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 Adét during the period was Eth. \$ 3,572.28 birr of which Eth. \$ 1,190.63 birr was the share of the *gultä gäžs* of the area. Sources also indicate that the amount of tax collected in Adét and its environs often failed even to cover the salary of government employees of the town<sup>460</sup>.

Likewise, the big monasteries in Adét and its environs 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

---

<sup>456</sup>Näbeyu, 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.

<sup>457</sup>Näbeyu, p. 101, Crummey, p. 240.

<sup>458</sup>Crummey, pp. 238- 241. ; Näbeyu, p. 91.

<sup>459</sup>Informants: Čane Enyäu, Täwabä Ayčäh and Admase Enyäu. ; Näbeyu, p. 90. Bahru, "A History of Modern Ethiopia", p. 217

<sup>460</sup>Näbeyu, pp. 88- 89. ; "Gojjam: Yä Gultä Gažewoč Bäjät Zirzir", D. M. U. A. R. C. ; Folder Number, 0020, File Number 75. ; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p.217.

most important of them were Adét Mädhane Aläm, Däberä Mäwi Maryam, and the like.<sup>461</sup> 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.

As indicated above, like other parts of Gojjam, the people of Adét and its surroundings refused to accept the new taxation system and land measurement policies of the restored government. In Adét, the first known opposition occurred in October 1946 when *Azaž Zäwdu Zämädagännähu* of Bahr Dar came to Adét to assess the harvest of the year. Zäwdu temporarily quartered at Zada Maryam and summoned all *rest* landowners of Adét and its surroundings for registration. But Azaž Zäwdu, failed to register the *rest* land because of the havoc they created by mass gun firing into the sky. They passed a night through pillaging the inhabitants of the area. The then governor of Adét *Meketel* (vice governor), *Fitawrari* Ademasu 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.<sup>462</sup>

Moreover, some parts of the people of Adét and its surroundings took part in the peasant rebellions of 1950 and 1968 in Gojjam. To begin with, in May 1950 the people's of Mécha and parts of Adét, 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 Gonedär commanded by Colonel (later *Däjjazemč*) Ayaléw Mängäša<sup>463</sup>. Here, the people of Adét and other the adjacent areas 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.<sup>464</sup> The government also assigned *Däjjazemač* Deräs as the acting governor of Mécha in addition to Adét since July 22, 1950. After the uprising, Abärä continued as a leader of bandits from Mécha, and the surrounding areas of Adét, like the locality Abbola, Gutta and Dénsa. But, he was captured on October 1,

---

<sup>461</sup> Informants: Biyazne Ejegu, Fätänä Aynaläm and Ayalu Alänä. See also Nebeyu, p.101

<sup>462</sup> The Appeal of the Clergy of Adét to Emperor Haylä Sellasé, Date Mäskäräm 28, 1956 E.C.,

<sup>463</sup> Informants: Aläbäl Tayä, Admasé Enyäw. Taddäsä Endaläw and Zäläqä Aläleññ.

<sup>464</sup> Informants: Amäšä Jämbäré, Biaziné Ejjigu, Aduñña Ayičäh.

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.<sup>465</sup>

Similarly, parts of Adét, Meçha and Qolälla 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.<sup>466</sup> In this case, one of my informants, a patriot, narrated that the rebels from northern Däga Damot and Dénsa made an oath at a place called Awra Tärara (near Šat Enederyas) by the beginning of August 1968, and the rebels from Dénesa elected him as their leader.<sup>467</sup> They briefly controlled Adét town since August 17, 1968 which forced the then governor, *Fitawrari* Admasu Gugsu, to retreat into Bahr Dar. The *Ṭäqlay Gezate* office of Gojjam sent Däjjazmač Deräs into 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 Däga Damot. Moreover, as it had been the case in 1950, in December 1968 the central government ordered the people of Méçha, Ačäfär and Agäw Meder led by renowned patriots such as *Däjjazemačes* Bäqälä Lämna and Amebaw Gäbrä Mädhén to attack the rebels in Däga Damot. This peasant army, popularly known as *Wäbbo* [Méçha Wäbbo], encircled the Adama- Amädami mountain range on the side of Dénsa. Some patriot rebels like *Balambäras* Čäré and Haylé of Lejj Ambära lost their lives at Fänegeta (in Lejj Amebära) while fighting with the Wäbbo.<sup>468</sup> As a result, Taddäsä, *Grazemač* Bayu, *Grazmač* Haylé Ayčäh and other ring leaders of the rebellion on the side of Dénsa 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 Taddäsä, were also burnt by the Méçha *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

---

<sup>465</sup> A Letter from Ministry of Interior to Däjjazmač Deräs Šefäraw, Date *Hamle* 14, 1942 E.C., D. M. U.

A. R.C.; Folder No. 0016, File No. ሙ.ጠ. 8.

<sup>466</sup> Informants: Hailu Deres, Biazene Ejjigu, Shitahun Mucbe

<sup>467</sup> Ibid

<sup>468</sup> The letter from Gojjam *Täqlay Gezate* Office to the *Täqlay Gezate* Finance Office, Date 21/4/1961 E.C., D. M. U. A. R.C. , Folder number, 00\6, File number, ሙ . ጠ.8.

renowned patriots.<sup>469</sup> Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Anläy Haylé was promoted to the rank of *Däjjazemač*. Damté Šebäsh was promoted to the rank of *Grazmač*, and Asefaw Enegeda and Bāyānā Kenefu to that of *Fitawrari*. Further, two other patriots namely Kassé Mandäfro and Dästa Yemame were promoted to the rank of *Qäññazemač*. Finally, *Lej* Mänegäša Kassa and *Lej* Mängesté Täsefayä were entitled the rank of *Balamebäras*.<sup>470</sup>

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 *balabats* 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 Danegela that decided in favour of them<sup>471</sup>. 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 *Ṭäqalay 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 *restlands*.<sup>472</sup> However, the continuation and intensity of the local contradiction at Adét obliged the then *awrajja* governor, Šamebäl (later *Däjjazmač*) A'emro Sellasé Abäbä (r. 1956-1957), to come to Adét in 1957. Nevertheless, local opposition groups of Adét like *Afämämher* Asayä, *Nägadras* Fäneta Ali, and *Ato* Qumelačäw Ayälä, Alameräw Tirunäh, *Täräfä* Alälēññ, *Negat* Täbājä, *Walälēññ* Täfära and others rejected the advices and decisions of the *awrajja* governor. From the reports of the then municipality head of Adét, *Lej* (later, *Qäññazemač*) Kasse Manedäfro, we can also understand that the *gäbäz* (practically, the *atbiya dañña*) of Adét and its surrounding

---

<sup>469</sup> Informants: Zäläqä Allällēññ, Eskäziya Addam, Lemäneb Baläw and Aläbäl Tayä. See also Bahru Zewde, „A History of Modern Ethiopia, pp. 217- 218. ; Schwab, p. 31.

<sup>470</sup> 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. ፳፱.፬ 6.

<sup>471</sup> *Yä Adet Kätäma Tarik*" (Amharic, n.d), p. 3.

<sup>472</sup> The appeal of the Clergy of Adet to Emperor Haylä Sellase, Date Mäskäräm 28, 1956 E.C, D. M. U. A. R.C. ; Folder Number, 00196, File Number 9/79.

localities, the local municipality council and the district administration often sided with the *balabbats* and clergy.<sup>473</sup>

Later on, because *Dejjazmač* Aneläy 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.<sup>474</sup> 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 stronger local opposition. For instance, on *Miyazya* 1, 1962 E.C. (April 9, 1970) Aläm Akalu reported his lamentation to the *Täqalay Gezat* office at Däbrä Marqos in the following manner:

**[በ1939 ማዘጋ ጃቤቱ].... እንደ ተቋቋመ በጊዜው የቦታው ምሬት [በአዴት ከተማ] ልማት ለማግኘት ሲሞክር ጥቅሙ ያልገባቸው አንዳንድ የሀገሩ ባላባት ነን ባዮች በከፊል ተነሳስተው የቦታው ምሬት እንዲቆም በማድረጋቸው.... መግባት የሚገባው ገቢ ስለተቋረጠ [እስካሁን] የሆነ በማዘጋ ጃቤቱ ውስጥ የተሻሻለ ነገር የለም::<sup>475</sup>**

The English translation of this quotati on 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 junctions.*

Instead of all owing 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

---

<sup>473</sup>The letter from Adét Municipality Office to Gojjam *Täqalay Gezat* Municipality Office, Date, Teqemt 6, 1943 E. C, A. M. A., Folder Number nt 1 —50, File Number ቦ ረ 1~ 22. See Appendix XXVI.

<sup>474</sup>The appeal of the Clergy of Adét to Emperor Hayla Sellase, Date Mäskäräm 28.1956 E.C. D. M. U. A. R .c. Folder Number, 00196, File Number 9/79.

<sup>475</sup> A Letter from Adét Municipality Office to Gojjam *Täqalay Gezat* Office, Date *Miyazya* 1, 1962 E. C, A. M. A .• Fol der Number ቦ ረ 1-50. File Number ቦ ረ - 22.

town over urban lands remained unsolved until the 1974 Revolution. Obviously, this in turn had a negative effect on the development of Adét town.<sup>476</sup>

### 4.3. Socio-Economic Conditions of Adét Town (1941-1974)

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

#### 4.3. 1. Change and Continuity in Land Tenure

According to Dässäläññ Rahmato, Adét was one of the leading cereal producing areas of Gojjam province during the post liberation period. Dässäläññ maintains that during the pre- 1974 period there was no acute shortage of land in Adét and its surroundings, and hence, tenancy and land lessness were minimal in Adét compared to other areas. In fact, the constant division and redivision of holdings particularly since the 17th century had already given rise to excessive fragmentation *rest* land holdings in Adét and its surroundings.<sup>477</sup> Adét was known particularly for its production of white tēff called *saynté*, spices, pulses and varieties of grains.<sup>478</sup> The prevalent tenure system in Adét 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 *aqäññabbats* (founding fathers).<sup>479</sup> However, practically, it was possible for the powerful to hold as large land as possible by fabricating false genealogies. For instance, Däjjazemač Deräs took much of Ereberb including its marshy areas by claiming descent from a Muslim founding father of the locality named Ali . Similarly, Däjjazemač Aneläy owned large plots of land and grazing fields at Mossäbo and Gafat by claiming descent from Däjjazemač Mika`el, grand father of Emperor Bakaffa. At times, the poor who were likely to lose their *rest* to the powerful through litigation expressed their distress like:

"ድሃ ቢመነምን እርስቱን ይለምን" / as the poor lost hope, he begs to get his own hereditary land/<sup>480</sup>

The second firm of land tenure in Adét during the post liberation period was church tenure known in the literature as *s<sup>q</sup>mon*, *rim* or *qefäf*; as explained in chapter two of

---

<sup>476</sup>Dästa Mogäs, YäAdet Kätäma Tarik" (Amharic, n. d.), p. 4.

<sup>477</sup> Dässäläññ, pp.14,47

<sup>478</sup>Ibd

<sup>479</sup> A Letter from Alänä Akalu to Däjjazemač Šähayu Enqwo Sellasé, Endärasé of Gojjam Täqlay Gezat. Date Säné 24. 1958 E.C., D. M. U. A. R .C. ; Fotder No, 00196. File No.9/79.

<sup>480</sup>nfomants: almost all of my informants



the thesis. *Sämon* lands were owned and worked by the clergy, servitors and parishioners.<sup>481</sup> In this case, among others, sources state that Däbrä Mäwi Maryam and Adét Mädhané Aläm had 22 and 18 *qefäfs*, respectively, until the 1974 Revolution<sup>482</sup>.

