



SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

**A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE AGÄW PEOPLE OF MÄTÄKÄL,
NORTHWESTERN ETHIOPIA: 1902-1991**

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JUNE, 2023

JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

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NORTHWESTERN ETHIOPIA (1902-1991)**

BY: GIZACHEW SEMANEH

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF JIMMA
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KEYS TO THE TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

I. The Seven Sounds of the Ethiopic alphabet are represented as follows:

በ=Bä

ቡ=Bu

ቢ=Bi

ባ=Ba

ቤ=Bé

ብ=Be

ቦ=Bo

II. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows

Symbol Example

ሸ=Š Šenaša

ቸ=Č Čageni

ኸ=ñ Daña

ዠ=Ž Azaž

ጀ=J Jämbär

III. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows

Sound Example

ቀ=Q Qäbälé

ጠ=Ṭ Ṭäqelay

ጨ=Ç Çeqašum

ፀ=Ş Şédaki

፳ = p Opana

VI. Germination are indicated by doubling similar phonemes as in:

Examples: ከበጀ Käbädä

 በቀለ Bäqälä

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAU-Addis Ababa University

ASC- Agricultural Service Cooperatives

ARDU-Arsi Rural Agricultural Development Unit

BDU-Bahir-Dar University

BGRS- Benisangul Gumuz Regional State

CADU--Chillalo Agricultural Development Unit

CELU-Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Union

DMU-Debre-Markos University

DMUAC- Dabra Marqos University Archive Center

ETB-Ethiopian Birr (Currency)

EPRP -Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party

FDRE-Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

JU-Jimma University

KM-Kilometer

MESON-All Ethiopian Socialist party

MTT-Maria Teresa Taller

NALA -National Archive and Library Agency.

PA -Peasant Associations

PMAC-Provisional Military Administrative Council

TGE-Transitional Government of Ethiopia

TPLF-Tigray Liberation Front

UA- University Aksum

UG-University of Gonder

WADU-Walayta agricultural Development Unit

WMTMC-Wolde-Meskel Tariku Memorial Center

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is on a historical survey of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl from 1902-1991. It is reconstructed in an attempt to survey the political, economic and socio-cultural aspects of the Agäw people in the period under discussion. The thesis exhaustively exploited archival, oral, and written secondary sources. The principal method employed in the study is the qualitative combined with historical research method. The chapters are organized thematically and chronologically in the period under discussion.

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl are a central Cushitic linguistic group who settled in the area from 6th Century AD to 12th Century AD. The Agäw people of Mätäkäl played a preponderant role in guarding the frontier and maintaining peace and security of Mätäkäl and its environ. Moreover, the people played a significant role in defending the soil of the country from the invading powers from the dawn of twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Economically; agriculture supplemented by trade was the basic subsistent economic aspect of the people. Socio-culturally, the people have been dominantly orthodox Christian and distinguished Christian holy day celebrations. The Agäw people had different cast system and hierarchical grading of the ethnic group. Based on this, there have been varied socio-cultural interactions and marriage ties. Besides the people has been a unique kinship interaction what the people called Zah-Mibera or Gengnu, which was and is still is celebrating annually. The people have strong inter-ethnic interactions. Breast-sucking (Aguwa-Tsahuwi) and Christian parenting (Kestatnt gusaha) were dominant means applied to strengthen inter-ethnic interaction and applied for social cohesion. The people have been Shomegalti or shomegal embraced to resolve inter and intra-ethnic disputes.

PREFACE

A history of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl has not yet been comprehensively studied. The existing works that have been carried out by some anthropologists, historians, and economists are characterized by either imbalance of themes or scope. Thus, the purpose of this study is to fill the existing gap of the literature by reconstructing the political, economic and socio-cultural history of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl in the period under discussion. The major historical events that are discussed in this paper are discussed thematically and chronology. Therefore, the thesis consists four chapters. The first chapter deals with the geographical and historical background of the study area and the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. This chapter attempts to shade light on the geographical features as well as the early history of the Agäw people of the study area.

The second chapter emphasizes on the political aspect of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. Here, pre-Italian occupation, occupation years post liberation to revolution and from revolution to eve of federalization were highlighted. The third chapter attempts to describe the economic aspect of the people, land tenure system, labor division among the people and taxation system across a period. The fourth Chapter tries to reconstruct the socio-cultural aspect of the people including the marriage system, holy day celebration (Mesqel) cast system and Kinship.

The thesis is reconstructed through the systematic collection, investigation and analysis of primary, secondary and oral sources. For primary source, I have visited DMUAC, NALA, WMTMC and IES. Secondary sources are employed critically based on historical validity, time and place rules. In interviewing interviewees, the knowledge of Agwugna and Gumuzegna as well as Amaregna language enabled the researcher to communicate with oral informants comfortably without language barrier.

Finally, comprehensive history of the Agäw people has yet to be reconstructed. The researcher's intention is as a historical survey, to shade light on the Agäw people of Mätäkäl.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. THE GENRAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Geographical setting

Mätäkäl is a region, which is found in Northwestern part of Ethiopia, which extends to the Ethio-Sudan border, which constituted about 47% of former Gojjam *Keflä-Hagär*.¹(See also appendix IV). The name Mätäkäl designates an administrative province and the founding father of the seven houses of the Agäw.²However, Abdussamad state that it is the mountain peak, which is found between Čageni and Mandura.³Nevertheless, my informants confirm that, the name is one from the founding father of the Agäw. Besides, they state that, there was and still is no mountain peak between Čageni and Mandura named Mätäkäl.⁴

Geographically, in pre-1991 Mätäkäl bordered was Gondär in the North, Wolläga in the south, Agäw-Meder and Qola Däga Damot in the east and Sudan in the west. Now a day, it is bounded by Amhara regional state in the north and in the east, Sudan in the west, Oromia regional state and Kāmas zone in the south.⁵(See appendix-I& (see figure-1) During the Imperial and Därg regimes, Mätäkäl was one of the districts of Gojjam *ṭäqelay gezat* and Gojjam *Keflä-Hagär* respectively. In1948, it was placed as *awraja* with four *worädas* namely Dangur, Guba, Guwanguwa and Wombära. After the sporadic upraising of the Gumuz in 1960s, Debaṭi and Mandura were added to the formerly four *worädas* and became six *worädas*. After the resettlement program of the Därg, Pawé was also organized as another additional *woräda* and the number of *woräda*'s in *awraja* grew to seven. This continued to the end of the Därg. After political changes of 1991, Mätäkäl was placed under Region Six or to the newly organized

¹ Tsega Endalew, "Inter-Ethnic Relations on a frontier: Mätäkäl (Ethiopia), 1898—1991)" (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), p.1; Ayenew Fenta, "Society and Environment In Mätäkäl, Northwestern Ethiopia, 1880s to 1990s", (Ph.D Dissertation, AAU, History, 2019), p.35; DMUAC, 1234, A letter written to Mätäkäl *Awraja* Agricultural principal office .

² Ayenew Fenta, Society and Environment.....p.35.

³ Abdussamad H. Ahmad, "The Gumuz of The Lowlands of Western Gojjam: The Frontier In History 1900-1935", *Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, Marzo 1995, Anno 50, No. 1 (Marzo 1995), pp. 53-67, p.54.

⁴ Informants: Sämanäh Alämnäh; Säidu Muhammäd and Assäfa Abäjähu

⁵ File no መ/ዘ.49/4: Annual Report of Mätäkäl Zone Plan Office to Bensägul Gumuz regional state, 2013 EC, p.5.

Mätäkäl received an average annual rainfall of 800-1000 mm while the highland regions of Wombära, Guwanguwa, Bäläya and Dangur districts could get rainfall ranging from 1500 to 2000 mm.⁹

The total area is estimated to 22,084 km.² It is watered by numerous Rivers, like Alaltu, Ardi, Bäläs, Dinder, Durra, Dondor, Qarsa, Šar, Bišan Addi, worabu and Cunde all tributaries of the Abbay River. Of these, the Dindär River in the north formed a natural boundary between Dangur district of Mätäkäl and Quara district of north Gondär, Sudan in the west, and the Abay River in the south formed a boundary between Mätäkäl and Wolläga province.¹⁰ The region also consists of various high mountains such as Bäläya, Dimtu, Ulmayi, Gumgum and Sanki, while Dora forms the major depression.¹¹

The region is endowed with natural resources such as gold, coffee, ivory and animal skins. Likewise; it has been home for numerous animal species like elephants, lions, buffaloes, giraffes, monkeys, apes, ostriches and others. The land in the region is fertile and there are three major soil compositions. These are red, black and brown soils. The soil in the region is highly preferred by farmers and it is used for agriculture.¹²

Mätäkäl has a large area of dense vegetation and forest, and forest woodlands cover up to 60%. Three major types such as dry broad-leaved, dry evergreen forest, and moist evergreen forest. The dry broad-leaved forest vegetation is by far the most dominant in the region. ¹³(see appendix-II) Furthermore, the major part of the region has covered by natural vegetation, especially bamboo and acacia woodlands. The bamboo tree has been used for various purposes

⁹Ayenew Fenta, Society and Environment...., p.36; Aejeta Fufa, “Administrative History Of Mätäkäl Zone, Benishangul Gumuz Region From 1941-1991”, (MA Thesis, History ,UG,2019), p.2; File no ፳፱/ዙ.49/4፣Annual Report, p.5.

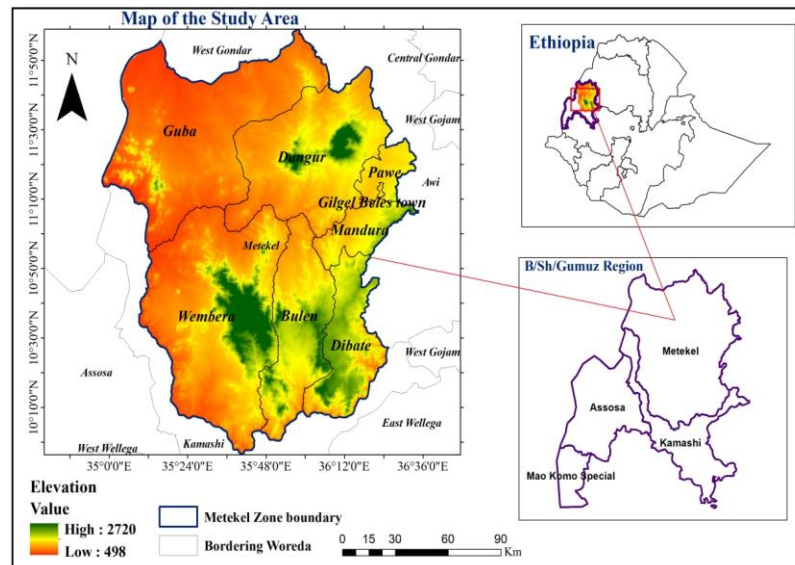
¹⁰Ayenew Fenta, Enviroment....., p.37.

¹¹Jira Mekuria,” A History of the Gumuz people of Mätäkäl from 1941-1991”, (MA Thesis, History,AAU,2008), p.1; Aejeta Fufa, “Administrative History...p.2; Ayenew Fenta, Society and Environment...., p.37;Annual Report from Agäw –Meder Awraja to Foreign Afaire ,1940E.C,P.22.

¹²Bogale Aligaz, “Conflict Resultion Among The Gumuz Communities: Mangima Institution In The Twentieth Century”, (MA Thesis, History, BDU,2013),p.4-5.