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 *gulte gäz* (*gult* governors). They also had their own *rest* lands which they rented to the land less.<sup>483</sup> Together with the, *çheqa Shum* (village chiefs) and *aṭebiya dañña* (local judge), the *guletä gäz* had the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and administration of justice at the local level. The *gultä gäz* and, *çheqa Šum* also enforced the collection of taxes and handed it over to the areas treasury.<sup>484</sup> 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 town treasury, and not directly from the peasants. Similarly, Article 7 of the 1947 proclamation for the setting up of *aṭbiya dañña* decreed that an *aṭbiyadañña* had to also be a resulting *gult* holder, which seemed to have forced the *gultä gäz* to change post.<sup>485</sup>

Likewise, *gult* land holding monasteries of Adét and its environs 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 *mèketel* governors with considerable autonomy from the secular state control.<sup>486</sup> 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<sup>487</sup>.

#### **4.3.2. Revival and Expansion of Trade and Markets in Adét Town: 1941-1974**

According to my informants, the first to start their business activities at Adét in the immediate post liberation periods were *mäsäta* ladies. The prominent *mäsäta* ladies in the 1940s and 1950s were Etitu Wäldé, Ṭeruwärq Gässä, Ṭénayä Beru, YeŠamu

---

<sup>481</sup>Näbeyu, pp. 99 —100.

<sup>482</sup>Bälay, *Etege Taytu Bädäbrä Mäwi*, p. 66.

<sup>483</sup>Nebeyu , pp. 85, 93 , 95. ; Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara*, pp. 75- 77.

<sup>484</sup>Nebeyu, pp. 93- 94. ; Hoben, *Land tenure among the Amhara*, p. 34. ; Levine, pp. 57- 58.

<sup>485</sup>Nebeyu, pp'.93- 95. ; Ayele. p. 30.

<sup>486</sup> Bälay, *Etege Taytu Bädäbrä Mäwi*, p. 66;

<sup>487</sup>Informants: Tafärä Ejegu, Fätänä Aynalem and Biyazne Ejegu

Beru, Alämenäš Jamebäre and Azänäg Gässässä. They sold *tälla* (local bear) and *aräqi* (alcohol) at their own or rented houses mostly located south of Haylu *Gäbäya*. *Wäyzäros* Yalämwärq Sebehatu and Laqäč Sebhātu also sold *ṭäjj* (mead) at Adét. Furthermore, Ṭénayä Berru pioneered the distillation and selling of *aneselal* aräqi thanks to her knowledge about an Italian drink of "similar test" to hers while she was a *baneda*. Besides, several of these and other *mäšta* ladies, particularly those who had joined the Italian camp, became prostitutes at Adét during the post liberation period.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, in the early 1940s the old short and long distance trade revived in Adét town. 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- Gonedär- Asemära region.<sup>489</sup> Merchants of Adét responded to this growing trade by supplying the markets of Bahr Dar and Gonedär with the agricultural products of Adét and its environs, such as cereals, spices, pulses, skins, hides, cattle, sheep, goats and the like. Secondly, there was a high demand among Bahr Dar and Gonedär merchants for oil seeds following the establishment of an oil-pressing factory in Gondär in the late 1940s. Taking advantage of this, merchants from Adét supplied the above markets with linseed and nigger seed, and brought to Adét salt, coffee (from Zäge), and house hold utensils and sold them to the market attendants and retailers at Adét, Gonj , Färäs Wägga, Yezora, Agetta and other markets of Adét and its environs. 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 Adét.<sup>490</sup> The merchants of Adét and other localities of its surroundings also travelled as far as Mätämma and Asemära to exchange leather and leather products and agricultural items with cloths like abujidid; zäha (yarn), perfume and house hold utensils, which were highly demanded at Haylu *Gäbäya* at Adét. Among others, Lägäsä Qalu and Mängäša Täklä Haymanot were the biggest skin and hide traders between Adét and Asemära in the 1940s and 1950s. In addition, merchants from Adét who travelled to the markets of Buré, Dämebäça and beyond brought to Adét items such as coffee, gold, civet and the like.<sup>491</sup> Obviously, the

---

<sup>488</sup>Informants: Čäre Ageññ, Mulu Wärqnäḥ, Zäläqä Allälññ and Aduñña Ayčäh, Geremew, pp. 41—42

<sup>489</sup>Seltene, "*A History of Bahr Dar Town*", pp. 93- 94. ; Gärämaw, p. 41.

<sup>490</sup>Informants: Nure Muhamad, Lägäsä Qalu, Aduñña Ayčäh, and Ačänäf Zäläqä

<sup>491</sup>Ibid

post liberation period was also marked by the expansion of trade in firearms more than ever before<sup>492</sup>.

On the other hand, merchants from distant places like Eseté and other parts of Bägémeder, Däberä Mareqos, Däberä Wärq, Moṭa, Bičäna and others visited Haylu Gäbäya of Adét. Those merchants from Bägémeder brought items like zäha (yarn), abujädid and house hold utensils. Merchants of Däbrä Marqos, Däbrä wärq and Däjän areas also brought to Adét items such as coffee, jewelry, copper, and few of them yarn and house hold utensils. All these merchants exchanged their trade items at Adét with its agricultural and craft products. The most important of the trade items supplied by the people of Adét and its surroundings were honey, butter, hides, skins, and leather products like *mäçañña*, (thong), *Ṭäfer* (leather rope), *aqomada* (leather bag) and *žändi* (leather sheet).<sup>493</sup>

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 *Ṭeqemet Sellasé* held at *Färäs Mäsk* in Zära Beruk locality, as mentioned above. By the middle of December they were to start to move to their respective home area as far north as Asmära 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 *mäšäta* women, merchants, *balabbats* and craft workers of Adét town and its surroundings<sup>494</sup>.

Furthermore, during the dry season, usually in January, long distance merchants of Adét 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*; *zäha* (yarn), coffee, perfume, *qerenefud* (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 Gonedär, Asemära and Mätamma brought items such as cloths like abujädid, fino mäbruq, afäšole white silk, *zäha*, packed petroleum (22 liters), perfumes and house

---

<sup>492</sup>Informants: Daññäw Taddäsä, Ačänäf Zäläqä and Aläbačäw and Wagaw.

<sup>493</sup>Ibid

<sup>494</sup>Ibid

hold utensils, as mentioned above.<sup>495</sup> Notable among the post liberation period long distance merchants of Adét were *Nägadrases* Zārihun Ali, Fāneta Negussé, *Ato* Lägässä Qalu, Māngäša Täklä Haymanot and other smaller merchants of Adét and rural localities of its surroundings, who accompanied these big merchants.<sup>496</sup> This growing trade between Adét and other areas mentioned above continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s mainly as a result of the development of transportation networks.<sup>497</sup>

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, Yāmān— Arabs came from Gonedār and settled at Adét. They were namely Zayd Abdālla, 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 Asyā Adego of Mändärä Eyāsus to the west of Adét.<sup>498</sup> In addition, other merchants like Lägässä Qalu and Aligaz Tāwāldä (both from Tegray) came and settled at Adét in 1946 and the early 1950s, respectively. The Yāmāni Arabs engaged in either kiosk or tea room businesses, while local (Ethiopian) business persons focused on tea room and selling of Ṭājji (mead). Both groups of merchants rented thatched roofed houses of *balabats* to run their businesses or bought plots of land from *balabbats* to construct their own kiosks.<sup>499</sup> This also encouraged active merchants from Adét like Sheikh Sultan Muhammād, Gābāyāhu Qāññā (both from Mändärä Eyāsus), Yasin Alāmu, Gašu Qāçhenu and others to engage in kiosk business.<sup>500</sup> 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 Adét.<sup>501</sup> Since about the mid 1950s local business men of Adét also opened food houses, bars and bed rooms.<sup>502</sup> The main suppliers of all the above

---

<sup>495</sup>Ibid

<sup>496</sup>Ibid

<sup>497</sup>Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town, p. 95.

<sup>498</sup>Gärāmāw, p. 43.

<sup>499</sup>Ibid. Eventually, Liggāsā abandoned long distance trade and became a tea room business man at Adét.

<sup>500</sup>Čäre Agāññ and Aduñña Ayčäh

<sup>501</sup>Informants: Gābāyāhu Qāññā, Sentayāhu Ayaléw, Lägğāsä Qalu, and fātānā Aynalām.

<sup>502</sup>Informants: Gābāyāhu Qāññā, Alābačāw Wagaw and Fāntahun Enyāw.

business runners of Adét town were long distance merchants.<sup>503</sup> 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.<sup>504</sup>

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. 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 Eth. \$3.00 per liter.<sup>505</sup> In addition, a water-powered flourmill was introduced into Adét and planted at the Šena River by *Däjjzemač* Deräs Šefäraw in 1954. Besides, *Balamebāras* Asäge planted another waterpowered flourmill at the bank of the same river around Goššäyā by the late 1950s.<sup>506</sup> However, from the early 1960s onwards these archaic water powered mills were replaced by fuel powered twenty four horse power flour mills. The first of them was planted at Adét in 1961 jointly by local merchants namely *ato* Aläbačäw Wagaw and Amoññä Ayälä. This was followed in 1962 by the flour mill of *Ato* Esléman Ešātu. Since then, more numbers of fuel powered mills were also planted at Adét town and some rural places of its environs like Abiy Şeyon, Däbrä Sälām, Ereberēb, Gonj, Kebāb, Agetta and so on.<sup>507</sup> Likewise, my informants state that tailoring expanded in Adét town and the surrounding rural localities of Ereberēb, Gafat, Fateman, Adét Hanna and others during the post liberation period. Since the late 1950s tailoring was being practiced within shops of bolt of cloth at Adét town<sup>508</sup>.

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. 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 its surroundings like, Agetta, Yezora, Gonj, Färäs

---

<sup>503</sup>Ibd

<sup>504</sup>Ibd

<sup>505</sup>Informants: Ačänäf Zälläqä, Alläbačäw Wagaw, and Gäbäyāhu Qāññä

<sup>506</sup>A Letter from *Däjjzemač* Deräs Šefäraw to Agāw Dangela

Awrajja Gezat Office, Date 5/2/ 1947 E.C., D. M. U. A. R .C, Folder No, 001 6, File No. *፬. ጠ . 8.*

*Balambaras* Asäge came from Däbrä Marqos and permanently settled at Adét.

<sup>507</sup>Ibid

<sup>508</sup>Informants: Čäre Agāññ and Lägğäsä Qalu

Wägga (until 1947) and Enägadé also gradually became important economic and settlement centers<sup>509</sup>.

Nevertheless, the negative attitude of the farming community members of Adét towards merchants and handicraft workers and their hereditary traditional jobs explained in chapter two of the study resumed during the post liberation period. Obviously, this had its own lasting impact on the local socio-economic and cultural development<sup>510</sup>.

#### 4. 3.3. Social Services

Socially, the people of Adét town and its surroundings were composed of both Christian and Muslim parishioner villagers with a clear majority of the former<sup>511</sup>. A temporary thatched church was built at Adét in 1942. Obviously, parishioners also reconstructed other thatch roofed rural churches of the surrounding areas that had been partially or fully demolished by Italian aerial attacks. In 1946, the monastery of Mädhaneäläm<sup>512</sup> and the mosque at Qälämo was built in Adét with corrugated tin roofs.<sup>513</sup> The monastery of Däbrä Mäwi was also repaired and covered with tin sheets in 1964/65 with the financial support of the central government.<sup>514</sup> On the other hand, during the late 1960s the number of Muslims who migrated into Adét, and of course into Bahr Dar, increased.<sup>515</sup> As a result of the increment of the Muslim population at Adét, another mosque was built in 1967 at the present day site of Baburé Haman mosque<sup>516</sup>.

Further, there were public self-help associations called *Edder* 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 *māhabār* and *sānebäté*, explained in chapter two of the thesis, also continued during

---

<sup>509</sup>Ibid

<sup>510</sup>Informants: Adduñña Ayčäh and Laggäsä Qalu

<sup>511</sup>Zäläläm, p. 40. ; Desaläññ, p. 14.

<sup>512</sup>Informants: Bayäh Fälläqä, Biyazne Ejegu, Ašagre Čäkol and Yärom Alämu.

<sup>513</sup>Zäläläm , p. 40.

<sup>514</sup>Bäläy, Etege Taytu Bā Däbrä Mäwi, p. 66. ; Informant: Lebsäworq Ayälä .

<sup>515</sup>Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 49.

<sup>516</sup>Informants: Gäbäyāhu Qāññā and Nure Muhammäd.

the post liberation period<sup>517</sup>.

However, interms of basic infrastructure, Adét was one of the most severely deprived in Gojjam province during the post liberation period.<sup>518</sup> Only few social services gradually appeared in the town. To begin with, the period witnessed the beginning of modern education in Adét. 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 administration office. But, Sirak faced opposition particularly from the monks of the monastery of Adét Mādhané 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*/.<sup>519</sup> However, the local people unanimously called it "የአስኪላ 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 *baneda* to teach them basic mathematics and *Italian* language up to grade four which had to be completed in two years term<sup>520</sup>.

Moreover, since 1946 the governor general of Gojjam, *Däjjazemač* Käbbädä 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.<sup>521</sup> As a result, *Aläqa* Sirak (as a school principal and teacher) and *Märiyéta* Ewenātu Alämayähu were appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1946 to teach formal education at Adét in a thatched wooden elementary school up to grade four.<sup>522</sup> Later on, the government appointed other teachers like Näqätebäb Kassa and Gäbäyähu Bäteräşedeq. Their monthly salary was Eth. \$30.00 berr. The number of students at the Adét

---

<sup>517</sup>Ibid, Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*, p. 80.

<sup>518</sup> Desaläññ, p. 14

<sup>519</sup> Gärämäw, p. 44. ; Näbeyu, p. 12

<sup>520</sup>Informants: Fätänä Aynaläm and Bayah Fäläqä

<sup>521</sup>Näbeyu, p. 122.

<sup>522</sup>Yenagär Tariku and others, "Yä Bahr Dar Awraja Temhret Betoč Yä Temhret Egzibeşen Mäşhet" (Magazine, Bahr Dar, *Säné* 27, 1979 E. C.), p. 12.

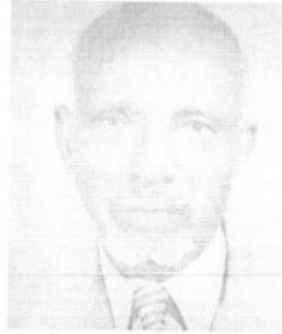


Figure 18: Picture of Aleqa Sirak Zegeye

(Source: General Council of Bahr Dar Town. *Wubitu Bahr Dar*. Bahr Dar, Mäskäräm 1975 E.C.)

Elementary school in 1946 was only twelve. Some among the first batch who completed their elementary education at Adét were Alämu Bäqälä, Däräsäññ Ayaléw, Zälläqä Yelega and Gétačäw Däseta.<sup>523</sup> The main subjects taught at this school were Amharic, English and basic mathematics.<sup>524</sup> 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 Margos for grade eighth national examination. Two of them - Däräsäññ Ayaléw and Zälläqä Yelega - were from Adét. In the next year, only Däräsäññ Ayaléw was sent to Addis Ababa to continue further education at General Wingate School<sup>525</sup>.

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 its environs. The amount of this public financial contribution in the rural areas 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 Mäkonnän Tämäsgän*. The school yard was donated by a local *balabbat* namely *Ato Bäläṭä Amära*. The name of the school was Adét Elementary School. In 1955 additional

---

<sup>523</sup>Näbeyu, p. 121.

<sup>524</sup>"YäZämänawi Temheret Ajämamär Ena Yä Adét Andäñña Däräja Temhert Bet Tarik," (Adet, *Teqmet* 1990 E. C.), pp. 1-3.

<sup>525</sup>Geremew, p. 45.



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 was elevated from grades 1-4 to grades 1- 6.<sup>526</sup>Hence, in 1968 grade six national examinations was begun to be given at Adét for the students from Adét.<sup>527</sup>In the late 1960s the number of students in each grade increased in the school under study.<sup>528</sup> In short, the need for modern education increased in Adét during the 1960s more than ever before. The local people also started to dignify students of modern education by a public song that reads:

**አስኳላ ተማሪ፣**

**ሽታው ሎሚ ሎሚ።<sup>529</sup>**

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 Adét and its environs 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).<sup>530</sup> 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.<sup>531</sup>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).<sup>532</sup>

By contrast, even after the government had introduced a Health Tax, health services were unthinkable in Adét until the 1960s. Only vaccination workers from Bahr Dar

---

<sup>526</sup>Seltene, A History of Bahr Dar Town, p.17

<sup>527</sup>Abäbä Qalkidan and others, *Däwol Mägazine*, a Special Issue (Yälmana Densa Information Office, Adét, *Säne* 1996 E. C.), p. 7

<sup>528</sup>Geremew, p. 45

<sup>529</sup>Adet Full Cycle Elementary School, "*Amätawi* Report of the School Director, *Ato Abäbä Estäziaw*" (Adet, *Säne* 20, 2006 E.C.).

<sup>530</sup>Wälälaw, p. 5. ; Abäbä and others, p. 7

<sup>531</sup>Informant: Biazne Ejegu

<sup>532</sup>Seltene, "A History of Bahr Bar Town", p. 170. ; Nebeyu. p. 122.

like a certain Gäbrä Egziabehér occasionally came to Adét.<sup>533</sup> Some former *banedas* like Läggäsä Qalu and Mäkonän Kassa tried to give medical treatments by traveling in rural villages of the the surrounding areas. 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 Adét and its environs that were nick named *Šäggaw Mäkonäné*. The epidemic killed 5- 10 persons per day in each localities.<sup>534</sup>

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 Gabrä Hawaryat Tukavo and the first physician was Daññäw Täsfayä, a man from Gonedär.<sup>535</sup> However, after a year of service, the clinic was obliged to rent a private room because *Däjjazemač* Aneläy 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 *awerajja* and the provincial administrative courts on January 26, 1966 and October 11, 1969, respectively.<sup>536</sup>

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 its environs. 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 Adét town 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.<sup>537</sup>

In the field of transportation, there were no roads to link the town of Adét 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 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

---

<sup>533</sup>Nebeyu , p. 128

<sup>534</sup>Informants: Tazäbäw Täräfä and Ayalu Alänä.

<sup>535</sup>Geremew, p. 45

<sup>536</sup>Nebeyu, pp. 70—71.

<sup>537</sup>; Geremew, p. 45.

streams that crossed the same road. Therefore, it was only during the dry season some Land Rover cars from Bahr Dar; for instance, Kassa Equbä Gäber'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.<sup>538</sup>

During the late 1960s, *Aläqa* Sirak Zägäyä organized the Yelemana Dénsa District Development Association as a branch of the Bahr Dar *awerajja* Development Association.<sup>539</sup> The branch association collected money from the peoples of Adét town and its environs for the purpose of local development. The amount of contribution collected by each *aṭebiya* dañña of the area and handed over to the association was Eth. \$7.00 birr per farmer owning an ox, and Eth. \$ 15.00 birr for owners of 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.<sup>540</sup>

#### **4.4. Adét under the Därg Regime and Socio-Economic Changes**

##### **4.4.1 Adét under the Därg Regime 1974-1991**

The imperial government under Emperor Hailä Selassé I faced serious challenges and opposition across the empire during his last years. The main groups that challenged and opposed the imperial government were teachers, students, taxi drivers, urban dwellers, unemployed youths and soldiers.<sup>541</sup> This challenge and opposition reached its peak in February 1974 when popular revolution erupted in the country. When popular revolution to the imperial regime escalated, a group of army officers gathered

---

<sup>538</sup>Gärämäw, pp. 45—46.

<sup>539</sup>Seltene, "A History of Bahr Dar Town", p. 181. ; The Life History of Qäñnazmač Dästa Yemam, p. n. page.

<sup>540</sup>Geremew, p. 46.

<sup>541</sup>Bäru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, Second Edition, p.229.

in Addis Ababa and agreed to form a committee. Nationwide popular revolution and opposition continued and ended the autocratic rule of Haile Sellassie, in September 1974, starting a new epoch in Ethiopia. Then a military junta usually called the Därg (Committee) was formed and took power in the country. The Committee chose its leader Major Mānegestu Hailä Mariam and began to take new measures against the ex-imperial government officials<sup>542</sup>.

Old high ranking officers were arrested and Emperor Hailä Sellassé was deposed and this was the beginning of a new political era in Ethiopian history.<sup>543</sup> When the imperial government was removed from power, people all over the empire and in Adét were excited because they had grievances against the imperial government and its officials. The Därg committee also promised to answer the question of rural and urban land and to make improvements in the life of the people in the town. The Därg government soon formed the PMAC (Provisional Military Administrative Council) and those who opposed the new provisional government faced severe punishments. The end of the imperial regime and the beginning of the Därg regime was followed by proclamations and declarations that dealt with socio-political conditions of the country. The people of Adét, who had serious problems with the imperial regime, as stated above, welcomed the new government officials in the town although this satisfaction was only short lived<sup>544</sup>.

The Därg period made some contributions to the formation of urban services in Adét. In fact, rapid growth of Adét which was still quite a small town in Gojjam *Aweraja* was recorded after the Därg period. It is also true that the imperial government had attempted the establishment of some social services in the town. However, the Därg period had a more significant contribution to the expansion of social services in the town. After the Därg government exerted its authority and administration in Adét, the social changes and infrastructures of the town were improved. Following these improvements, Adét attracted people from different parts of the surrounding areas for urban services<sup>545</sup>.

The Provisional Military Government drafted proclamations and declarations to be implemented in the country. The proclamation that dealt with towns nationalized

---

<sup>542</sup>John Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1986), p.128;

<sup>543</sup>Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, Second Edition p.236.

<sup>544</sup>Informants: Bayäh Fälqä, Ayalu Alänä and Biazené Ejjegu

<sup>545</sup>Ibid

urban lands and extra houses in Ethiopian towns.<sup>546</sup> On July 28, 1975 the Därg government proclaimed that all extra houses and urban lands should be in the hands of government under the responsibilities of qäbälés. Adét town was therefore, also included in these changes. Before the Därg government *balabats*, higher ranking officials and rich individuals owned more than one house in the town.<sup>547</sup> After the Därg took power, all extra houses in the town, which is above one house for his residence, were confiscated. They were put under qäbälé administration and rented out the surplus housing stock to those in need. Simultaneously, all rents were reduced, reflecting the official ideology of social justice and socialism<sup>548</sup> which was also applied in Adét. Since the rent was discounted from 15% up to 50%, the high rent payment was solved in the town for some time.<sup>549</sup>

Another proclamation of the Provisional government was the *zämäça* (Development through Cooperation Campaign) which was applicable to all parts of the country and also included Adét. University and high school students were sent out into the rural parts of the country to propagate the policy and ideology of the Därg government.<sup>550</sup> The members of the *zämäça* who were sent out into Adét area reached the town on February 8, 1976. The people of the town and its environs warmly received the campaigners and accompanied them to the rural areas of Adét.

These campaigners who went on the *zämäça* were regarded as the apostles of change in the sociopolitical conditions of the period.<sup>551</sup> The real motive of the campaigners was to transfer their knowledge and understanding of the political and economic system of Därg to the mass of the people and enhance progressive developments. They were also expected to educate the illiterate people as the Därg policy of education called for *biherawi yämäsärätä temeheret zämäça* (basic education) both in

---

<sup>546</sup>Ibid

<sup>547</sup>Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, “Developmental Towns, Special Edition to the Establishment of the WPE and the 10th Anniversary of the Revolution”, September, 1985, p.19.

<sup>548</sup>Informants: Asçalaw Andualem, Ašageré Čäkol, Ašäbere Bayeh

<sup>549</sup>*Negarit Gazeta*, Proclamation to the Ownership of Urban Land and Housing , proc.47/1975, 38

<sup>550</sup>Adét town municipal administration p.54. Ya Mastawaqiya na Ya Propaganda Committee, “Ethiopia: Ya Katama Bota na Terf bet Tenant na Zare”, Addis Ababa, September 1981, pp.9-12; Baker, p.216; John Markakis, p.141;

<sup>551</sup>Dawit Wäldaä Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, INC., 1989),p.23.

the town and rural areas<sup>552</sup>. The people of the town were given the education by the campaigners. Many elders in Adét remembered the *behérawi yāmāsārätä temeheret zāmāča* given during the period. They also enhanced political awareness and cooperation among the people. The people in Adét were also formed cooperation that they helped each other<sup>553</sup>.