¹³Tesfaye Awas, “Plant Diversity in Western Ethiopia: Ecology, Ethno botany and Conservation”,(PhD Dissertation ,Biology, University of Oslo Norway,2007),pp.3-4;DMUAC,Folder no 67 file No...To Gojjam governorate general, from Mätäkäl Awraja office,Ref. 271/152/63,Date,25/8/1950 E.C.

in the study area. The offshoot of Bamboo is used for house construction, fence, bed and food. For feeding purpose, the offshoot of bamboo is boiled and prepared in the form of porridge.¹⁴



Source: ArcGIS

Figure 2 Relief Map of Mätäkäl

Mätäkäl is known for absence of well-developed infrastructure and public services.¹⁵ (See also appendix-IV) Modern education, which was introduced in 1908 to create public officials, was introduced in 1943 in the post-liberation years. Bäläya primary school was the first modern school in the study area. After three years, Wombära primary school was opened. In Čageni, modern education was introduced in 1952, In Mandura and Debači in 1962 and 1964 respectively.¹⁶

Regarding health services in Mätäkäl, it was introduced in 1940s that were also confided in administrative town's only. And also, the service that was provided to the inhabitant was very low. It was introduced in Čageni in 1965, in Mandura in 1975, in Pawé in 1985, in Guba in 1957

¹⁴Tadesse Miheretie, "Socio-Economic Significance of Lowland Bamboo in Mandura Woreda, Benshangul Gumuz Region", (MA Thesis, Geography,BDU,2019), p.6;Bogale Aligaiz, "Conflict Resolution Among.....pp.4-5; Aejeta Fufa, "Administrative History...pp3.4; Jira Mekuria,"A History of the Gumuz.....,pp.1-2.

¹⁵ DMUAC,1234, A letter written to Mätäkäl Awraja agricultural office,Ref...Date,27/6/1973 E.C.

¹⁶Gizachew Semaneh, "A History of Modern Education in Mandura Woräda:1962-2018" ,(B.A essay ,History, DMU,2018),P.12;Bazezew Gelaw ,"A History of Čageni Town to 1974",(BA essay, History AAU,1991),P.23.

and in Wombära in 1950. It started to expand to rural area of the study area during the Därg regime.¹⁷

Road construction, which has social, political and economic significance to the country, was expanded during the five years of fascist occupation for military strategy and has a lasting imprint on Ethiopian road history. In 1950s, the first Ethiopian high way was introduced for the economic needs of the population and the government. Accordingly, the Highway Program (HP) was formulated to stimulate market expansion.¹⁸ Despite the launching of the first and second HP, there was hardly any attempt to reconstruct road networking in Mätäkäl. The settler communities had little or no access to roads.¹⁹ The attempt to connect the border *Awraja* with the central government was started by the Därg regime. Accordingly, the peace mission group was sent to the area, and the road question became an acute problem for the people. Hereupon, the group endorsed PMAC to construct the road from Jega to Gemjabét and then to Guba which was the last frontier administrative center of Ethiopia. Then the government recommended the construction of the road to be from Injebara to Guba because of the strategic significance of Injebara. The road construction was said to have been started in 1976. It was constructed to wipe out anti-Därg insurgent groups who were hovering in Mätäkäl.²⁰ (See appendix-III).

Apart from political significance, the road was constructed to connect the periphery area with the center. It was also intended to facilitate an administrative system and to address long-lived road questions of the people. Above all, the Därg considered the area as a segregated and elapsed area during the former governments and gave especial emphasis to develop the infrastructure and utilize untapped natural resources of the area properly. To this end, the committee was organized to facilitate the peasant association, agricultural professionals and road network in Mätäkäl.²¹ (See appendix IV).

¹⁷ Bazezew Gelaw, A History of Čageni, ... p.43; Geremew, A History of Wombära, ... p.65; Nibrat Adamu, "Aspects Of History Of Pawi Warada From 1984-2009", (MA Thesis, BDU, History, 2014), p.57; Asrat Kassa, "A History of Guba Woreda in twentieth Century", (MA Thesis, BDU, History, 2013), p.59.; Yaregal, A History of Mandura, ... pp.71-74.

¹⁸ Emmenegger, Rony, "The roads of decentralization. The History of rural road construction in Ethiopia", University of Zurich Main Library Strickhofstrasse 39 CH-8057 Zurich www.zora.uzh.ch, pp.14-17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ NALA, folder No, 17, 1, 11, 15, 01, A letter from socialist Ethiopia, Minister of Provincial administration To Awraja's internal administrative council, Ref. ~~no~~ 25/23, Date, 22/9/1968 E.C.

²¹ DMUAC, 1234, A letter written to Mätäkäl *Awraja* agricultural office, Ref... Date, 27/6/1973 E.C.

Demographically, according to the 1983/84 national housing and census, the total population of, Mätäkäl was 192,682 of these 87, 1788 were males and 105,436 were Females.²²(see Appendix –IV, B).Furthermore according to 2007 population and housing census, 437,463 of this, 220,918 were male and the remaining 216,545 were females.²³

Mätäkäl has been the abode of various ethno-linguistic and cultural groups. In this regard, Abebe writes it as:

As special platform for social relations and cultural integration. It has brought together a Mosaic of divers' ethnic groups who have continually been intermingling among themselves, the most important of which are Gumuz, Shinasha Agäw, Oromo and Amhara. Since the emergence of Resettlement program of the 1984/5, the region was further enriched by addition of other groups including the Hadiya and Kambata.²⁴

Obviously, Gumuz, Šenaša, Agäw, Oromo, and Amhara are still the most important population groups who have been continually inhabiting and coexisting in the region.²⁵

The Gumuz people are the Nilo-Saharan speaking family who were the early settlers of the Mätäkäl. These people are also the adherents of different religions, the Gumuz of Guba are Muslims, yet, the Gumuz of Mandura, Debaṭi and Zigām follow indigenous religious beliefs²⁶. Their economic system relies on hoe agricultural system, which is supplemented by hunting, fishing and gathering wild fruit.²⁷

The Šenaša are another ethnic group who are Omotic speaking, who settled in Mätäkäl since the 16th Century. Recently, the people live mostly in the administrative zone of Mätäkäl, Assosa as well as various parts of the country, especially in western and northeastern Wollega and in some localities of the former province of Gojjam and Gondär.²⁸

²²NALA, Folder No, 17,17,01,09, A letter from Gojjam proper to socialist Ethiopia provincial administrative council, principal coordinate office of Provincial administrator, Ref. 67/AN/52, Date, 1/6/1975 E.C.

²³Central Statistical Authority, Census Result for Bēnišangul –Gumuz Regional State, Vol.1. Part IV Statistical Report on Size and characteristics Addis Ababa, 2007, p.16.

²⁴Abebe Ano, “Socio-cultural conditions and Economic activities and its Dynamics among the Gumuz Communities, in State of Benishangul-Gumuz region”, *International Journal of Academic Research*, p.30.

²⁵Tsega Endale, “Ethnic interaction ----p.15.

²⁶Abdussamad H. Ahmad, “The Gumuz Of The Lowlands Of Western Gojjam: The Frontier In History 1900-1935”, *Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, Marzo 1995, Anno 50, No. 1 (Marzo 1995), pp.53-54.

²⁷Alemayehu Erkihun, “Mapping the socio-cultural landscape of the Gumuz Community of Metekel, Northwestern Ethiopia”, Vol. 7(12), *December 2015 DOI: 10.5897/AJHC2015.0251*, pp.213-214.

²⁸Abebe Ano & Arjun Rao, “Social Conditions Of Shinasha Trials In Northwestern Ethiopia”, Vol 7, Issue 9, 2020, pp.446-447

The small branch of the Boräna Oromo, who belong to southern Cushitic people are started to settle in Wombära since 17th Century. From inception, the feelings of adventure among the youth that, they practiced the ancient custom of hunting big game and killing brought them honor in the society and special admiration from women forced them to cross Abay. Thus, they found the region which was comfortable for their future settlement. The hunters then reported the news back to their people under the leadership of Jälo Wabi, and returned back to invade the area. The Oromo invaded Wombära particularly the Kittar hills and expanded to northward up to Zigäm and Čageni whom they were checked by the Agäw peoples.²⁹

The Christian emperors' drive towards Mätäkäl from the Gojjam highlands was unremitting to obtain resources in the second half of 19th century. This incident resulted in the Amhara settlement in Mätäkäl, primarily in the early 1880s. They worked as "tax collectors, supervisors, preachers, and soldiers".³⁰ Be it as it may, why they were not settled in 18th century as "tax collector, supervisor's preachers and soldiers in the study area"? Incidentally, the incorporation and full integration of the Agäw of Mätäkäl was sealed in 18th century. At the same time; Christianity in the area was also introduced and expanded since 17th -18th Century.³¹ Therefore, Amhara permanency in the study area is post- Ethiopian great epidemics of 1888-1902.³² Besides, their permanency seems after a century of "creeping coup" to end hereditary rule in the area. The number of Amhara people in Mätäkäl has increased mostly through self and government-sponsored resettlement programs since 1940s.³³ This does not mean the two people would not have been inter-ethnic interaction in the study area before Ethiopian great epidemics.

In post-Därg governmental funded resettlement program that was launched to ease land shortage and famine victimhood enabled the settlement of kambata, Hadya, Guraghé, Wolayta and Tegré

²⁹ Tsega Endalew, "The Oromo of Wonbära: A Historical Survey to 1941", (MA thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1997), p.3&32; Mengest Girma, A History of pp,10-11.

³⁰ Abenew Debalqi, A History of ...pp.16-17; Abdulssamad.....p.56.

³¹ Tadesse Tamrat, "Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration.....pp13-15; James Bruce, *Travels to Discover The source Of The Nile*, ... pp.438-441&448-450.

³² Informats :Täšälä Yesmaw, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Asäfa Abäjähü, Seidu Muhammäd, Hamesaläqa Tamer Worqé.

³³ *ibid*

in the area. This created favorable conditions for the study area to encapsulate the name “Ethiopia in miniature”.³⁴

Economically the people in the study area have been practiced varied means of a sedentary agricultural system. The Gumuz people practice shifting agricultural system by relying on hoe-agricultural producing mainly, millet, sorghum, tobacco and maize. While non-Gumuz ethnic groups practice, ox-plow and donkey plow agricultural systems based on the climatic condition of the area. In hot climatic areas, specifically in Dangur and Guba areas donkey plow agricultural system are visible. While in low climatic areas, ox-plow agricultural is in practice. Besides, fishing, trading, traditional means of gold mining and animal husbandry are another economic practice that is practiced in the study area as supplementary economic activities.³⁵

Religiously, there are 40% adherents of Christianity which was introduced in the area in the 16thC and expanded westward in the second half of the 19thC and 20th centuries. There are about 44% adherents of Islamic religion which was introduced in the 19thC and the first half 20th. There are about 13% of indigenous religions followers the majority of them belong to the Gumuz community.³⁶

1.2. The Incorporation of Mätäkäl

Historically, the state has arisen to meet the requirements of territorial control, surplus expropriation, and foreign defense.³⁷ There are varied sources on the incorporation of Mätäkäl. According to Täckälä-Iyäsus Woqejera, the driving factor for the incorporation of Mätäkäl was kefu-qän (the great Ethiopian Famine of 1888-1902), that severely affected the Gojjam provinces and shook the throne of Täckälä-Haymanot forced him to search for food to feed his soldiers.³⁸ Another source state that it was the revival of long distance trade and the Anglo-

³⁴ Paolo Dieci and Vittorio Roscio, *Resttlement and development in Ethiopia: Economic, Social research training and Technical Assesement in Tana-Beles Vally*----pp,144.