The town of Adét has undergone rapid transformation since the 1980s and many projects have been established. The first master plan for the town of Adét was developed and implemented in 1980, and the person whose work is said to be Engineer Täsfayä Mäzemur. Informants say that when the road from Moṭa- Bahir Dar was built in 1983, the development of the town began to change<sup>554</sup>.

The municipality's land distribution was made for the formation various institutions and housing for the community. It is said that the total area of the town was 16 Gaša of land. The one who led this land distribution system was *Ato Dästa Mogäs / 1982-84/*. At this time, the town of Adét was divided into different villages, the first Sar säfär (between Šegäz and Hailu market) and most of the residents were prostitutes who came from the countryside to the town, and it was called *Mäšäta Bét Säfär*. The second one was *Enedod Säfär* (down to Mädehanéalem and Mäskäl Adäbabay) was a neighborhood with Yämäni or Arab merchants' shops and cafés. The third one was *Adena Säfär* (west of *Enedod Säfär*, between the Italian Camp and Hailu Market) was a prostitute settlement; fourth, *Gulet Säfär* (around Gulet market area) was a noble men village. Recently, the town of Adét is generally described as Gafat, Šenena, Qälämo, Quraşeyon, and Šegäz Säfär<sup>555</sup>.

The construction of communication lines in the town of Adét started during the Italian occupation period, and a new road was built from Bahr Dar- Adét, Moṭa and Däjän. The opening of this road has made the arrival of vehicles convenient. Adét has been using the cross-country road since 1977 through the gravel road built from Addis Ababa— Bahardar. However, because of the Ṭul, Šena and Šegäz rivers were difficult in winter season, when the bridges were completed and the service was fully

---

<sup>552</sup>Randi Ronning Balsvik, “Addis Ababa University in the Shadow of Darg, 1974-1991 in Proceeding of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Volume 2”, ed. by Svein Ege and others, Trondheim, 2009, p.260.

<sup>553</sup>Informants, Fäntahun Eneyäw, Fätänä Aynaläm, Gäberä Mäseqäl Tebäbu.

<sup>554</sup>Ibid

<sup>555</sup>Ibid

utilized from around 1980. In 1983, a telephone line was laid in the town of Adét and it became a user, and in 1984, it became a user of postal service<sup>556</sup>.

The Commercial Bank of Ethiopia branch opened in 1986 in Adét. This bank has contributed to the economic growth of both the town and the district. When the bank opened, there was no house of its own, and it was in the house of an heir, *Däjjazmač* Deräs Šfäraw. It is currently working on a first -story building. In 1986, the Adét Agricultural Research Institute was established as a center.

The town of Adét received electricity on November 17, 1982, and the electricity was drawn from Bahir Dar, which originated in the Çhesabay fall. As a result, it has expanded small cottage industries, like grain mills Wood saw and Garages.

In general, the establishment of various public and private institutions in the town has strengthened the town's growth and economic foundation. With the establishment of education, health, trade, municipalities, finance, agriculture, electricity, telephone, hotels, gas stations, etc., the town's economy has grown exponentially, and the community's focus on agriculture has grown into a thriving private sector. The main road that connects Addis Ababa to Bahir Dar was built. Without it, any segment of the population should be able to work hand in hand with rapid growth<sup>557</sup>.

---

<sup>556</sup>Yelmana Dénsa district bahelena tourism office, Yä Adét ena akababiwua tarik, bahelena gäşeta, p.8.

<sup>557</sup>Ibid

## Conclusion

There were some changes in the historical developments of Adét in the twentieth century as there was much continuity from earlier periods. Among others, the early decades of the 20th century saw the beginning of the end of hereditary rule in the area, as it was the case in other parts of Gojjam. Here, *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot started to appoint his own favourites over the town of Adét and its surroundings. He also forcibly became the Gābāz 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 Adét 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 Adét in particular. This, in turn, led to the development of market and urban centers, like Adét town, in Gojjam.

The reforming Šāwan aristocrat, who replaced *Ras* Haylu, namely *Ras* Emeru Haylä Sellasé, also tried to introduce many new and modern innovations into Gojjam since the 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, Dabrā 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 the town of Adét in particular. Adét was one of the most renowned centers of patriotic resistance in Gojjam against the Italians. Despite the strong resistance there, the Italians successively made Adét 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 culntural developments of Adét. 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 town were the spread of houses made of stone and wood covered with tin sheets, and that of prostinttion.



The departure from the past in Adét 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 town were now occupied based on patriotic contributions rather than descent. The period also saw a change in the geographical extension of Adét town. Because of the administrative rearrangement made by the then governor of Gojjam province, since 1947 the town lost its north western parts extending from the area north of Däbrä Mäwi-Yebaba line to the Zäge peninsula, but it got a new territory called Gonj-Qollälla in the east.

Trade and commerce also further expanded in the town of Adét during the post liberation period. These economic sectors were not now left to the Muslims of the town 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 into Adét town.

However, the majority of the people of Adét town and its surroundings 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 landlessness 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 town under investigation since the early 20th century, did not alleviate the deep-rooted social problems. Like other parts of Gojjam, local communities of Adét 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 town of Adét.

## Bibliography

### I. Unpublished Sources

#### A. Archival Sources

##### National Archive and Library Agency

*Blatta*Marse'e Hazän Wäldä Qirgos's Collection."Bä Amest Amätau Yä Italian Wärära Wäqet Yä Tägadälu Arbäññoç: Yä Däjjazmaç Mängäša Tarik" (Manuscript, 1032), Folder Number መ.ኃ. ወ. ቁ. 63.1 , File Number 47. 14.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Selä Ras Haylu Nebrät Mäwäras Ena Däbrä Margos Bätänäsaw Amba Gwaro Bezu Säw Mägodatu" (Manuscript, Amharic, n.d.), Folder Number መ.ኃ. ወ. ቁ.63.1 , File Number, 33.13.

A Letter from Dan Sanford (Colonel) to Azaž Käbbädä Täsämma, Date, Hedar 14, 1933 E.C, Collection of Käbbädä Täsämma, Folder Number ክ. ተ. 62.1, File Number 07.22.

A Letter from Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat Office Director to the Ministry of Interior, Date Mäskäräm 24, 1966 E.C., Folder Number 17.1.11 , File Number 16.09.

A Letter from Lej Abärä Yemam to Azaž Käbbädä Täsämma, Date, Tahsas 21, 1933 E.C., Collection of Käbbädä Täsämma, Folder Number 63.1 , File Nwnber, ክ . ተ . 07.22.

Ministry of Interior, "Gojjam Täqalay Gezat Yäšumament Ena Säratäññoç Zerzer Mäzegäb of 1952 E.C.", Folder Number, 17.1.11 , File Number, 16.02.

A Letter from Tadäsä Gäbrä Mädhen to Emperor Haylä Sellase about the Patriotic Struggle in Gojjam (Manuscript, n.d), Folder Nwnber መ.ኃ. ወ. ቁ.63.1, File Nwnber, 47.07.

A Letter from the Patriots of Yelmana Densa to *Azaž* Käbbädä Täsärnma, Date, *Yäkatit* 1, 1933 E.C, Folder Number, Käbbädä Täsämma's Collection, ክ. ተ." . 62.1, File Number 18.13.

##### Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Research Center

Bä Gojjam Täqalay Gezat Yämigäññu Wänzoç, Folder Number Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, File No., 2153/ 13, n. d., pp. 22-23 .

The appeal of the clergy of Dima to Emperor Haylä Sellase, Date *Ginbot* 1, 1945 E. C., Folder Number, Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, File number 2163.

## Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center

A Letter from Aläm Akalu to Ddjjazmač Däräjä Mäkonnän, Endarase of Gojjam *Täqalay Gezat*, Date, *Säne 7*, 1963 E.C., Folder No, 00196, File No.9179.

\_\_ To *Däjjazmač Sähayu Enqwo Sellase*, Endarase of *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat*, Date, *Säne 24*, 1958 E.C., Folder No, 00196, File No.9179

A Minute of Document of the Assembly of *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Administration Officials Chaired by Ras Haylu Bäläw on the Monastic lands of Adet, Date *Mäskäräm 5*, 1946 E.C., Folder No, 00196, File Number 9179.

A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja Gezat* Office to *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Office, Date *Ter 10*, 1957 E.C., Folder No., 00172, File No., 373.

A Letter from *Däjjazmač Deräs Šefäraw* to Bahr Dar *Wäräda Gezat* Office, Date, *Genbot 8*, 1936 E.C., Folder No, 0016, File No. **መ. ጠ.8**.

\_\_\_\_. To Agäw Dangelä *Awrajja Gezat* Office, Date 5/21/1947 E.C., Folder No, 0016, File No. **መ. ጠ. 8**.

\_\_ To *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Office, Date, *Mäskäräm 14*, 1967 E.C., Folder No, 0016, File No. **መ. ጠ.6**.

*Gojjam Täqalay Gezat Rest Kefel*, n.d., Folder number, 0020, File nwnber, 31112.

*YäŠumament Ena Särätäññoč Zerzer Mäzegäb*, *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat*, 1940 E.C., Folder No, 00605 , No file number.

*Gojjam Täqalay Gezat YäŠumament Ena Särätäññoč Zerzer Mäzagebt* of 1940- 1957 E.C., Folder No, 00605, No file number.

A Letter from *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Inspection Office to the *Täqalay Gezat* Office (Report), Date 22/11/1946 E.C., Folder Number 003450, file No. 53.

A Letter from *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Office to Agäw Bahr Dar *Awrajja Gezat* Office, Date *Yäkatit 17*, 1948 E.C .. Folder No, 003450, File No 53.

A Letter from *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Office to the *Täqalay Gezat* Finance Office, Date 21 /4/1961 E.C., Folder No. 0016, File No **መ.ጠ.8**.

A Letter from Ministry of Finance to *Gojjam Täqalay Gezat* Office, Date *Hamle 21*, 1943 E.C., Folder No, 0016, File No **መ.ጠ.8**.

\_\_\_\_. To *Däjjzmač* Deräs Šefäraw, Date *Hamle* 14, 1942 E.C., Folder No. 0016, Fikle No. **፬.፳.፱.8**.

A Letter from Ministry of Interior to *Däjjzmač* Šähayu Enqwo Sellase, Date *Mägabit* 21, 1958 E.C., Folder No. 00196, File No 9/79.

The Appeal of the Clergy of Adet to Emperor Haylä Sellase, Date *Mäskäräm* 28, 1956 E.C., Folder No, 00196, File Number 9/79.

A Letter from Yelmana Dénša district office to *Gojjam Ttiqlay Gezat* Office, Date *Hedar* 19, 1942 E.C., Folder number, 003450, File No 53.

### **Adét Town Municipality Archive**

A Letter from Adét Municipality Office to *Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat* Office, Date 4/9/1942. Folder Number, **፱.፭.1-50**, File No, **፱፭. -22**.

\_\_\_\_. To *Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat* Municipality Office, Date *Ṭeqemt* 6, 1943 E. c., Folder Number **፱.፭.1-50**, File No, **፱፭. -22**

\_\_\_\_. To *Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat* Municipality Office, Date *Ṭeqemt* 6, 1943 E. c., Folder Number **፱.፭.1-50**, File No **፱፭.-22**.

\_\_\_\_. To *Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat* Head of Municipalities, Date *Miyaziya* 1, 1944 E.C., Folder No. **፱.፮.1-19**, File No. **፱፮.-4**.

A Letter from Bahr Dar *Awrajja* Administration Office to Yä Imana Densa district Administration office. Date *Hamle* 18, 1956 E.c. Adét Municipality Archive, Folder No. **፱፮.1-50**: File No. **፱፮ -4**.

A Letter from Adét Municipality Office to *Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat* Office, Date *Miyaziya* 1, 1962 E. c., Folder Number **፱፭.1-50**, File No. **፱፭ -22**.

### **B. Manuscripts**

Negatu Siyyfu. "Tezämedo Säbe'e Zä Ityopeya" (MS. Personal collection, Bahr Dar, n.d).

Täklä Eyäsus Waqejera. "Ya Gojjam Tarik" (MS, Institute of Ethiopan Studies, No. 254).

### **C. Personal Collections**

*Ato* Addam Käbbädä. The Life History of of *Däjjzmač* Deräs Šefäraw (Obituary, Amharic, Adét, undated); receipts and a land related personal documents.

*Ato* Dästä, Mogäs. "Yä Adét Kätäma Edgät Tarik" /Historical Development of Adét Town/, (Amharic, n.d).

*Ato* Fätänä, Enyāw. The Life History of *Däjjzmač* Anläy Hayle. (Obituary, Amharic, Adét).

*Ato Mesganaw Tayä.* The Life History of *Qäññazmač Dästa Yemam* (Obituary, Amharic, Adét, 1978).

*Ato Šägaw Andwaläm.* The Life History of *Ato Andwaläm Berhanu* (Obituary, Amharic, Adét, *Hedar* 29, 2007 E.C.).

*Ato Šemälaš Bäkälä.* "Yä Bahr Dar Katama Ačher Tarik" (MS, Bahr Dar, Undated).

*Ato Wärqenäh Getahun.* "Yä Adét Tarik" /History of Adét Town/, Amharic, n.d.

*Gäbrä Mäsqäl Tebäbu.* "Inaugural Speech on the Foundation of Šerha Šeyon Bä'ata Lä Maryam Church" (MS, Šereha Šeyon Church Foundation Committee Adét, *Mäskäräm* 24, 1991 E.C.).

### **C. Leaflets, Reports and Studies**

Adét Full Cycle Elementary School. "Annual Report of the School Director, *Ato Abäbä Estäziyaw*" (Adét, *Säneé* 20, 2006 E.C.)

Adét Town Administration Finance Office. Adét Town Administration Integrated Development Plan of 2007 E.C. (Adét, *Mäskäräm*, 2008 E.C.).

Amhara Region Planning Office. "Selä Merab Gojjam Astädadär Akababi Tarik Andand Näteboč" (MFN, 1299, Bahr Dar, *Tahsas* 1982 E.C.).

Edegät Bähebrät Bahr Dar Center. Annual Report of Edegät Bähebrät Bahr Dar Center, *Ter* 1967 E.C. to *Säne* 1968 E.C., (Bahr Dar, *Säne* 1968 E.C.).

Gäbäyähü Wägayähü. "Yä Däbrä Mäwi Ena Yä Gojjamu Yä Aše Fasil Betä Mängeset (Gemb Giyorgis), West Gojjam Zone Culture and Tourism Mämeriya, (Bahr Dar, *Nahasé* 1987 E.c.).

Gonj Qollälla District Culture and Tourism Office. "Tentawiw Yä Däbrä Selus Qedus Däbrä Wäyfat Gädam" (Leaflet, Addis Alam (Gonj), *Miyaziya*, 2003 E.C.).

Mäzämer Abbay and Däbasu Hulgize. "Gonj Téwodros Mika 'el, Wäyzazeret Kidanä Mehrät and Šelalo Amanu'el" (A Study Report, West Gojjam Zone Culture and Tourism Office, Bahr Dar, 1989 E.C.)

Wälälaw Getahun. "Yä Zämänawi Temeheret Ajämamär Ena Yä Adét Andäñña Däräja Temeheret Bét Tarik" (A Study Report, Adét, *Teqemet* 1990 E.C.).

Yelmana Densa District Culture and Tourism Office. "Profile of Adét town " (Adet, *Säne* 2005 E.C.).

Yelmana Densa District Finance Office .Annual Report of 2007 E.C. of Yelmana Densa District Finance Office to West Gojjam Zone Finance Office (Adet, Mäskäräm 2008 E.c.

Yelmana Densa District Culture and Tourism Office."Yä Mäseheb Habetoč Ṭenatawi Märäja" (A Study Report, Adét, Säne 2002 E.C.).

#### **D. Theses and Dissertations**

Abdussamad *Hajj* Ahmed."Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1882-1935".MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1980.

—"Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and World Economy, 1901-1935". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1986.

Alula Yohannes."A History of Dämbäça Wäräda to 1991".MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2010.

Ayele Tariku, "A History of Hulät Iju Ensé Wäräda, 1941-1991 " (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 201 1).

Dawit Ayalew. "A History of Méçha Wäräda of Bahr Dar (1935-1991). MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2010.

Fantahun Birhane. "Gojjam: 1800-1855". BA Thesis, Haile Sillasie University, Department of History, 1973.

Geremew Eskezia. "A History of Addet Town from its Foundation to 1974".B.Ed. Thesis in History, Bahr Dar University, Department of History, 2000.

Nebeyu Eyasu. "Administrative History of Gojjam: 1941-1974". MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2004.

Seltene Seyoum. "A History of Bahr Dar Town, 1936-1974".MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1988.

\_\_\_ "A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia): 1936-1941 ". Ph.D. Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, 1999.

Sileshe Mengistie. "A History of Dima Giyorgis Monastery from its Foundation to 1974".BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1998.

Täklä Haimanot Gebre Silassie. "The Waito of Lake Tana: An Ethno- History". MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1984.

Zelalem Abera. "Addét: A Historical Survey to 1991 ". BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2000.

## II. Published Sources

### A. Books

- Abir, Mordachai. *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim and European Rivalry in the Region*. London: Cass, 1980.
- Aman Balay (Märi Ras). *Yäṭentwa Ethiopia Tensa'e Tarik: Kä Mäṣehafä Suba 'e Yätäwäsädä*. Addis Ababa: Bole Publishing Enterprise, 1985 E.C.
- Balay Makonnen. *Yä Qené Käwakebet*. Addis Ababa: Tana Publishing Enterprise, 1990 E.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Etégé Taytu Bä Däbrä Mäwi*. Addis Ababa: Tana Publishing Enterprise, 2003 E.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yä Qenéwa Negest*. Addis Ababa: Africa Publishing Enterprise, PLC, 2006 E.C.
- Bahru Zewde. *A History of Modern Ethiopia. 1855-1991*, Second Edition. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002.
- Bairu Tafla. *Asma Giyorgis and His Work: History of the Galla and the Kingdom of Šhäwa*. Stuttgart: Steiner-verlag Wiesbaden Gambh, 1987.
- Blundell, H. Weld. *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Budge, W.E.A. *A History of Ethiopia: Nubia & Abyssinia (Two Vols.)*. Osterhout N: B-Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1970.
- Bruce, James. *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773 (Five Vols.)*. Edinburg: Gregg International Publishers, 1972.
- Cheesman, Robert E. *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*. London: Frank Cass, 1968.
- Crummey, Donald. *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2000.
- Del Boca, Angelo. *The Ethiopian War: 1935-41*. London: the University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1969.
- Dessalegn Rahmato. *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institution of African Studies, 1984.
- Dässé Qäläb. *TarikäNägäst*. Addis Ababa: The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Mahebarä Qedusan, 2007 E.C.

- Doresse, Jean. *Ethiopia: Ancient Sites and Temples (Trans.)*. London: Elek Books, 1969.
- Emeru Haylä Sellasé (Leul Ras). *Kayähut Ena Kä Emastawsäw*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2001 E.C.
- Gäbrä Sellasé Wäldä Arägay. *Tarik Zämän Zä Dagmawi Menylek Negusä Nägäset Zä Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Sälam Printing Press, 1959 E.C.
- Garädäw Dämesé (Trans). *Yä Mussolini Wärära Bä Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Zéga Publishing and Advertising Enterprise, 1990 E.C.
- Gäbru Tareke. *Ethiopia, Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*. Lawrence Ville: The Red Sea Press Press, 1996.
- Greenfield, Richard. *Ethiopia: A New Political History*. London: Pall Mall Press, 1965.
- Griaule, Marcel. *Burlier of Men: Modern Ethiopia, Gilrich Edwin, Trans*. London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1935.
- Hobben Alan. *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: The Dynamic of Cognatic Descent*. Chicago, 1973.
- Huntingford G.W. *The Historical Geography of Ethiopia from the First Century AD to 1704*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Käbbädä Täsämma (Däjjäč). *Yä Tarik Mastawäša*, Second Edition. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, Ltd., 2007 E.C.
- Mahtämä Sellasé Wäldä Mäsqäl. *Zekerä Nägär*. Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Sälam Printing Press, 1922 E.C.
- Marcus, Harold G. *A History of Ethiopia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Muse Tegegne. "*Gojjam*" *the Stigma: The Abyssinian Pariah*. Geneva: Guihon Books, 1993.
- Pankhurst, Richard. *The Ethiopian Border Lands: Ancient Times to the End of the 18th, Century*. Asmara: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1997
- \_\_\_\_\_. *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-19th Century to 1935*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner-verlag Wiesbaden, 1985.
- Pawlos Ñoñño. *Ašé Menylek Bä Hagär Westŷ Yätätafaƿwačäw Däbdabéwäč*. Addis Ababa: Aster Näga Publisher, 2003 E.C.
- Plowden, Walter C. *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*. London: Longmans; Green, and Co., 1968.



- Qalä Kerestos Abbay (Colonel). *Bä 1928 E.C. Ethiopia Bä Italia Mäwäärär*. Addis Ababa: Berehan Ena Sälam Press, 1998 E.C.
- Rey, C.F. *In the Country of the Blue Nile*. New York: Negro University Press, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia*. New York: Negro University Press, 1969.
- Rubenson, Sven. *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*. Addis Ababa: Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1976.
- Taddesse Tamrat. *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527*. Oxford: the Claredon Press, 1972.
- Tädla Zä Yohannes. *Yä Ethiopia Tarik: Italia Bä Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Mankusa Publishing Enterprise, PLC, 2004 E.C.
- Täklä Iyäsus Waqejera. *Yä Gojjam Teweled Bämulu Kä Abbay Esekä Abbay*, Germa Getahun, ed. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2003 E.C.
- Täklä Hawareyat Täklä Maryam (*Fitawrari*). *Auto Biography (Yä Heywäte Tarik)*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004.
- Täklä Sellasé (Azaž Tinno). *The Chronicle of Susenyos (Amharic)*, Trans. & ed., Alämu Haylé. Addis Ababa: Sirak Publishing Enterprise, 2005 E.C.
- TäkläŞadiq Mäkuriya. *Yä Ethiopia Tarik Ka Aşé Lebnä Dengel Eskä Aşé Tewodros*, Second Edition. Addis Ababa: Berhan Ena Sälam Printing Press, 1961 E. C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Aşe Tewodros Ena Yä Ethiopia Andenät*. Addis Ababa: Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1981 E.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Aşé Menyelek Ena Yä Ethiopia Andenat*. Addis Ababa: Kuraz Publishing Agency, 1983 E.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Yä Ethiopia Tarik Kä Aşe Tewodros Eske Qädamawi Hayle Sellasé*, Second Edition. Addis Ababa: Berehan Ena Salam Printing Press, 2000 E.C.
- Trimingham, J. S. *Islam in Ethiopia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Tsega Endalew. *Inter-Ethnic Relations on a Frontier: Mätäkkäl (Ethiopia), 1898-1991*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.
- Ullendorff, Edward. *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to the Country and Its People*, Third Edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Wäldä Maryam (Alläqa). "Yä Dagmawi Aşé Tewodros Negusä Nägäst Tarik", Mondon Vidailhet, publisher, *In Aşé Téwodros Bä Sometu Qädämet Şahafet*, Täsfayä Akalu, Editor. Addis Ababa: Far East Trading Ltd., 2004 E.C.

Zänänäbä (Däbtära). *Yä Tewodros Tarik*, Enno Litman, Editor and Publisher.

Princeton: Princeton University, 1902.