³⁵ Tsega Endale, *Ethnic Intraction in Mätäkäl*....pp.,32-33; Jira Mekura *A History of* ...p.3.

³⁶ Bogale Aligaiz, “Documenting The History of Segadi Michael Monastery”, *American Journal of History and Culture* (ISSN:2637-4919), p.4; Fentahun Asnake, “The History Of The Expansion of Christianity in Dangur Woreda, Mätäkäl Zone, Benishangul Gumuz Regional State, North Western Ethiopia Ca. 1600s TO 1991”, (MA Thesis, History, UG, 2020), PP.28-29.

³⁷ Alessandro Triulzi, *Remapping Ethiopia: socialism and after*, (Ohio university, Addis Ababa university press----), p.10.

³⁸ Aläqa Täckälä-Iyäsus Waqejera, *YäIthiopia Tarik (A History of Ethiopia)*, ed. Sergaw Gälaw, (Addis Ababa, 2008), pp.283-284.

French rivalry on the White Nile that derived for the incorporation of Mätäkäl.³⁹ In the Anglo-French rivalry, Menilek II agreed with the French to extend his territory to Baro while the French decided to supply him arms and armaments. This was why he ordered his “outstanding counselor” to cross and march to Nile via Mätäkäl.⁴⁰ The conclusion of Aläqa seems specious conclusion. Hence, the attempt of negus Täckälä-Haymanot was only economic revival from great Ethiopian famine of 1888-1902 rather to integrate the new province.⁴¹ Thus, it was in post-Adwa period that the incorporation was successful and the region was carved after Anglo-Ethiopian boundary negotiation of 1902.⁴² Therefore, the revival of trade and the reaction to invading force were driving factors for the incorporation of Mätäkäl.

Negus Täckälä-Haymanot of Gojjam decided to conquer the western resourceful area and prepared 10,000 men armed with rifle and accompanied to Wombära with his *Fitawrari* Siyané Seba, Tufa Forso, Dalana Qarça Kume Gugo Gobu Kisiti from Horu-Gudru and *Lej Beru*, later *Däjač Beru* Woldä-Gäbr-eal from Guwanguwaya. Consequently, in the years 1898-99, he went beyond Agäw-Meder to the lowlands bordering the Sudan, and mollified the region and built a town at a place called Boräna (Bäläya?). Subsequently, he subjugated Bäläya in the same year and appointed Yegizaw Čufa as governor of the region.⁴³

The attempt to incorporate Guba followed, following the subjugation of Bäläya. Thus, Yegezaw was appointed as the ruler of Bäläya, captured Abušäk and took him to Däbrä-Marqos, and detained him at Jebäla Amba. After the battle of Adwa, Abušäk asked *Negus* Täckälä-Haymanot to permit him to return to his province Guba and took his tribute. Täckälä-Haymanot gave him permission. However, after his arrival to Guba, he defected Täckälä-Haymanot and beaten his force. Hereafter, Guba became part of Ethiopia in 1902 after Anglo-Ethiopian boundary delimitation.

³⁹ Abdussamad H. Ahmad, “Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital And The World Economy, 1901-1935 (Ethiopia, Africa)”, (Ph.D, Dissertation, University of Ullionis, Campaign, History, 1986), pp.4-5&125;---“The Gumuz Of The Lowlands Of Western Gojjam: The Frontier In History 1900-1935”, *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente*, Marzo 1995, Anno 50, No. 1 (Marzo 1995), pp.56-57.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Ayenew Fenta Society.....pp.111-112&116-117.

⁴² Harold G. Marcus, “Ethio-British Negotiations concerning the Western Border with Sudan, 1896-1902”, *The Journal of African History*, 1963, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1963), pp.94.

⁴³ Tsega Endale, “Ethnic Interaction---pp.62-63; Aläqa Täckälä-Iyäsus Waqejera, *A History* ..., p.283.

after four years of diplomatic wrangling .Subsequently, it was after the incorporation in 1898 and boundary delimitation in 1902 that the present-day Mätäkäl was carved.⁴⁴

1.3. The Agäw people 1902

The Agäw people are one of the earliest inhabitants of Ethiopia.⁴⁵The term "Agäw" refers to four Agäw branches who are currently residing in Eretria, Wollo, Agäw–Meder and North Gondär.⁴⁶It is said to have the name "Agäw" comes from the Geez language "Hagäw" which denotes an early settlers of Ethiopia, and gradually it became the name of the people.⁴⁷

The Agäw people who settled in Agäw–Meder including the Agäw in Mätäkäl are grouped as central-Cushitic speaking people.⁴⁸ In early time the Agäw people were settled in northern part of the country and after the intrusion of Semitic people, they were forced to retreat to Lasta area, there again they were pushed to settle in Gojjam area.⁴⁹ Accordingly, south of Märäb Melaš and north of Jäma was predominantly settled by the Agäw people. Above all, the Agäw people were considered as early settler of Northern Ethiopia around Red Sea.⁵⁰This is more elucidated by Abebaw as follows:

In the Pre-Axumite period the whole of northern Ethiopia was settled by non-Christian Cushitic Agäw. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century the predominant population group of East Gojjam were the Agäw. Oral traditions in different parts of the region indicate that the Agäw preceded the Amhara in settling the area. Place names such as አገው ባድማ (Agäw Ruin) አገው መሬት (Agäw Land), አገው በረት (Agäw Barn), አገው ካብ (Agäw Wall), አገው ምንጭ (Agäw Spring), አገው አምባ (Agäw Hill) found in different parts of the region as far east

⁴⁴Aläqa Täklä-Iyäsus Waqejera, *A History*,p.311.; Harold G. Marcus, “Ethio-British Negotiations concerning the Western Border with Sudan, 1896-1902”, *The Journal of African History* , 1963, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1963),p.94.

⁴⁵Frederick Gamst, *The Qemant. A Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,1969),p.1.

⁴⁶Donald Levine,Talaquwa Ithiopia YäBezu Nägdoč Mahebäräsäb(Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of Multiethnic Society)Tran.Mulqän Näqeneq,(Addis Abeba University Press,2007 E.C),P.36.

⁴⁷Abiyu Çanyaläw *Agäw Kä Orit Eskä EPRDF(Agäw From Old Testament to EPRDF)*, (A.A: Picolo Printing Press, 2018). p. 13 and 39.

⁴⁸Mauro Tosc, “Cushitic Overview”, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, November 2000, Vol. 33, No. 2, Special Issue Dedicated to the XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (November 2000), pp.89& 94-95; D.L. Appleyard, “Agaw, Cushitic and Afroasiatic: The Personal Pronoun Revisited”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* Xxxij2 Autumn if 86, pp.198-199

⁴⁹Tadesse Tamerat, *Church And State In Ethiopia 1270 -1527*,(London University press,1972),pp.16-17.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

as Enäbsé and Enäse and as far west as Mačakäl apparently show that there was a strong Agäw presence in East Gojjam.⁵¹

The presence of the Agäw people in present-day east and west Gojjam is also confirmed by place name or by proverbs that are boldly whispered by the people. Thus “ድኩል ካና” in Buré⁵², proverb like “አገወ ሲሰደድ አማራ ሲለምድ” “አገወ ሲነቀል አማራ ሲተከል በአፈ ምሳሩ በዘግር ጦሩ” which literally means, “The Amahra people settled having evicted the people of Agäw using spears and axes.”⁵³

According to preliminary ethnographic work of Aläqa Tayä, the settlement of Agäw in the present-day Agäw-Meder was associated with hunting purposes. Accordingly, seven houses of Agäw from Lasta came to hunt elephants and buffalos. Unexpectedly, they found promising unoccupied virgin land, which was full of wild bees. Then; they stayed seven months deliberately to study the land. Afterward, they return to Lasta, brought their wives and started a permanent settlement.⁵⁴

Another source states political factors that forced the people to settle in the area. The succession problem between Lalibela and his brother Harbe forced Harbe to move to the present Agäw-Meder area and settle there. In this regard, Temesgen and Miskir state that there was a succession problem between the two brothers Lalibela and Harbe. Then, Harbe abducted the throne to Lalibela, and he migrated to Agäw-Meder with his seven children who were the founding fathers of Agäw Meder. The seven Agäws who has been called ‘Seven Brothers,’ founded their own respective territories. Namly, Banja, Ankäša, Kwakera, Čara, Mitikili, Zigami, and Azini

⁵¹ Abebaw Ayalew, “A History Of Painting In East Gojjam In The Eighteenth And Nineteenth Centuries: A Study Of The ‘Second Gondärine’ Style Of Painting”, (MATHesis, History, AAU, 2002, p.5.

⁵² Alemu Abebe, Yä Agäw, Yä Gafatna Yä Léloçem Behéräsäboç Tarik Ena Bahel (A History of Agäw, Yä Gafat and Other ethnic group and their Culture), (Addis Ababa, --1970), pp.61-70.

⁵³ Atsbha Gebreegziabher, Setegn Getaneh and Yiheyis Aregu; “Sustaining Ethiopian heritage sites: The case of Gemate burial site in Dejen”, Article in Cogent Social Sciences · April 2019 DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2019.1603001, p.9.

⁵⁴ Aläqa Tayä Gäbrä-Mariyam, , *YäIthiopia Hezeb Tarik Bäačer Qal Yäwoṭa* (Ethnographic History of Ethiopian in Short Word) 3rd ed, (----, 2013), pp.48-49

⁵⁵Another source states that continuous Christianization and Semitization and political influence forced the Agäw people to move southward of Aksum.⁵⁶

Still another source state that, the Agäw people were emigrated probably from Arabia and settled around Meşewa. Afterward they asked unknown emperor to give them the settlement place. Consequently, the king suspected them against him and decided to settle them in different regions. Subsequently unknown emperor settled one group in Eritrea the second group in Lasta and the third group in the present-day Agäw-Meder area.⁵⁷

The work of Aläqa Tayä on the permanency of the Agäw people in Agäw-Meder could not give justification for what purpose and when the Agäw hunted game animals and when they settled in the area. In fact, his story is supported by different oral source which state that once upon a time the seven brothers namely, Ankäša, Azäna, Banja, Čara, Kuwakera, Mätäkäl and Zigäm came and settled in present-day Agäw -Meder and found their own territory which is currently district or Zonal names. The other Agäw clans like the Bil (Bälaya), Dangili (Dangla), Gwagusi (Gwagussa), and Tumhi (Tumha) were probably late comers to the Gojjam and were not considered the founding fathers of Agäw-Meder.⁵⁸

Another source, which illuminates the settlement of the Agäw people in the present-day area because of the succession problem that occurred in the Zagwe royal family, is still not convincing. Because, if it was Harbe with his family who came and settled in the present-day area with seven brothers who were considered as the seven founding fathers, there may not be the door for the politico-religious invasion of the Agäw people by the Amedä-Şion who was considered the guardian of the state church. Because, the Christianization of Agäw people of Lasta was completed in the sixth century AD.⁵⁹

What holds the truth on the history of the settlement of the Agäw people in Agäw-Meder in general and Mätäkäl in particular is that economic and the pressure of Amhara seems a little bit convincing. Economically, according to Tadesse and Bruce, the Agäw people were the

⁵⁵Misikir Tilahun Belay, “A Political History of Awi/Agäw-Meder (1855-1974)”(MA Thesis,History,UA,2019),pp,10-11; Temesgen Gebeyehu, “Gojjam(Ethiopia): peopling, Christianization....,p.4.

⁵⁶Tadesse Tamerat, *Church And State*, pp.40-44 &73.

⁵⁷Täklä-Iyäsus, Waqejera, *History* p.120.

⁵⁸Informants:Säidu Muhamed,Ayal Enegeda,Fäntahun Asräs,Asäfa Abäjähu .

⁵⁹Tadesse Tamirat,*Church and state*.....p.65.

middlemen's as well as the main actors of trade between Aksumite and sources of gold from Sasu probably around Guba. Therefore, it is possible to conclude the gold trade may attract them and pulled them to settle permanently.⁶⁰ The combination of ceaseless Christianization and indirect assimilation of the Agäw people who settled in the northern part of Ethiopia is another agreeable argument. The intrusion of Semitic people and forcible Christianization forced the Agäw people to move southward.⁶¹ As Amhara people pushed the Agäw people, they also pushed the Gumuz people and started to settle in present-day Agäw-Meder and Mätäkäl.⁶² Subsequently the settlement pattern of the Agäw people around Bäläya, Dämbiya, and Mätäkäl was accomplished from the 6th Century to 13th Century.⁶³

The study area Mätäkäl is said to have the center of "Mätäkäl" who is considered one of the seven houses of Agäw. According to my informant, Ċuhay was the direct descendant of Mätäkäl and had seven children namely Abakuwa, Gemena, Giči, Gageri, Kifili, Ufana and Tägozeguza. Of this, Kefeläyäsus was a well-known *qene* teacher in Gonder. And also Abakuwa's mother was said to have been Oromo origin and nicknamed him "Abbaakoo" latter it became his surname.⁶⁴

Ċuhay was a well-respected local *Balabat* during the Gondärian period. Nevertheless, his dominancy was ended with the end of Iyasu the Great who considered him, as custodian of the border and his throne. Iyasu I was deposed by his son Täklä-Haymanot. Afterwards an illusion arose in the palace. By using this as a vantage, the supporter of the deceased leader in Gojjam supposed Amadä-Şion of Gojjam to enthrone as the king. New proposed Amedä-Şion came to Mätäkäl where he was warmly welcomed by Ċuhay. Proposed king with his ally (Amedä-Şion) and the legitimate new king who deposed his father and enthrone himself meet at the battle of Qäbäro-Méda. In the battle engagement, it was reported that Ċuhay fought on the side of Amedä-Şion and lost his life in the battle engagement.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Tadess Tamirat, *Church and State*....pp,50-51; James Bruce, *Travel to Discover The source Of The Nile, In The Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 And 1773-In Five Volumes* ,(Edinburgh: J. Ruthven, 1972) ,p.563.

⁶¹ Temesgen Gebeyehu, "Center-periphery relations, local governance...pp. 745-746; Abebaw Ayalew, "A History Of Painting pp.6-7; Tadesse Tamerat, *Church And State* ..., pp.40-44 &73.

⁶² Temesgen Gebeyehu, "Gojjam(Ethiopia): peopling, Christianization, and identity", *African Identities*, 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1128805>,p.4.

⁶³ *Ibid*,p.53.

⁶⁴ Informants:saidu Muhé,Sämanäh Alämnäh,Dañä Walä,Assäfa Abäjähu

⁶⁵ Tadesse Tamrat,"Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of the Agäw", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1988, pp.16-17.

Here my informants state that he (Ćuhay) lost his life in fighting with non-Christians at Däbrämawi, whom, he was summoned by Aba Tāṭāmqä-Mädehen who was a strong ally of Iyasu I and the founder of St. Mika-eal monastery at Segadi. This is aptly stated as follows:

“እንፅኸኒ ታምባኒ ዱንዊኸላ ከክልታዉላ ከክላትኸላ ሰግታዉላ ታምፕ”::

“መልዕክተኛ እንደደረሰ የቆረሰከዉን ሳትጎርስ የጎረሰዉን ሳትዉጥ እድትነላ ይሁን”::

“After the arrival of the messenger that I will send, don’t mouthful a piece and swallow morsel just start quickly.”⁶⁶

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that, Aba Tāṭāmqä-Mädehen was one who conspired against Täklä-Haymanot and sent Amedä-Şion to convince and incite Ćuhay to combat the newly enthroned king.

Administratively, after the death of Ćuhuy at the battle of Qäbäro-Méda, it was his son Gageri who brought his father’s corpse and buried it at Segadi-Mika-eal and started to administer. After him, it was reported that Gići who used Moća as his administrative base started to run the politics of Mätäkäl. Moreover, it was believed that Gići intended to administer beyond Mätäkäl even though it is reported that he made combat to invade Gojjam. Of the two, Woldä-Ger-eal Hailu was the third administrative personality of Mätäkäl and was strong and administered long period of time, and was reported that a devoted Christian. According to the oral informant, Woldä-Ger-eal governed the area from pre- Tewodros II up to Yohannis IV and finally, he abducted his throne to his son Beru Woldä-Gerb-eal.⁶⁷ One limitation of Oral source is the chronology that, I could not find their years of leadership.

In terms of political marriage, it was common political sympathy that one local *balabat* family made political allies with other nearby *balabat* families since time immemorial. That was what the Agäw of Mätäkäl made with different royal families of the surrounding Agäw, Oromo, and Gojjamé. For instance, Tägozeguza was married to *Azaż* Amäseg of Gojjam and Gojjamé royal families were said to have her direct descent. Nevertheless, I could not find *Azaż* Amäseg in Gojjam royal family list. Gemena was also married to unknown *Zigäm Balabat* and she allots

⁶⁶ Informants: Säidu Muhamed, Ayal Enegeda, Fntahun Asräs, Assäfa Abäjähu

⁶⁷ Informants: Säidu Muhé, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Dañä Walä, Assäfa Abäjähu

Gineda who was her first daughter and again married to Wombära Oromo *Balabat* and the whole royal families of Wombära were said to have been direct descent of Gineda.⁶⁸

Zigām, which was considered as the second seven houses of Agāw, was believed to have nine sons. Namely, Tanega, Waša, Guwanga, Gungi, Guwaha, Čara, Zala, Nana.⁶⁹ Today, those who were considered the descent of the two founding fathers are either a place name, village name, district name or *Awraja* name. Indeed, Zigām and Guwanguwa are districts names while Mätäkäl is zone respectively the remaining are village names.⁷⁰

The incorporation of the Agāw people of Gojjam was probably started during the reign of Amedä-Šion who ordered his solders to “kill” Žan Čuhay in the pretext of dispute between Zäyohannis and Žan Čuhay. Žan-Čuhay was pagan and the former was Christian apostle who killed the serpent who, the pagan believers believe in.⁷¹

Subsequently, ZäYohannis was arrested and following this incident, Amedä-Šion ordered his solders to kill pagan leader and to release the monk. Finally, the leader was killed and the monk was released and guaranteed land from Ajāma to the limits of Geyon, up to Tumha and up to Agāw.⁷² Moreover, Constant settlement of Christian čawa soldiers as local governors took place since the reign of Amdä-Šeyon also forced Agāw people of Gojjam either to retreat or to be absorbed by latecomers.⁷³

A century after Amedä Šion’s reign, the attempt to control the Agāw people was made by emperor Yesaq (r.1413-1430). Yesaq made the first military expedition against Agāw Meder and able to place the region under his tributary state.⁷⁴ The most notorious and lasting Christianization and annihilation of the Agāw people of Gojjam was implemented after the shift of administrative center from Šäwa first to Mängesto in Gojjam then to Šäda area in 1559 and then Emfraz in 1561 in lake Ṭana because of the Oromo pressure.⁷⁵ These incidents lead to the

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Informants: Asäfa Abäjähü, Belata Tamer, Hamsaläq Dämäläš, Hamesaläqa Tamer Terunäh

⁷¹ Taddesse Tamrat, “A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Centuries)”, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, January 1972, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 1972), pp.143.145

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Geremew Eskezia, “Ethiopian State Campaign, and Settlement and Integration of Oromo Military Regiments in Gojjam (Ethiopia): CA. 1586- 1855”, (Ph.D Dessertation, BDU, History, 2021), pp.48-49

⁷⁴ Tsega Endalew, *Inter-Ethnic Relations Mätäkäl ...* p.36

⁷⁵ Geremew Eskezia, “Ethiopian State Campaign, ...pp,17-19&p.89-90.

emergency of pro-Christian Gojjam nägš Agäw chiefs in Gojjam. Finally, it was after the dominance of the Oromo military regiments in Gojjam that the political dominance of Gojjam nägäš was over.⁷⁶

During the Christian Muslim rivalry of 16thC, it is reported that the Agäw people aligned with Ahmed Gragñ and fought the Christians. This seems merely the conceit against “Solomnid’s” and the attempt to had alliance rather than the move to embrace Islam.⁷⁷

Susenyos also made expeditions to incorporate the Agäw people and Mätäkäl as the whole. Besides, the campaigns against the inhabitants of the western borderlands continued under Susenyos' successors. The most intensive attempt to incorporate Agäw was started following the shift of center to Gondär. Indeed, Fasilädäs (1632-1667) made periodic incorporation of the Agäw people.⁷⁸ The campaigns against the inhabitants of the western borderlands continued under Yohannis I who used double-edged expedition to the area. It was during the ascendancy of Iyasu I (1682-1706) that the incorporation of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl was effective.⁷⁹

Traditions in Mätäkäl show that, Iyasu the great camped in the village of Ċuhauy II, chief of the Agäws, at Segadi with his companions, and went to the lowlands to hunt elephant and rhinoceros. “He himself was a famed hunter of big game animals. Iyasu took Kefläyesus, one of Ċuhauy’s sons, to Gondär who later became famous Qené teacher at Gondär”.⁸⁰

The Agäw people in Zigäm rebelled against Iyasu I and the king approached the people in peaceful manner and killed, looted and enslaved them indiscriminately⁸¹. Furthermore, during the reign of Bäkafa, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl upraised against the central government. Consequently, he ordered the surrounding Oromo, Amahra and Tigry people to join his campaign and again he deed what his predecessor deed against the Agäw people and was successful.⁸²

⁷⁶Ibid, pp,21-25&P,,56

⁷⁷John Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, (London: Charles Birchall Sons Ltd, 1952), p. 101.

⁷⁸Täklä- Iyäsus Waqejera, *A History* pp.202-203.

⁷⁹ James Bruce, *Travels to Discover The source Of The Nile*, ... pp.438-441&448-450; Ayenew Environment p.69.

⁸⁰ Ayenew---p.65.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid*, pp617-620.