Zärihun Gäbre (Trans.). *Yä Ethiopia Tarik: Kä Aşé Na 'od Eskä Alga Wäraş Täfäri Mäkonnen*, Addis Ababa: Eleni Publisher, PLC, 1999.

## **B. Articles and Papers in Journals and Proceedings**

Bahru Zewde. "Economic Origin of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia" in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XVII, 1984: 1-29.

Bairu Tafla. "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia" in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XI, No I, 1973: 29-55.

Eshetu Chole. "Towards a History of the Fiscal Policy of Pre Revolutionary Ethiopian State: 1941-1974", in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XVII, 1984: 88-106.

Fitsum Dechasa and Fikrte Demissie. "Challenges of Portable Water Supply System in Rural Ethiopia: The case of Gonj Kolela Woreda", in *Natural Resources and Conservation Journal*, Vol. 2, No.N, 20 14: 59-69.

Habtamu Mengistie. *Lord, Zéga and Peasant: A Study of Agrarion Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*. Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, Special Monograph Series, No. 1, 2004.

Hoben, Allan. "Social Stratification in Traditional Amhara Society" in *Social Stratification in Africa*, A. Tuden and L. Plotincove, Eds. New York: The Free Press, 1967: 187-224.

Kobishchanov, Yuri M. "The Gofol Complex in the Gondarine Empire" in *Proceedings of the Eleventh international Conference of Elhiopian Studies*, Bahru Zewde, R. Pankhurst, Taddese Beyene, eds., Vol. I, Addis Ababa (1994): 123-133.

Merid Welde Aregay. "The Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century," *Accadamia Nazionale Dei Lincei IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Vol. I. Rome, 1974: 613-631.

Scwab, Peter. "Rebellion in Ethiopia, A Study of Gojjam Province" in *East African Journal*, (1969): 29-33.

Shiferaw Bekele. "The State in the Zamana Masafent (1786- 1853): An Essay in Reinterpretation" *Kassa and Kassa: Papers On the Lives, Times and images of Tewodros II and Yohannes IV, 1855-1889*, Taddese Beyene, R. Pankhurst and Shiferaw Bekele (Eds.). Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1990:25-68.

Shirreff, A.D. "The Ethiopian Patriotic Contribution to the 1941 Campaign Against the Italians in Gojjam" *Proceedings of the Eleventh international Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Bahru Zewde, Taddese Beyene, Eds., Vol. I, Addis Ababa (1994): 849-859.

Taddese Tamrat. "Nilo-Saharan Interactions with Neighbouring Highlanders: The Case of the Gumuz of Gojjam and Wallaga", *Proceedings of the Workshop on Famine Experience and Resettlement in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa University, Institute of Developmental Research, 1988: 1-20.

———"Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: *The Case of the Gafat*" in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XXI, 1988: 121-154.

———. "Process of Ethnic Interaction Integration in Ethiopian History: *The Case of Agäw*" in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No 1 , (1988): 5-18.

———"Ethiopia in Miniature: The Peopling of Gojjam", *The Twelfth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. I, Michigan State University, (1994): 951-962.

### **C. Magazines**

Abäbä Qalkidan and Others. *Däwäl Mäṣehet*, a Special Issue, Yelmana Densa Information and Communication Office, Adét, *Säne* 1996 E.C.

Gäbrä Mädhen Yanéd and Alula Yohannes (Diacons). "Kä Wašära Eskä Gärägära" Hammär Zä Orthodox, The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Vol. 10, No.2, *Genbot /Säne* 1994 E.C.

General Council of Bahr Dar Town. *Wubitu Bahr Dar*. Bahr Dar, *Mäskäräm* 1975 E.C.

Yenagär Tariku and Others. *Yä Bahr Dar Awrajja Temeheret Betoč Yä Temeheret Egzibišen Mäṣehet* (Bahr Dar, *Sane* 27, 1979 E.C.).

## 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.
- Awrajja*----- sub province.
- Azaż*----- 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.
- Bitwaddäd*----- a high politico military title.
- Buda* ----- evil eye.
- Çhäwa*-----a collective name given in former times to soldiers with *gultri* ghts over peasants.
- Çheqa Šum*----- village chief empowered to collect tax during the imperial regime.
- Çhesäñña*----- 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.
- Fenṭer* -----drink after doing business.

*Fitawrari* -----commander of the vanguard; a traditional military title  
below *Dajjazmač*.

*Gäbäya*----- market place.

*Gädam* ----- monastery.

*Ganägäb*----- royal *gult* lands.

*Gaša*----- a unit of officially measured land equivalent to 40 hectares.

*Gäbüz, 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 (Qäññač)*.

*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.

*Liqämäkwas*-----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.

*Märiğéta*-----instructor; a religious title given to clergy who educate the liturgy.

*Mäšäta*-----an institution through which ladies earn their living by selling local  
drinks.

*Mäßen* -----a public supply of *enjära* to local armies.

*Mäto Alläqa*----- a military title equivalent to lieutenant.

*Mekelel*-----an administrative unit next to *mesläne or wäräda* (distri ct).

*Mesläné*-----sub-district or sub-district governor prior to 1946.

*Madegga*-----a unit to measure weight equivalent to 35 kilos.

*Näçh Läbaš*----- local militia.

*Nägadras* -----head of a merchant caravan.

*Qäññzemač (Qäññč)*-----commander of the right flank; a politico military title below *Firawrari*.

*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).

*Rasbitwäddäd*----- a rare title combining the *Ras* and the imperial favour of *Bitwäddäd* equivalent to prime minister.

*Rest*-----hereditary usufruct right over communal land.

*Restägult*-----hereditary *gult*

*Sämon, Qefäf or Rim*---- the different names of church *gult* lands.

*Serrit*-----original (ancient) tenure arrangements of a plot of land.

*Šalläqa*----- commander of the thousand; a politico military title given to local representatives of a higher authority to collect tribute.

*Šefta*----- bandit, rebel.

*Ṭäbiban (sing.Ṭäbib)* ----- skilled persons (artisans).

*Ṭäqelay -Gezat*----- province between 1946- 1974.

*Täzkar or Yämutamät*---- ceremonial occasions held to mourn the deceased.

*Wämbär* ----- local judge before 1941.

*Wäräda*----- district or an administrative unit below *Awrajja*.

*Wäyna Däga*----- moderate agro-climatic zone.

*Wäyzäro*-----a traditional title of a married woman; equivalent to Mrs.

*Yägobäz Aläqa*----- village chief elected by the local people to maintain peace.

*Yägolqunna šums* ----- chiefs of the measurement; tax collectors of *Ras* Haylu.

*Yäséndé or YäMäsqäl Märét*----wheat or Cross land; church lands for the production of wheat.

*Zeker*----- a public ceremonial occasion which is marked by feeding the clergy, the disabled and passers-by in commemoration of Abraham.

## List of Informants

No	Name of the informants	Sex	Age	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	Admase Enyew	M	65	Adet	2/11/2014	He has information about the formation of Adet and Yelmana Dénša district
2	Adisu Adisu Däbasu	M	63	Adét	4/11/2014	He served as a teacher and served as a director, as a native to Adet know about the town of Adét
3	Aduñña Ayčäh	M	71	Adét	10/11/2014	He is knowledgeable about long distance knowledgeable trade that passed through Adét.
4	Alebačaw Wagaw	M	71	Adét	6/12/2014	He know about the socio economic and political development of the town of Adét
5	Aläbäl Tayä(ato)	M	80	Adét 02 district patriotic office	12/12/2014	He know much about Fitawrari Amära Täsäma in the occupation period and the patriot of Dénša
6	Alämu Gétahun(Abuhay)	M	81	Adét	22/12/2014	He know about patriots of Adét and its surroundings
7	Amäsä Jänbäre	M	72	Adét	30/12/2014	He has knowledge about peasant rebellion in Gojjam
9	Asčälaw Andualem	M	79	Adét	8/1/2015	He knows about the patriotic resistance in Yelmana Dénša district.
10	Ašagrečäköl(Afäm ämehr)	M	72	Church of Adét Mädhane alem	11/1/2015	He served the Gädam for many years. Highly knowledgeable.
11	Ašäber Bayh	M	79	Adét	21/1/2015	A native of Adet and a good informant particularly the post liberation period history of the town
12	Ayalu Alänä(Ato)	M	69	Adét 02	30/1/2015	He was a teacher for a long period of time. He know much about the post

						liberation period.
13	Bayäh Fäläkä(Mägabi)	M	68	Adét 02	30/1/2015	Highly educated in church school. He served the Gädam of Adét Mädhanealem before he became merchant.He is highly knowledgeable.
14	Biazné Ejegu(ato)	M	75	Adét 01	30/1/2015	He was a neč läbaš. He has deep knowledge about history of the town.
15	Čhané Enyāw	M	65	Adét 02	30/1/2015	He came to Adét as a follower fo Fitawrari Kälkay and permanently settled there. He gives good evidence about kälkay's administration.
16	Čäre Agāññ(ato)	M	66	Adét 02	1/2/2015	He know much about the socio economic condition of the town particularly during the post liberation period
17	Dämelä Ayälä(Qésä Gäbāz)	M	82	Adét	3/2/2015	He is a highly educated person in church education. He was Anbäsit locality. He is knowledgeable about the traditional history of the town
18	)	M	70	Adét 02	6/2/2015 e.c	He served in government posts after 1941. He has broad knowledge about the traditional and modern history of the town.
19	Fätänä Aynaläm(ato)	M	83	Adét Hanna	11/2/2015 e.c	A native at Adét Hanna who knew Ras Haylu personally he was a long distance merchant later returned to Italian camp. He has immense knowledge about the socio economic history of Adét.
20	Gäbrä Mäseqäl Ṭebäbu(ato)	M	69	Adét 01	12/2/2015 e.c	He was a worker at Yelmana Dénsa district finance office during the



						Imperial and the Därg period. He is knowledgeable about the history of the Imperial and the Därg in the town
21	Lebsäwärq Ayälä(Märiyéta)	M	65	Däberä Mäwi	13/2/2015 e.c	He is the Qené Mämeher in the Däbrä Mäwi Monastery. He has deep knowledge about history of the monastery.
22	MenäläTezazu(ato)	M	69	Gafat(Adét)	14/2/2015 e.c	He is from Adét by origin. He narrates the social, economic, political and cultural history of the town.
23	Sentayähu Ayaléw(ato)	M	69	Adét 02	16/2/2015 e.c	He was a native of Adét. He was the long distance merchant and then he became the owner of tea and mead rooms
24	Tafärä Ejegu(ato)	M	79	Adét	17/2/2015 e.c	He knew a great deal about the cultural and socio economic history of the town.
25	Tägäñña Ewenätu(mägabi)	M	80	Adét	19/2/2015 e.c	He enjoined the office of <i>mägabi</i> at Adé in different occasions. He details about the socio economic events of the town.
26	Tazäbäw Täräfa(ato)	M	69	Adét	21/2/2015 e.c	He was a merchant and then civil servant. He is knowledgeable on the post liberation period history of the town of Adét
27	Yäsuf Mohammäd (ato)	M	69	Adét	23/2/2015 e.c	He was a teacher for long period of time. He knew about the post liberation period.
28	Zäläqä Aläleñña(ato)	M	75	Adét	24/2/2015 e.c	He was knowledgeable on the cultural history of the town

## 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.
E S B U	Elementary School Building Unit.
H S I U	Haylä Sellasé I University.
I O R	Institute of Developmental Research.
I E S	Institute of Ethiopian Studies.
M F N	Manuscript File Number.
N A L A	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.