From the down of Gondärian period to the end of zämänä Mäsafent seven houses of Agäw-Meder including Mätäkäl was source of contentions and wrangling between the central government and Gojjam. If their relationship was plausible, Agäw-Meder was given and blessed to Gojjamè royal family. While their relation was deteriorated, so did the case of Agäw.⁸³

The Agäw people resisted this recurrent periodic attempt of incorporation by different ways. This is fittingly stated by Frederick Gams, as “In areas such as Semén, Lasta and Agäw-Meder, the Agäw were able to resist Amharization for centuries, often by use of armed forces”.⁸⁴

The campaigner used the two directions to grip Agäw-Meder and Mätäkäl, the first ran through Qwara and Aläfa-Ṭaḡusa towards deep into Mätäkäl following upper course of the Bäläs River. The second passed through south of Lake Ṭana crossing Abay towards the fertile districts of Agäw-Meder⁸⁵. Simultaneously, Kassa later Tewodros II used the same direction to incorporate and loot Agäw. To this end, before his coronation he crossed Ayema, or Dinder River and camped at place called Dällagu. Then he launched massive attack against the people by using the night attack as a pretext. Subsequently, more than two hundred the Agäw people of Bäläya were killed.⁸⁶

During great Ethiopian famine of 1888-1902, *negus* Täklä-Haymanot also made a campaign and looted the province in response to the agony that his throne had encountered.⁸⁷

Economically the Agāw people were forerunner in domestication of plant and animal.⁸⁸ They produced Dura and Sorghum. Moreover, they domesticated cattle, Sheep, Goat, donkey and horse.⁸⁹ The area inhabited by the Agāw people in Gojjam was said to have been “full of rich plains and abundantly watered by variety of fine streams”. The major livelihood system of the Agāws of Mātākāl were cattle herding, crop cultivation and trade. This was more elaborated by Jams Bruce as:”Gondär and all neighboring countries depend for the necessities of life, cattle,

⁸³ Täklä-Iyäsuse Waqejera, *A History* p29,45,53,57,202-203.

⁸⁴ Frederick Charles Gamst, "The Qemant Agäw of Ethiopia: A Study in Culture of a Pagan-Hebric People," (PhD Dissertation in History, Los Angeles: University of California, 1961), p. 149

⁸⁵ Ayenew Fenta, “A History Of Ankāša Worāda (Western Gojjam)”, 1935-1991, (MA Thesis, History, AAU, 2013), pp.9-10

⁸⁶Pawlos Ñño, *AsèTewodros(A History of Tewodros II)*, (Bole Printing press ,1985 E.C),pp.15-16.

⁸⁷ Täklä- Iyäsus *A History* ,.....pp.269.

⁸⁸James McCann, *People of the Plow, An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800-1990*, (Wisconsin university, University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p.5; Donald Lenine, *Greater Ethiopia*,...p.36.

⁸⁹ Murdock George, *Africa :Its People and Their Culture History*,(New York,McGraw -Hill,1959),pp.182-183.

honey, butter, wheat, hides and wax upon the Agäw who brining constantly”.⁹⁰From this expression, one can draw that, the basic economy of the Agäw people was cattle heading and various crop cultivation. Furthermore, it was said to have the people traded with copper, iron, bead, gold and had received immunes profit from it.⁹¹The means of exchange includes, barter, bullets, salt bar and later coins were introduced as means of exchange.⁹²

There was multiple taxation system in Ethiopia that the tillers were obliged to pay. During Gondärian, the Agäw of Mätäkäl paid tax in gold, honey, cattle and crops for the central government.⁹³

It was reported that, the south Arabian immigrant made lasting interaction with the Agäw people that their interaction was seen in socio-cultural and political system⁹⁴.Further, the Agäw people had been strong socio-economic, cultural and political relation with the neighboring Oromo, Gumuz and Šenaša.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Bruce, *Travel to discover*-----,p.737.

⁹¹ *Ibid*,pp.431-433.

⁹² Mahateme Selasè *Zekerä-Nägär(Reconciliation)*2nd ed 1962 E.C,p.325.

⁹³ Bruce, *Travel to*....739-740.

⁹⁴ Tadesse Tamerat, *Church and state* pp.21-22.

⁹⁵ Bruce, *Travel to* pp.431-443&563.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE AGÄW PEOPLE OF MÄTÄKÄL: 1902-1991

2.1. Boundary Delimitation and Border Guarding Issue

The foundation for present-day administrative province of Ethiopia was laid down in the post-Adwa period.⁹⁶ In the post-Adwa period, Ethiopia boarded on the final phase of territorial expansion towards the south, west and northwest, aimed at incorporating its “ancient frontier territories”.⁹⁷ The pre-Adwa expansion was largely keen on the mastery of trade routes. The latter phase was much more in reaction to European colonialism.⁹⁸ Ethiopian’s frontier territories faced continuous foreign threats from colonial powers, Great Britain, France and Italy who were hovering in neighboring countries. This threat was reduced with the boundary negotiation that the emperor made in different period, which was initiated in post-Adwa period.⁹⁹

Mätäkäl, which was occupied in 1898, by *Negus Täklä-Haymanot* of Gojjam on one hand to expand and search market place after the revival of long distance trade and on the other hand to control “ancient territories” of Ethiopia and to check advancing colonial powers, did not took its shape up to 1902 Anglo-Ethiopian boundary negotiation.¹⁰⁰ Hence, the British considered the region as a former province of Egyptian rule. Admittedly, enough, in the eyes of the British, Western Ethiopia was seen as a Sudanese hinterland potentially more profitable than Sudan itself.¹⁰¹

The battle of Adwa urged Britain to occupy Sudan effectively and to deal the boundary issue with Ethiopia, which was the only independent country of Africa. Thus, it was after the successful colonization of Sudan that the boundary negotiations were started. The negotiation was started on behalf of Sudan Harrington and Emperor Menilek of Ethiopia, who was advised by Itlg. This negotiation was said to have been a protracted one as stated by Marcus as follows;

⁹⁶ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, 2nd ed., (James Currey, Oxford, Addis Ababa University press, 2001), p.66

⁹⁷ Alexander Bulatovich, *Kä Aşé Menelik Särawit Gar (With Emperor Menelik’s Army)*, Trans. Ambachew Kebede (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2001), p.2.64.

⁹⁸ Harold Marcus, *History of Ethiopia*, (University Of California Press, 1994), pp.104-16.

⁹⁹ Baharu Zewde, *A History of Modern...* pp.111-114.

¹⁰⁰ Tsega Endalew, *Inter-Ethnic Relations on a Frontier...*, p.63.

¹⁰¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern* pp...76-89.

... Menelek then fell back on the ancient historical claims of Ethiopia to areas in the Sudan, and Harrington retorted that 'ancient history does not count for much in modern negotiations ... It was also agreed that at the next discussion Harrington would present a map showing in detail the area that Great Britain claimed as formerly occupied by Egypt. The second conference took place on 22 April, and at this time Harrington marked out a line for discussion which ran south from Todluc to the Khor Yabus and showed the Hamran, Kedawi, Gallabat, Debaineh, Dar-es-Somati, Dar Gubba, Dar Gumuz and Beni Shangul countries as Egyptian territory. For the following reasons Menelek was interested only in Beni Shangul: first, he wished to exploit the gold known to be mined there; second, he realized the strategic importance of an area located within easy reach of the navigable portions of both the Blue and White Niles; third, if he controlled the Beni Shangul area 'he could tap a considerable portion of the Soudan trade and also obtain an outlet for that of Ethiopia for which the Soudan offers a good market... On 26 May Harrington reported to Cromer that Menelek had 'his heart' set on Beni Shangul ... He had told Menelek he would say nothing more about Beni Shangul if the concessions for gold-mining in the area would be guaranteed to British capitalists. Menelek had agreed, and the border problem was solved in principle.¹⁰²

This borderline agreement placed Guba and Abu Ramla regions under Ethiopia and created the present administrative region of Mätäkäl.¹⁰³

Major Gwynn has drowned the boundary delimiting what is commonly named the southern section. His “demarcation” of the territory was hastily completed. Moreover, his “demarcation” was irregular and inconsistent. Since, in one spot he used Rivers, mountain peaks trade routes as boundaries while in other sites a number of the stones heaps located at different border zones as border marks were applied for “demarcation”. In some areas, Gwynn put several stone heaps with different size and weight, while in other border zones; he put small numbers of stones and erected iron pillars. At the same time, it was reported that there were undefined borderlines.¹⁰⁴

After the boundary delimitation between Ethiopian and Sudan, the boundary-guarding mandate from Ayema (Dinder) to Demazin was given to Hamdan’s family of Guba and to the Agäw

¹⁰²Harold G. Marcus, “Ethio-British Negotiations concerning the...”, pp. 81-94.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, P, 63.

¹⁰⁴ Alemayehu Erkihun, “Borderland, Frontier and The Boundary Issues Between Ethiopia And The Sudan, 1898-1991: From The River Sätit In The North to The Abay (Blue Nile) River In The South)”, (Ph.D Dissertation, History, BDU, 2020), pp, 82-86.

people of Mätäkäl¹⁰⁵. After the aforementioned obligation, whoever who crossed the border and cut even a single bamboo tree or a wood was taken as a threat to the independence of Ethiopia and was not given any excuse for his deed.¹⁰⁶

Here my informant Säwagāñ Säwnät and Abé Dubalä state that the person who crossed the boundary was seen as a criminal and was caught and detained. The detainees were given to government officials who administer the surrounding and then the officials judged them.¹⁰⁷ Apart from this Zäwdu Čäkol and Šetu Abäwa state that besides the affording safety of the two people, *fäṭino däraš* was deployed in the area to safeguard the border.¹⁰⁸ However, this seems the case in the post-liberation period since it was in the post-liberation period that *fäṭino däraš* was organized. Meanwhile it was in the round that all Agäw people of Mätäkäl and Hamedan's family maintained the border. *Fitawrari Zäläqä Liqu, Gerazemač Räta, Gerazemač Bälay Seyum, Fitawrari Embiyalä Gäsäsä, Fitawrari Eyasu Zäläqä* were prominent leaders and sacrificed in guarding the border of Ethiopia.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the Agäw of Segadi and Zigäm started to guard the frontier after the administrative re-arrangement of 1948.¹¹⁰

After the administrative re-arrangement of Ethiopia in the post-liberation period especially in 1948, Guba and Dangur were placed in newly organized Mätäkäl *awraja*, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl continued their erstwhile role in guarding the frontier of Ethiopia. It was said that all *balabt's* guarded in turn in each six months and went to the border to guard the frontier and stayed for nearly six months there. The existing oral source state that those who had their turn to guard the border were said to have taken their concubines and servants to stay in assigned border province.¹¹¹ According to a primary source obtained from NALA, *Fitawrari Täfära Zäläqä* who was one of Agäw chief, the administrator of Bäläya was given the title “guardian of the border”.

This is more illustrated as follow:

¹⁰⁵ Anbesa Abate, et al., “*Yädäjazemač Muḥammäd Banjaw Tarik ena Yäkelelu Behérésäb Yäquwanqwa Aṭäqaqām Tenat*” (A Short Biography of *Däjazemač Muḥammäd Banjaw* and an investigation of venicular language application of indigenous ethnic groups in the region), (TG Mastawokia ena Yähetemät sera, Asosa, 2010 EC), pp.10-11; Informant: Čeqašum Abé Dubalä, Säwagāñ Enyāw.

¹⁰⁶ Informants: Čeqašum Abé Dubalä, Säwagāñ Enyāw. specially Säwagāñ Enyāw has full knowledge on the frontier boundary keeping and he was also not only relative, but also the best friend of Täfära zäläqä who spent most of the time in Addis Abba

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol and Šetu Abäwa.

¹⁰⁹ Informants: Aba Täšälä, Šebabaw, Šetu

¹¹⁰ Informants: Hamesaläqa Tamer Terunäh, Dämäläš, Aba Täšälä,

¹¹¹ Informants: Čeqašum, Abé Dubalä, Šebabaw, Šetu.

“የዳንጉር ወረዳ ገዢ እና የወሰን ጠባቂ ፈታውራሪ ተፈራ ዘለቀ...በየጊዜው ወሰኑን ለመመልከት እና ለመመላለስ የሚሆን...ሦስት ወታደሮችን የሚይዝ መኪና እንዲፈቀድልን...በጠረፍ በኩል ላለው ሁኔታ አጠባበቅ እንዲረዳቸው...”

“Dangur woräda administrator and Ethiopian border guard *Fitawrari* Täfära Zäläqä’... to shuttle from border to border and check the frontier appeal the government to give him automobile which can load three soldiers .Which may enable him to maintain peace and security in the frontier....¹¹²(See Appendix-VI)

From this primary source, one can draw that *Fitawrari* Täfära Zäläqä who was Dangur administrator and Agäw chief was given the tittle “frontier guard” which was the responsibility beyond the administration of his district. Nevertheless, the letter could not state how much fuel and how many money he needed to this end.

After the coming of Därg, a professional army was assigned in the frontier area for dual aim. On one hand to wipeout the guerrilla force who were offending the Därg by using Sudan as a launching pad, and at the same time it was also considered by my informant as the transformation from civil administrative to military administrative structure. Whatever it was the professional army substituted in the frontier guard of the country during.¹¹³

To sum, the Ethio-Sudan border guarded by the Agäw of Mätäkäl and the Gumuz people was curved by architect of Ethio-Sudan border Charles Gwynn in 1902. Politically, border guard patronized linguistically and culturally diverse people to stand for shared goal. Mätäkäl was also used as launching pad for patriots to attack fascist Italians during five years of occupation. Moreover, in 1941, Emperor Haile Selassie I (r.1930-1974) returned to Ethiopia from his exile in England to fight the Italians together with the British forces by crossing the Ethiopia-Sudan border and hoisted the Ethiopian flag at the place called Omédla, along the border with Sudan.¹¹⁴

¹¹² NALA17, 1, 11, 01, A letter to Foreign Afaire from Däjač Säbsebé Šeberu ,Ref.10440/843/44,Date,30/09/1950 E.C.

¹¹³Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol &Yäšiwas Mamo

¹¹⁴Wondwosen Teshome, “Colonial Boundaries Of Africa: The Case Of Ethiopia’s Boundary With Sudan”, *Ege Akademik Bakış / Ege Academic Review* 9 (1) 2009, pp.338-339.

2.2. The Political Aspect from Boundary Delimitation to Fascist occupation: 1902-1935

The man who attempted to unify Ethiopia and responded to invading force was Tewodros II. Who was described as reformer, modernizer, innovator and towering figure of 19thC. However, his policy was not consistent.¹¹⁵ The effort of Tewodros was continued by his successor Wagshum Gobezie of Lasta and Yohannis IV. But; it was Menilek who realized the policy of unification, modernization and territorial expansion. In the process, the Ethiopia of today was born; its shape was created by the boundary agreements made after the Battle of Adwa in 1896 with the adjoining colonial powers.¹¹⁶

King Täklä-Haymanot of Gojjam (1881–1901) made a significant effort in the last quarter of the 19th Century to incorporate the Gumuz area within the central state of administration. Through this military operation, Täklä-Haymanot firmly secured control over the areas of Dangur, Wombära and Bäläya regions outside the purview of the central state.¹¹⁷

However, following the natural death of *Negus* Täklä-Haymanot in 1901, three political groups arose in the Gojjam political arena. *Ras* Bāzabeh claimed that he was the heir to the throne as the eldest son, but members of the royal house of Gojjam did not support this claim. Wäyzäro Laqāw, Täklä-Haymanot's legal wife, wrote the emperor, and that was confirmed by his confessor, state that, the *Negus* had desired her to rule. A third group of officials, led by Dājazmač Seyum, also claimed the throne in a letter to Emperor Menilek. Menilek was puzzled by the various claims, and he postponed appointing any ruler over Gojjam for almost a year.¹¹⁸

In 1902, the emperor Menilek II divided Gojjam into three administrative zones Damot, Gojjam proper, and Agāw-Meder up to the Sudan border. Then Menilek II appointed new administrators

¹¹⁵ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopi...*, pp.31-35; Ed, Shiferaw Beqeale, et al, *Kassa and Kassa, Paper on lives, time and image of Tewodros and Yohannis (1855-1889)*, (AAU---, 1990), PP.127-141.

¹¹⁶ Bahru, *A Hiatory...*, pp.60-66.

¹¹⁷ Ajeta Fufa; *Adminstrative History...* pp.27; Tsega, Inter –Ethnic..., pp.65-70; Ayenew Fenta; *Society and Enviroment...*, pp.112-114.

¹¹⁸ Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus, *A History...* ed. Sergaw Gälaw, pp.360-361, 374.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

like *Däjač* Seyum over Damot, *Ras* Bāzabeh Täklä-Haymanot over Gojjam proper and *Ras* Mängäša Atikām over Agāw-Meder including the peripheries up to the Sudan¹¹⁹.

Ras Mängäša Atikām started to control the province effectively from 1902-1909. In 1909 his son *Ras* Kābādā succeeded *Ras* Mängäša. A year after a gain *Ras* Woldä Giyorgis was appointed by the regent *Ras* Tässäma over seven house of Agāw.¹²⁰

In Bälāya Yegzaw Çufa who was appointed by Täklä-Haymanot continued to administer the area to 1905. In 1905 it was reported that, Zälāqā Liqu took power. In Segadi and its environs also *Däjač* Beru Woldä-Gäbr-eal who was a veteran of Adwa and accompanied *negus* Täklä-Haymanot to occupy Wombära continued to be administrator of the area up to his death in 1930s.¹²¹

The two appointees of Agāw chiefs of Mätākāl, *Däjač* Beru Woldä-Gäbr-eal of Segadi and *Fitawrari* Zälāqā Liqu of Bälāya administered by using their hierarchies. They had *Çeqašum* and *Aṭebya Daña* at each parish who were directly responsible to them. The two grassroots officials were assigned on one hand to collect the tribute and on the other hand to perform administrative schemes on behalf of local government officials in the parish. At the same time, there was *näçläbaš* whose mandate was to force and control those personalities who were beyond the *Çeqašum* and *Aṭebya daña*. The administrative system was highly loose and the administrative officials visited the local people only during special occasions and for collecting annual tribute only.¹²²

Former *Däjač* Seyum latter *Ras* Haylu who was upgraded by Ṭaitu Beṭul and *Fitawrari* Habtä-Gieorgis Dinägedé and confirmed by Menilek II and waiting right time to regain his father's lost territory ensnared two nets. Thus, he made political marriage with the two-contestant party of the time. *Ras* Haylu himself married the niece of empress Ṭaitu, Asäläfä. And also he gave his

¹¹⁹ Täklä-Şadeq Mākuriya *YäIthiopia Tarik Kädagemawi Téwodros Eskä Qādamawi Halä-Selasé* (A History of Ethiopia from Tewodros II to Haylä-Selasé)...p.173.

¹²⁰ Täklä-Iyäsus Waqejera, *A History*, PP.323-324; Märesai Hazän Woldä –Qirqos, *Yähañaw Keflä-Zāmān Mābča, Kayähut Ena Kāsmahut* (A History of Ethiopia in the first half of twentieth century), (AA, AAUP, 2002), p.59&73

¹²¹ Informants: Assäfa Abäjähü; Sämanäh Alämnäh; Şetu Abäwa.

¹²² Informants: Şetu Abäwa, Abé Dubalä, Assäfa Abäjähü

daughter Säblä-Wongäl to newly appointed *alga woraš Lej Iyasu*. Nevertheless, he could not regain up to the death of *Ras Täsäma Nadäw*.¹²³

After the death of *Ras Täsäma Nadäw*, *Lej Iyasu* started to act as the head of Ethiopia and restored lost territory of Agäw-Meder extending to Ethio-Sudan border to his father-in-law. As a result, *Ras Haylu* got access to the rich resources of Mätäkäl, such as gold, civet, ivory, and coffee.¹²⁴

After his ascendancy in 1911 *Ras Haylu* made *Šumšer* over Agäw-Meder generally and in Mätäkäl particularly to exploit and bargain the plentiful resource of Mätäkäl. And also he confirmed the local chiefs, Zäläqä Liqu of Bäläya, over Dangur *woräda*, Biftu Ano in Wombära, *Däjač* Beru Woldä-Gäbr-eal in Segadi and Hamedans family in Guba continued as hereditary rulers of their provinces. Therefore, the political structure of Mätäkäl was dominated by Gumuz of Guba, the Oromo of Wombära and the Agäw of Bäläya and Mätäkäl.¹²⁵ Furthermore, he introduced an appointment fee known as *mäšomia*, which appointees were expected to pay him to upgrade in their rank and status. In the case of appointment fee, Zäläqä Liqu of Bäläya paid 2000 MTT for the position that he took.¹²⁶

During the administrative years of *Ras Haylu*, no changes were seen to modernize and transform the administrative system of Mätäkäl areas. The province continued to be administered by local *balabt's* known as *Çeqašum* and *Aṭebya daña*. What added was the means of exploitation and maladministration by using different appellations.¹²⁷ The people were highly apprehensive of by the situation that they had encountered and started to challenge the administrative system of *Ras Haylu*, and demanded the intervention of the central government to ease the burden they bore.¹²⁸ What added fuel to the administrative system of *Ras Haylu* was the attempt of *Ras Haylu* to ban any foreigners to bypass Gojjam without his conscience and even he made an attempt to

¹²³Täklä Iyäsus Waqejera, *A History ...* P.345.; Märesai Hazän Woldä –Qirqos, *A History of Ethiopia ...*,p.74.

¹²⁴Ajeta Fufa, *Administrative History.....* p.23.

¹²⁵Abinew Debalkie, “A History of Dangur Woräda, 1905-1991” (, MA Thesis, History, AAU,2016), p.20; Menegistu Geremew, “A History of Wänbära Wäräda, 1941-1991”, (MA Thesis, History, AAU,2016), pp.16-17; Ajeta fufa, *Admenstrative---*p.23; informant: Asäfa Abäjähü, Fäntahun Aseräs.

¹²⁶Abinew Debalqie, *A History of Dangur----*p.19.

¹²⁷*ibid..*

¹²⁸Informants: Aba Täšälä; Çeqašum Tamer, Belata Tamer

deal with the Tana project with British .¹²⁹ Moreover, he made friendly relation with the Italians independently and conspired with Italians to dismantle the regent from power. Above all he is reported that, he attempted to emancipate detained son-in-law; *Lej Iyasu* from Fečé.¹³⁰ Then, regent sought to keep away from foreign influence and he was summoned to Addis Ababa to ratify the 1931 constitution and became house arrest. Subsequently, *Ras Haylu* was ousted from the political system of Agäw-Meder in particular and Gojjam in general in 1932.¹³¹

After the end of *Ras Haylu*'s ascendancy, *Däjazemač Dämes Gämäču* was appointed over Agäw-Meder area and its vicinity. He started to unroll the new administrative structural system by promotion and demotion in the newly appointed provinces.¹³²

In the 1930s the hereditary ruler of Segadi and its environs *Däjač Beru Woldä-Gäbr-eal* was died. By using this as a good opportunity, *Däjazemač Dämesé* appointed *Däjač Embiyälä Gäsäsä* who was the grandson of the deceased ruler over Segadi and its environs.¹³³ The new appointee could not stay even a decade .Because of the Italo-Ethiopian war.