### Appendix III

List of Sub Districts of the district of Yelmana Densa(Adét) and their Governors and Secretaries, 1947-1974

No	Name of the sub district and its center	Governors	Secretaries
1	Dénsa=Šegáz Eyäsus	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Qäññač</i> Admasu Gugsu (1941-52)</li> <li>2. <i>Qäññač</i> Mänegestu Täsäma(1952-64)</li> <li>3. <i>Fitawurari</i> Nägaš Täšomä</li> <li>4. <i>Lej</i> Tadasä Fänta</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. AtoTafärä Dästa.</li> <li>2. AtoSälonon Dästa(since 1960).</li> </ol>
2	Wätäbät(Yä Yelmana Ekuléta=Wänçhär Giorgis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Qäññač Tayä Sebhatu(1941-47)</li> <li>2. Gerač Senšaw Alämu(1948-60)</li> <li>3. Balambaras Mängäša Kasa(1960s)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. AtoMänegsté Täfayä</li> </ol>
3	Ageta(Yä Yelmana Ekuléta)= Ageta Eyäsus	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. FitawurariNägas Tašomä ( 1942-50)</li> <li>2. QäññačMängestu Täsamma(1950-53)</li> <li>3. Qäññač Admasu Gugsu (1953-60)</li> <li>4. Qäññač Kassé Mandäfro ( 1960s)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. QäññačMängestu Tayä</li> <li>2. Ato Mängestu Täsamma</li> <li>3. Qäññač Tafärä Täsomä(1943-66)</li> </ol>
4	Kolälla= Koré	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Qäññač Yezängaw Bitäw (to 1950)</li> <li>2. Qäññč DamtéŠebäš (1950-60)</li> <li>3. Qäññač Bāyānā Kenfu (1961-65 )</li> <li>4. Ato Mängesté Täsfayä (1965-74)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ato Admasu Amära</li> <li>2. Ato Mäläsä Amära</li> <li>3. Ato Adämä Ayana</li> </ol>
5	Dängäl( Yä Qolälla Ekuléta) =Mändär Qedus Mika'él	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Qäññač Bāyānā Kenfu ( 1941-60)</li> <li>2. Gerač DamtéŠebäš (1960-65)</li> <li>3. Ato Admasu Amära ( 1965-66)</li> <li>4. QäññčTafärä Täsomä (1966-74)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ato Alämu Käbbädä</li> <li>2. Ato Mäkonnän Bälay</li> <li>3. Ato Adamu Ayana</li> <li>4. Ato Ademasu Amära</li> <li>5. Liqäräd Mulualäm Kidanu</li> </ol>

N:B. 1. The monasteries of Adét Mädhané Aläm and Däbrä Mäwi Maryam were “autonomous” and ruled by their succeeding *Gabäzes* 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 Zäge Medrä Bäd were a Iso parts of Yelmana Dénsa before 1947 under the governor ship of *Fitawraris Tädla Yemär, Zägäyä, Berelé, Bayabel Adgäh* and *Ambaw Gäbrä Mädhen*. Their secretaries were respectively *Atos Taddäsä Täsfayä, Käbbädä Bälay, Qännäč Täfära Täšomä* and *Ato Bälay Ambäw*.

Source: Gojjam Təqalay Gezat Yäšumament Ena Səratännöč Zerzer Məzagebt of 1940-1957 E.C., Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center, Folder No, 00605, No file number;

Informants: Čané Enyāw, Fätänä Enyāw, and Aläbačāw Wagāw.

## Appendix IV

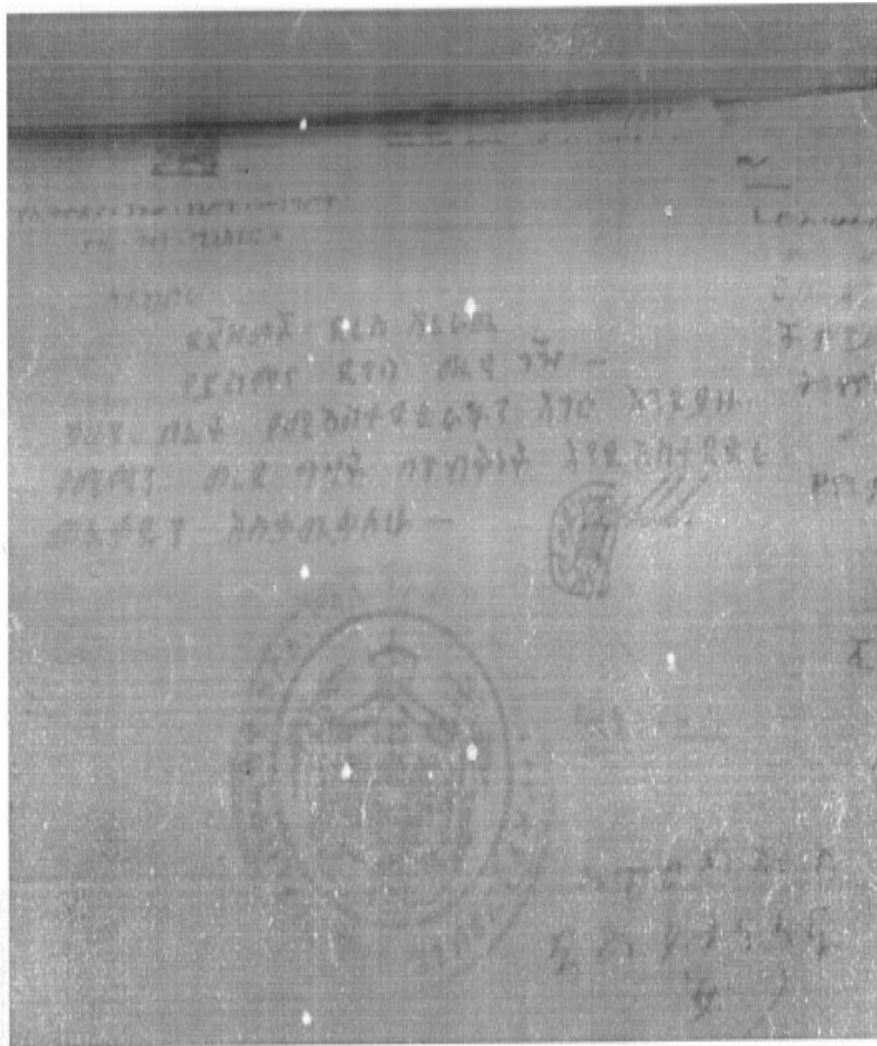
A List of Some of the Gult Areas of Yelmana Densa, (Adət) 1947-74

No	Name of the parish	Amount tribute in berr	Name of the Gult Gäž	Amount of siso abäl (share of the Gult Gäž)	Remark
1	Yädawré	404.00	W/ro Azaläč Därsoleññe	34	
2	Dängiya Bét	63.00		21	
3	Gina Kidanä Mehrät	34.00	W/ro Yalämenäš Tafärä	11.33	
4	Kibäb Maryam	70.00	Girač Senešaw & Mäkonnan Kassa	23.33	
5	Ambatna	56.00	W/ro Laqäč Sebhatu	18.66	
6	Gube Qedus Miika`el	32.00	Agafari Berelé	10.66	
7	Yezora	60.00	Yäwägenäš Kendé & Alämu Adale	20.00	
8	Ayebar	90.00	Semänn Wubé	30.00	
9	Dabal	-----	-----	-----	Yäbétä Kahenat
10	Sänqänña	40.00	Teruworq Yemam	13.00	
11	Mosobo Təkälä Haymanot	63.00	W/ro Təqu & Alämešahay	21.00	
12	Mehella		Märigéta Akalu & Mänegstu		Yäbétä Kahenat
13	Agetta		Qännäč Gétahun W/Maryam		
14	Yenaç Abo	209.00	Ato Bälay Zäläkä, W/ro Ayalu & Mäläsä	69.66	
15	Yenaç Maryam	338.00	>>>>>	112.92	
16	Gurjebar Maryam	242.00	Ato Mänegestu Worké	80.66	
17	Aby Şeyon	104.00	Fitawurari Tädla Ayälä	34.66	
18	Korré	201.00	Gerač Haylu Yemär	67.00	
19	Deguřit	50.00	Däjjäč Deräs Şefärw	16.66	
20	Debbuč	42.00	>>>>>	14.00	
21	Gendaşamäm	89.00	>>>>>	29.78	
22	Sifaçera	50.00	>>>>>	16.66	

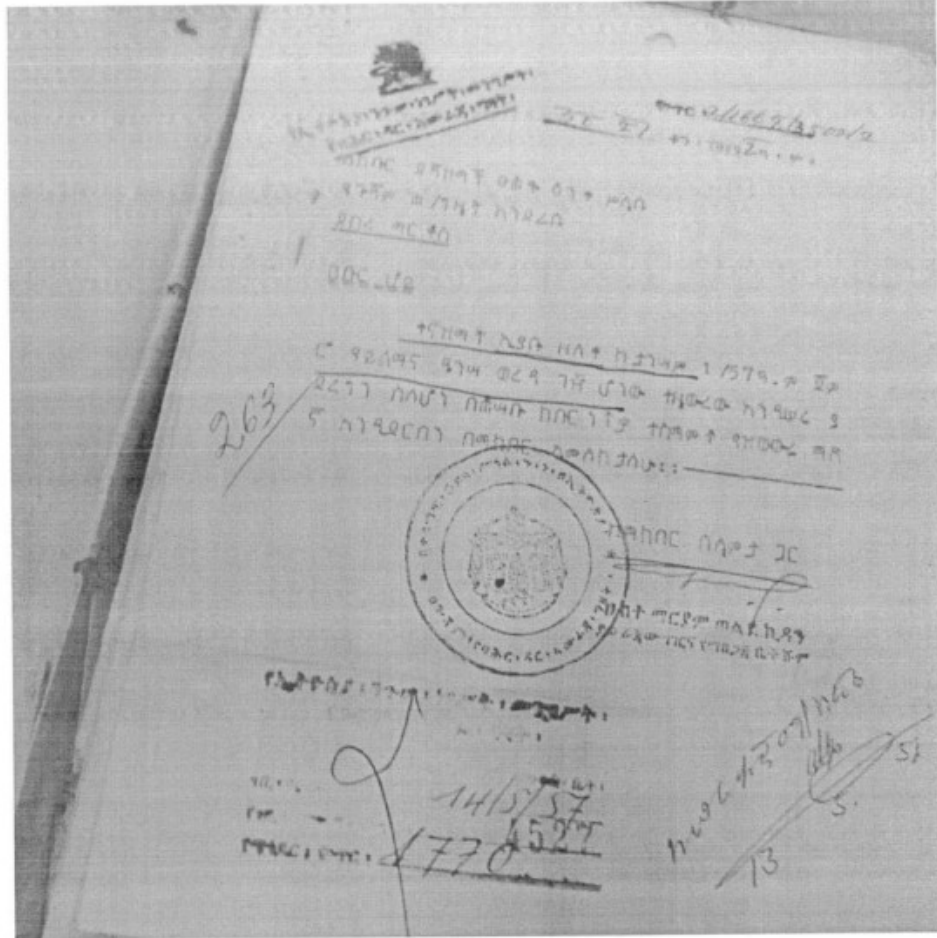
Source: "Gojjam: Yä Gult Gažewoč Bäjät Zerzer", Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center, Folder Number, 0020, File Number 75 .