2.3. The Agäw people of Mätäkäl and Italian Occupation: 1936-1941

The Italian's long lasted ambition to colonize Ethiopia was revived after the coming of Benito Mussolini who promised to revive ancient glory of Rome and to occupy Ethiopia.¹³⁴ To succeed their desire; Italians used combination strategies. This is more stated by Baharu as follows:

..... the Eritrean colonial establishment, headed by the governor Corrado Zoli from 1928 to 1930, continued the policy of subversion, sowing disaffection in Tegre, Bagemder, Gojam and Wallo. The Italian Legation in Addis Ababa, headed by Giuliano Cora, represented the policy of rapprochement. The signing of the 1928 treaty mentioned above was an index of the success of the Cora scheme.... The Italian consulates opened at various times in the early twentieth century in Adwa, Gondar, Dabra Marqos and Dessie played an important role in this policy of subversion, as well as in the gathering of vital political and military intelligence.¹³⁵

¹²⁹James McCann," Ethiopia, Britain, and Negotiations for the Lake Tana Dam, 1922-193", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* , 1981, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1981), pp.690-691.

¹³⁰Hailä-Selasé, *Heywoté Ena Yälthiopia Iremeja (My Life and Ethiopian progress)* ,(Engiland,1929 EC),pp.168-171; Denser Nigatu ,:The Court System Of Ras Haylu Täklä- Haymanot Of Gojjam, 1901-1932" ,(MA Thesis,BDU,History,2018),pp.37-40.

¹³¹ Denser Nigatu ,:The Court System,p.40.

¹³²Miskir,Political History of Awī,...p.28.

¹³³Informants: Yawnäw Beru, Asäfa Abäjähu, Fäntahun Aseräs ,Qomos Mälakä Heywot Mehrät

¹³⁴Aregawe Berhe, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-occupied Ethiopia: The Patriots' Movement (1936-1941) and the redefinition of post-war Ethiopia",...pp.88-89; Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuria,A History....pp.207-211

¹³⁵Baharu,A *History of Modern* -----,p.152.

Therefore, the Italians used subversive, that was intentionally applied to demolish the unity of Ethiopia and rapprochement, was used to overlook Ethiopians.

In Ethiopia, there were cognizant intelligentsia's who warned the Ethiopian government to had access to sea port ,to modernize arms and armaments including the creation of the army into different divisions like ground forces ,air forces naval forces and like. However, the new emperor gave a deaf ear to the intelligentsia. In this context, the winner was inevitable and predetermined.¹³⁶

By using Wal-Wal as a pretext, on December 5, 1935, Italy waged war on Ethiopia on two fronts, north and southeast. The two wary parties engaged in the two-war front with the memory of Adwa. Italians to erase the black spot that they had faced in 1896 at the battle and, Ethiopians to repeat the resounding battle. To this end, the Agäw-Meder armies were engaged in the northern part of Ethiopia and were led by *Däjač* Dämesé Gämäču.¹³⁷

The army of Bäläya and its environs including *Qäñäč* Ayal,*Qägñäč* later *Fitawrari* Iyasu,Ato Yesmaw,*Däjač* Mängestu ,*Qäñäč* Mära,and other nearly hundred and fifty army with traditional armament's under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Liqu marched to the northern front.¹³⁸ Again from Segadi and its environs, it was said to have under leadership of *Däjač* later *Fitawrari* Embiyälä Gäsäsä, *Qäñäč*,Bäläy Jämbär,*Qäñäč* Mäšänto Wondé, *Gerač*,Täfära , *Gerač*,Kassa Mäšäša,*Gerač* Ali Wold-Maryam, *Balambaras* Adäla Beru,Ato Abäbä Kassa,*Liqä Kahenat* Abäjähu Beru,Azaž Seyum ,*Belata* Worqé Terunäh Ato Yegzaw including hundreds of infantry were gone to the northern front.¹³⁹

These free warriors were expected to prepare not only their hearts but also their own war logistics, like shields, arms and ammunition, roasted and flour barley as well as magnesias. Here my informant who was four years old during the first resistance war confirms that his father *Belata* Woreqé Terunäh and his counterpart prepared their horse, MTT and edible dry food and they campaigned under *Däjač* Embiyälä Gäsäsä.¹⁴⁰ According to post-liberation sources gathered

¹³⁶ Bahru Zewde, "The Ethiopian Intelligentsia and The Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1941", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1993) pp.271-276.

¹³⁷ Mahetämä-Selasé, *Reconciliation*...p.296.

¹³⁸ Informants: Çeqaşum Abé Dubalä, Täsära Därasä, Säwagāñ Enyāw.

¹³⁹ Informants: Täšälä Yesmaw, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Asäfa Abäjähu, Säidu Muhammäd, Hamesaläqa Tamer Worqé.

¹⁴⁰ Informants: Hamsaläqa Tamir Worqé, Aba Täšälä Yesmaw

by the government to know all the expenditures of the war and find the destructed and looted resources of the country during the occupation year, there was 22,000 MTT expended money from Injebara. Here, the report was the whole report including the expenses of Mätäkäl since it was under administrative tier of Injebara at the time .¹⁴¹(see appendix-VIIB)

The battle of Mayçäw was completely concluded by the victory of Italians, thanks to her modern arms and armaments, usage of internationally forbidden poison gas and misinformation, and high level of propaganda work.¹⁴²

Many Agäw patriots with their horse were said to have died at the battle of Šeré, Tämbén, Ambaradom and finally at Mayçäw .The following couplet which was said to have been composed by the Agäw mother described the sorrow.

**“የትግሬ ዘማች የተረፈውን ገባ በየቤቱ
ሞኖ ቀረች እንጅ ባለማተቢቱ”:**

“The survived Tigré campaigner returned home
while loyal lost their life”.¹⁴³

From this couplet one can understand that, the Agäw people paid heavy causality and were loyal and fought up to the last minute of the battle.

The Italian army under Achili entered Bahir-Dar in May 1936 and started to build their military base there.¹⁴⁴ From April-June, Achili who entered via Omjrahad expanded his military base to Dangela, Injebara, Bure, and Däbrä-Marqos. Furthermore, the fascist Italians had their forts in Guba with heavy and simple weapons under the order of General Quiqini. Moreover; this military base in Guba also had a sub-military base in Däbrä-Zayt at Čambo ¹⁴⁵. (See also Appendix-VIII). Only 1,500 soldiers defended the fortified army from Guba up to Mätäma. The

¹⁴¹ WMTAC, Folder 2157, To Gojjam governorate general ,Ref..2/82/2, Date, 26/4/1938 E.C.

¹⁴² Tākelä-Šadeq Mākuriā, *A History of Ethiopia*.....pp295-299;

¹⁴³ Abeyu Chanyalew, *Agäw Kā Orit Eskä EPRDF (Agäw From Old Testament to EPRDF)*, (A.A: Picolo Printing Press, 2018). p.133

¹⁴⁴ Seltene Seyoum, “Early History of Bahir-Dar Town: c.1900-1941”, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* , December, 2012, Vol. 45, Special Thematic Issue on Urban History (December, 2012), P.86.

¹⁴⁵ Alfredo González-“Ruibal, Fascist Colonialism: The Archaeology of Italian Outposts in Western Ethiopia (1936-41)”, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* , December 2010, Vol. 14, No4., pp.557-561; Mengistu Geremew, “A History of Wānbāra Wārāda, 1941-1991”, (MA Thesis, History AAU, 2010), P.22; NAIA, Folder No.ከተ.20.05, File No.62.1.20.05. Kābādä Tässāma “BāMerab Gojjam Italian Mišeg Yäserabačäw Botawäč.

forces that held the frontier were mostly colonial troops recruited in Africa, along with some irregular retinues provided by local chiefs called *banda*.¹⁴⁶

In the meantime, after the Italians won the battle of Mayčaw, all *Ras*'s from the northern front returned to their administrative province and the war-weary *balabat*'s were puzzled by the situation that they had faced. There were prominent *balabat*'s who submitted following the decree of the Italians, that encouraged local *balabat*'s to submit peacefully. Of this, *Ras* Mängäša Jämbäre, Nägaš Bāzabeh, Gäsäsä Bälāw and *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Liqu from Méča, Buré Däga Damot, Däbrä-Marqos, Bälāya respectively were the prominent leader who submitted peacefully and started to swear in the name of Italy.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, Zäläqä Beru of Moča and Dārāso Tässāma of Zigām also were collaborators.¹⁴⁸ Here my informants rejected the submission of *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Liqu and confirmed the submission of others for a short time.¹⁴⁹

The resistance movement in Gojjam was started in October 1936 in the district of Yelmana-Densa which followed the hanging and execution of local *balabat*'s. Thence, the relatives of deceased chiefs went to the jungle and started to oppose the Italian rule. What added fuel to the suspicious relation of fascist and the peasant was Italian policy of disarming.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the death of local *balabat*'s who submitted peacefully has forced the local chiefs to think that the occupant poisoned the deceased *balabat*'s.¹⁵¹

In August 1937, the patriots of Agāw-Meder organized themselves under the leadership of *Gerazemač* Qoläč W/Rufa-eal and started to communicate with neighboring patriots of Säkälā, Damot, Mätäkäl, and Bälāya on how to launch the offensive attack over invading fascist force.¹⁵²

What intensified the patriotic resistance movement of the Agāw people of Mätäkäl was the defect of *Ras* Mängäša Jämbäre and Nägaš Bāzabeh in 1937 who were the collaborators of Italians for a short time. Furthermore, at the battle of Ašāwa Mādāhani –Alām, *Däjač* Gäsäsä and

¹⁴⁶ Alfredo González-Ruibal, "Fascist Colonialism.....P.554.

¹⁴⁷ Seltene Seyoum, Early History-----, pp, 88.

¹⁴⁸ Informants: Belata Tamer, Hamesaläqä Dämälāš, Sāmanäh.

¹⁴⁹ Informants: Säwagāñ, Šetu Abāwa, Čeqa Šum Abé Dubalä.

¹⁵⁰ Seltene Seyoum, "Review of the Literature on Ethiopian Resistance with Particular Emphasis on Gojjam: 1936-1941", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, December 2003, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp.42-44.

¹⁵¹ Aynew Mamo, "A Biography of Däjazmač Mängäša Jämbäre", *International Journal of Law, Management and Social Science*, ISSN: 2581-3498 Vol. 5, Issue I, Jan-Mar, 2021, pp.26-27.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 29; Aynew Fenta, A History of.....pp, 25-27.

Liqä-Kahenat Abäjähü and other campaigners lost their life. Afterward, *Däjač* later *Fitawrari* Embiyälä Gäsäsä organized his brother's and the people of Segadi and Guwanguwaya to take revenge for the death of his father.¹⁵³

To organize the patriots in Mätäkäl, they met at a place called Şirigi and soon after at Askuna (አስቼና) in the same year. The Agäw people of Segadi and its environ including Guwanguwaya, Digiri made *Fitawrari* Embiyaä as their *tor aläqa*, while Bäläya also elected *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Liqä to be their *tor aläqa*. After having a discussion on their plan on how to combat the enemy forces, they also agreed that the rich had to contribute money by which arms will be bought. They called all adults to pick up arms and eliminate Italians from their locality.¹⁵⁴

As elsewhere in different parts of the country, in the course of struggle, the patriots of Mätäkäl Agäw fought not only Italian contingents but also native collaborators who collaborated with enemy forces. The collaborators collaborated either for personal benefit or political intention on the pretext to restore the uprooted hereditary rule by the support of the enemy. The incident led to the emergence of two groups in the locality, the *fanno* and the *banda* which local Agäw elders named (*Manda*). Indeed, *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru in Moča and its environs who administered the whole Abäba, Bizera-Kani, and Mandura Gumuz, and *Däjač* Däräso Tässäma in Zigäm were local *balabat*'s who were disappointed by the appointment of *Fitawrari* Embiyälä Gäsäsä.¹⁵⁵ The case of Tära Abaguwadadé in Bäläya was special in his collaboration with Italians; he was under the command of *Däjač* later *Fitawrari* Täfära Zäläqä. When I interviewed my informant in Bäläya they smile and...