**Appendix V**

AMO: Folder Number 78, from Gojjam governor general sefet bet to different Gojjam Awraja,s, Ref.No,..... March 3 qen 1958 E.C



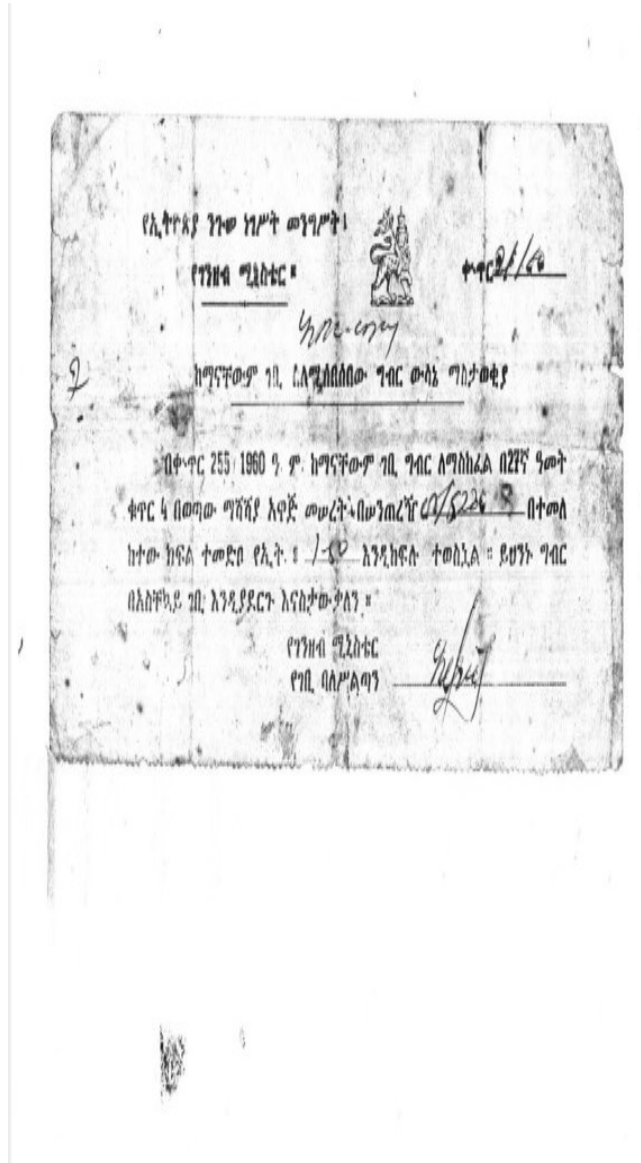
Appendix VI  
DMUAC, Folder Number 605, from Gojjam governor general sefet bet to different  
Gojjam Awraja, s, Ref.No, 60/10365, Ginbot 2 qen 1959 E.C





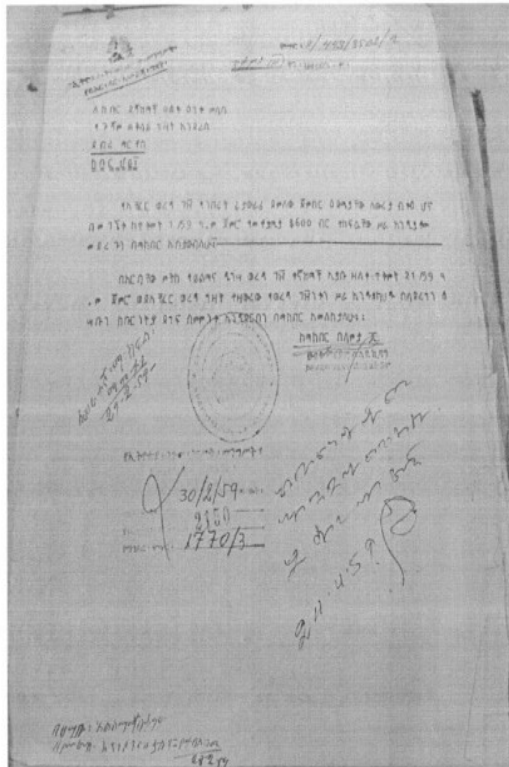
**Appendix VII**

DMUAC, Folder Number 605, from Gojjam governor general sefet bet to different Gojjam Awrajas and district offices, Ref.No, 60/10365, Ginbot 2 qen 1959 E.C



**Appendix VIII**

DMUAC, Folder Number 605, from Gojjam governor general sefet bet to different Gojjam Awrajas and district offices, Ref.No, 60/10365, Ginbot 16 qen 1959 E.C



Appendix IX

Handwritten text in Ge'ez script, organized into several paragraphs and lists. The text is written on aged, slightly yellowed paper with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side. A small number '2' is written at the top center of the page. A large handwritten number '27' is visible at the bottom left, and other smaller numbers and scribbles are present at the bottom right.



ኢትዮጵያ፡ልጅ፤ ወይ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ትዘረዝብና፡

ቀዳማዊ፡ጌደላ፡ሠላሴ፡

ሠዩሙ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ገብረ፡ሥገሥት፡ዘኢትዮጵያ፡

ሰ. ቀ. ፩

ሰ ጉ ፩ ም፡ ሰዘብ ።

እውነተኛነቷን፡ ታላም፡ የግደታበል፡ መሆኑን፡ ታውቃላታ። በኢግዚያዮች፡ ሳይ፡ የምትሠቡበት፡ ጊዜ፡ ያርሳል።

ደከው፡ እንግዲህ፡ ታካይቲ፡ እንግሊዝ፡ እርዳታዋ፡ ልታደርግላት፡ ነው። ስለዚህ፡ በትዕግሥት፡ ጠግቶ፡ ጌደላንንም፡ ከሚመጣው፡ ከጊምት፡ በፊት፡ ታይታካቸው። እርግጠኛ፡ ደረሰ፡ በዳግነት፡ ለመራትሁ፡ የቆየውን፡ ደጃዎች፡ መገንባት፡ ጀምሮህ፡ ለጊዜው ራሱ፡ ብላን፡ ለመገኘት፡ እግዚያዮችንም፡ ደል፡ ነግደላችን፡ በኋላ፡ ዘውዱ፡ ለጥቅ፡ በመሆኑ፡ ጉዳም ሳይ፡ እናገላለግ።

ኢትዮጵያ፡ በገደብ፡ ለዘላለም፡ ትኔ።

ታካይቲ፡ ብሪታኒያ፡ ለዘላለም፡ ትኔ።

ፋዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ግንባታ ግንባር፡ ግንባታ ግንባር።



ቀ. ጌደላ ሠላሴ ጌደላ







16ኛ። ገዢያዎ። ያው። ወደደብረ። ሲሆን። ያቀጥጥ  
 ወጥ። ደረሰ። የጠር። ሠራዊት። በሀ። ደጋጋይ። ከደ። ገጽገጽ።  
 51. ለወጥ። ሲሆን። 47። ገጽገጽ። ከቀ። ገጽገጽ።  
 3። ሠራተኛነት። ጠላት። ማሳሰቢያ።  
 ገዢያዎ። ከግራም። ሲሆን። ከ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ።  
 3። ሲሆን። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ከ። ገጽገጽ።  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።

17ኛ። ገዢያዎ። ያው። ወደደብረ። ሲሆን። ያቀጥጥ  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።  
 ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ። ማሳሰቢያ። ገጽገጽ። ገጽገጽ።

Source: NALA, Fol. III. v. @ 63. J, File, 47-07





ንሕነ ንጉሥ አድያም ሰገድ ወልደ ንጉሥ ነገሥት አእላፍ ሰገድ ዘበጸጋ  
 እግዚአብሔር ተሰመይነ ኢያሱ፤ ሠራዕነ ወአዘዘነ ከመ ይኩን ለኪዳነ ምሕረት  
 እንተ ሰመይናሃ ደብረ ዕንቁ፤ ኩሉ ምድረ ቆላላ ወለዊዘር ሰብል ወንጌልን ከመ  
 ይኩን ለውሉድሙ፤ ወምድረ ሕናፎችሂ ወሰከነ ምስል ጉልትሂ ዘሀለው በጉግም  
 ከመ ይኩን ለመፍቅድ ቤተ ክርስቲያን፤ ወበዝንቱ ጊዜ ዘነበሩ፤ ስዩማነ ንጉሥ፤  
 እራስ ፋሬስ ወዓቃቤ እሳት (sic) ዘመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤ ወብላቲን ጌታ ዮሐንስ፤ ዕራቅ  
 ማሰሬ ዘመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤ ጽራግ ማሰሬ ኪሮስ፤ ወሊቄ ማእምራን ማሞ ወቄስ ሐጂ  
 ወልደ ሃይማኖት፤ ወጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ሐዋርያ ክርስቶስ ወቄርሎስ፤ ወእዛገርት አዛገር  
 ዘመንፈስ ቅዱስ፤ ወእዛገር አሞኒ፤ ሊቃውንትሂ ሊቄ ማሞ፤ ወሊቄ ዝክር፤  
 ከመኔ ኢይንሥቱ ዘመጽኡ እምድጎሬነ ሕንፃ ዝንቱ ትእዛዝነ አውገዙ አባ ዮሐንስ፤  
 ወይኩን ወጉዘ ወምቱረ እምአባላ ቤተ ክርስቲያን በእፈ አብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ  
 ቅዱስ፤ ወበእፈ ነወጂ ሐዋርያት፤ ኾወጂ አርድላት፤ ወበእፈ አበው ርቱዓነ ሃይማ  
 ኖት ነወጂ እለ ተጋብኡ በኔ ቅዱስ፤ ወጂ እለ በኤፌሶን፤ ነወጂ በቄሰጥንጥንያ፤  
 ወእለቦ ዘይክል ፈቲሆተ ዛቲ ማዘት እለ ይትነሥኡ በተዋልጦ አዝማን፤ ወጸሐፊ  
 ቶንሂ ከመ ኢይፍሐቅ፤ እመሂ ንጉሥ ወእመሂ ንግሥት እመሂ ጳጳስ አው ኤጲስ  
 ቆጶስ፤ ወቀሲስሂ፤ እስከ ፍጻሜሂ ለዓለም፤ አጽሐፍነ ዘንተ ውስተ ኩሉ እድባ  
 ራተ መጻሕፍት ከመ ይኩን ስምዓ፤ ለዘይመጽእ ትውልድ፤ ለዓለመ ዓለም =

Translation of the Land Charter of Iyasu I

We Adyam Sägäd, the son of Emperor A'elaf-Sägäd, 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 müsqäl* 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 Mamo*, and the *qés hasé Wäldä-Haymanot*; and the *sühafé te'ezaz Hawarya-Krestos* and *Qerlos*, and the *turq azaj Zämänfäs-Qedus, azaj Amoni, liqä Mamo*, 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.)





ክፍ: ደጃ ዝሰላፉ: መንገድ: ርግጥ ስጦ:-  
 ስጦ: ስጦ ደጃ ዝሰላፉ: ነጋሹ: መካከሉ: ገዝው: ሩንጅ: ቅርብ: ተግባር  
 ንጉሠ: ነገሥታቶን: ነቀዓ ማዕድ: ላይካ: ሠክሎ: ሰከኪ ሩዕዳ: ሩዳ  
 መገኛቶ: ያምሸሎቶን: ከመንገርና: ከርሰፍቶ: ከርዓታ: ያሰረዳ  
 ስቶ: ያግቆም: ሰሌ: ከመሰረቶ: ተሰካው: የሰሚቶ: ከሰፊ  
 ገበዳ: ተሰላ: ነግርላዊ: ዝንድ: ከንድገቶ: ጠቀሚ: መሀ  
 ያሰረመሌ: ቋቲ: ከግሰቶ: ስግምግባ: ከንድግ ሁገርና:  
 ገናኛቶን: ያከፈውን: ሩቶን: ከመረፈቶ: የኪሩዕዳ ያንና: ያን  
 ነገሥታቶን: ጠነቶ: ከዓቀ መካከርን: ከና ጠቅኮን: ከንጌ  
 ከሰ ሰሰቶን: ጠነ: ከና ሁገርግም: ስቲ: ቋኪን: ሰግጥካሁ::  
 ነሁክታቶን: ሰላቲ: ከሂጋግሎ: ከሰላ ሰላላ ሩዳ: ገሊህ  
 ሰላቶ: ሰሙሴ: ፓከና: ሰላሙሴ ጽ: ተቀራርኮን: ስንጉሠ: ነገሥታ  
 ቶን: ሰግም: ግሰን: ተራራርመን: ያታረቀነ ገንገም: ከሰላግጠግ  
 ከሰቲ: ገንገቲ: ድራሳ: ከሰላፍ: ገበዳ: ልገው: ሲ ደሰ ጠላን.  
 ከሄ ያከሁ:: ፲፮ መሰላላ ለግም: ፲፱ መሰላላ ለግም: ሆ:-

ደጃ ዝሰላፉ: መንገድ: ርግጥ ስጦ  
 ስጦ



## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources material used have been dully acknowledged.

Name Mihiret Ayel

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Place Debre Berhan University

Date of Submission November: 2022