“ዴካስ ዘራፍ አን ኩ ማቺ ናማ ራከራሺኹላ ፊሬጅ ዓሜታዳ ዉላ አብራ ፊሬንጅ ማንዳኒስ ፕር ኩዓ ቱር ኔታ ጂያ ጊዛይ አታጂ ንጓኑና አንጊያማ አንኚሜካ ሴሜራማ ፊረንጅስ ተወጅኋ”::

During peacetime, he boosted his master (Täfära Zäläqä) to sacrifice what he had. In the meantime when the people fortified to attack Italians, when they were in trench, grouse flew

¹⁵³ Informants: Asäfa Abäjähü, Yegzaw Embiyälä. The two informants' are knowledge full about the battle of and the former lost his father *liqä kahenat* Abäjähü Beru at the battle while the later his grandfather, and is informative about the deeds of his father Embiyälä.

¹⁵⁴ Informants: Hamesaläqä Ta'mer Worqé; Çeqaşum Abé Dubalä, Şetu Abäwa.

¹⁵⁵ Informants: Aba Täşalä Yesmaw; Gétahun Bäqälä; Aba Zäläqä Ambayä, Şetu Abäwa

unexpectedly near him, and then he panicked and called his mother. Hereupon he offended and became collaborator and collaborated with invading forces.¹⁵⁶

The Italian force attempted to invade Bäläya by using their Dangela and Quwara headquarters. However, it was in vain. Apart from the geographical hindrance, the topography of the province, the people's commitment under the leadership of Zäläqä's family, Zäläqä Liqu, Iyasu Zäläqä, and Täfära Zäläqä dashed the desire of invading force. Besides, more than two hundred patriots of Bäläya and Dangela were fortified at mount Dafilit and fought the fascist forces. These patriots were encouraged and got different supplies from their surrounding people during the years of resistance. They (Italians) made repeated attempts by using the geographical knowledge that they had fetched from Tära Abaguwadadé. It was by using the information that they bombed *Negus Dawit* church. However, after dropping bomb, the airplane was immediately crashed at the forest of Bäläya highland. Nevertheless, their attempts were a nightmare and fruitless exhaustion.¹⁵⁷

Fitawrari Embiyalä Gäsäsä of Segadi and its environs spent most of the time fighting with *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru who was the collaborator and appointed as administrator of all Moča, Abäba, Bizira-Kani and the Gumuz of Mandura by the Italians. Besides, *Däjač* later *Fitawrari* Däräso Täsäma was also collaborator, who was assigned to administer Zigäm people, including the Gumuz of Zigäm. The two collaborators were said to have been supported by Italians with arms and ammunition as well as financially.¹⁵⁸

In 1938, *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru was in Dangela, by considering this as the right time, *Fitawurari* Embiyalä made an attempt to invade Bizera-kani. Unfortunately, Zäläqä's brothers, Ayaléw Beru and Abäjähü Beru who built forte at Dura (river between Guwanguwa and Bizera-Kani) made the attempt of Embiyalä nightmare. Furthermore, it was said to have the two brother summoned the Gumuz of Mandura. Nevertheless, the Gumuz arrived after the battle was over. Then the Agäw people of Moča, Bizera-Kani slaughtered a cow and see off the arrived Gumuz people. In the same year, there was also a minor clash around Kivi between the two groups again *Fitawrari* Embiyalä's force was maneuvered.¹⁵⁹ After the two battles, Zäläqä Beru's army started to boost

¹⁵⁶ Informants: Säwagäñ Säwnät, Abé Dubalä, Täsära Däräsä.

¹⁵⁷ Abenew Debalqie, :A History of Dangur....., pp.32-34; informant: Abé Dubalä, Säwagä Säwnät

¹⁵⁸ Informants: Dañaw Engeda, Tamer Guwadé.

¹⁵⁹ Informants: Gétahun Sämanäh, Aba Täsalä Yesmaw, Admas Haylu

and intended to occupy Guwanguwa, which was the seat of *Fitawrari* Embiyälä. This can be more illustrated by the following composed couplet:

“እቢያለ አሚኸሪ እንዳር ሚፀኸ ኳ ቢዝራ-ካኒዳ
ባይዪ ካ ሚጫ ምቲኸላ ንጊያላ”

Embyalä Amhara why you intended Bizera-Kani

Depart to Méça, from your seat Guwanguwaya.¹⁶⁰

From this short couplet one can draw that ,how much Italians were aggravating ethnic differences in locality and utilized the difference between peoples for their forbore .Besides, the political upset was turned into ethnic difference.

There was also the war between *Qäñac* Kefalé and *Fitawrari* Däräso of Zigäm at the battle of Deñuši-Kana.In the battle engagement, *Fitawrari* Däräso won the decisive battle over patriot *Qäñac* Käfalä because of his geographical knowledge and supremacy in his firearms.¹⁶¹The secret behind the successes of collaborators was that their geographical knowledge and it was said to have been immunes logistical support that they had received from invading force.¹⁶²



Source: Yegezaw Embiyälä

Figure 3 Fitawrari Embiyälä Gäsäsä

¹⁶⁰ Informants: Gétahun Abuye&Aba Täšälä

¹⁶¹ Informants:Dañaw Engeda;Çeqšum Tamer Wondem

¹⁶² Informants:Sämanäh Alämnäh;Saidu Muhammäd;Yanäw Beru

Fitawrari Embiyalä Gäsäsä (1900-1960 EC) was appointed as the governor of Segadi and its environ in 1930s, the veteran of Mayčäw and the patriot who stiffly resisted collaborator and fascist occupation, and also organized patriots in Segadi and Guwanguwa.

In 1939, *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Liqu of Bäläya sent a letter to *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru to turn against invading forces and to stand with the patriots who were sacrificing their lives in the jungle for mother country. Yet, Zäläqä Beru responded by detaining the messengers at Abäba Kidanä Meherät and assigned Sämanä Tässäma to take care of the detainees. Again, Zäläqä sent Gumuz messengers to release previous messengers and to cooperate with them. But still, he gave a deaf ear to the desire, and finally, Zäläqä Liqu came with a large army at a deceptive time and invaded and looted the whole Abäba: Abäba Kidanä-Meherät, Abäba-Abo, Abäba Mika-eal Abäba Gäbre-eal and even it was said to have the house of Zäläqä Beru was said to have liquidated.¹⁶³

Regarding the economic base of the two wary parties, on one hand the collaborators and the patriots were the peasants of the surroundings that held the burden. The peasants were not only a source of food, but their agricultural fields were also battlefields. In addition, their houses and resources were looted and burnt by the wary party.¹⁶⁴ (See also appendix IX) To some extent fascist in war logistics like arms, armament and finance supported the collaborators.¹⁶⁵

The patriotic movement of Mätäkäl was overall guided and led by a respected and welcomed patriot of northwestern Ethiopia, Gojjam *Däjazemač* later *Bitwadäd* Mängäša Jämbäré.¹⁶⁶

Finally, following the fatal mistake that Benito Mussolini made, British bided Ethiopia and waged war in two fronts, southern and northwestern part of the country by using her colony as launching pad. Many border posts and bases were even abandoned before the enemy was on sight. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that, the zone north of the Blue Nile (Mätäkäl), was chosen to bring Emperor Haile Selassie back to Ethiopia. Gideon Force, commanded by Major Orde Wingate, marched through the uneven terrain of Mätäkäl, to restore the emperor its throne.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Aba Täšälä Yesmaw, Täsära Dāräs, Abé Dubalä

¹⁶⁴DMUAC, File No, 1622, To Minister of governorate general., Ref. 123, Date, 29/1/1938.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶Ayenew Mammo, "A Short Biography Of *Däjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré....", pp. 29-34.

¹⁶⁷Paul B. Henz, *Layers of Time, A History of Ethiopia*, (Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), p. 262.

Fascist at Guba was evacuated on January 10, 1941, after several bombing raids by allied airplanes between October 1940 and January 1941. This was intended to demoralize and undermine the Italians' morale. The bombings destroyed defenders' spirit and their headquarter to the ground¹⁶⁸ Here Tadässä Gäbrä-Mädhen state that the Fascists were vacated from Guba in 1938. The following is more elucidative to this end:

“ጉባ የደጃዝማች ባንጃዉ አገርን የኛ ሰዎች ስለያዙት ቶል ያለዉ ማጆር 2000 የሚሆን ባንዳ ቢልክ ለወሬ ነጋሪ እንኳ ሳያስቀሩ ጨረሷቸዉ”::

Guba, which was the administrative province of Muhamed Banjaw was occupied by our forces (patriots). To retire the province the Major who was at the place Tol send two thousand *banda's*, But, they were again wrapped by patriots.¹⁶⁹

One can perceive that, there was bitter patriotic resistance in Guba and its surrounding. My informants assert that, there was a strong patriotic movement in Guba, which was overall guided by *Fitawrari Zäläqä Ligu*. Consequently, the movement of Fascist Italians was confined in Guba town only¹⁷⁰. Moreover, it was stated as “Fear of being surrounded by enemy troops, the continuous harassment by the patriots.....broke the colonial army's capacity of resistance. By the end of their stay in Guba, Major Quigini ceased sending patrols out of town”.¹⁷¹ The fortunate emperor who was five years exiled and appealed to the world and inspired resistance from abroad entered Ethiopia via Omédela and hoisted national flag on 20 June 1941. This was more elucidated by Paul B. Henz as follow:

On January 20 His Majesty the Emperor Haile Selassie, accompanied by the Crown Prince and the Duke of Harar, by the Echege, Ras Kassa, Dejazmach Makonnen Indalkachew, Dejazmach Adefrisu, by his delegate to the League of Nations Lorenzo Tazaz, and by his principal secretary Ato Wolde Giorgis, by the Chief of his Imperial Guard Kenyazmach Mokria, by two powerful Ethiopian and English armies equipped with war material superior to the Italian, crossed the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia. [...] Therefore we rejoice in the tender mercies of our God and of Jesus Christ and we give thanks before the Divine Throne.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Alfredo González-Ruibal, “Fascist Colonialism: The Archaeology of Italian.....”, p.561.

¹⁶⁹ IES, FILNO, MS ሀእናለ 1799 የአርበኞች ደብዳቤ (1929-1930) ፈይል ቁጥር 1799 ሁሉ ታዲላ ገብረ-መደህን ለቀ/ኃ/ሥ እና ለሌሎች የጻፏቸዉ ደብዳቤዎች እንዲሁም ሌሎች አርበኞች እርስ በእርሳቸዉ የተጻፏቸዉ ደብዳቤዎች

¹⁷⁰ Informants: Mängesté Gädefäw, Täsära Därasä, Abé Dubalä, Zäwdu Čäkol

¹⁷¹ Alfredo González-Ruibal, “Fascist Colonialism: The Archaeology of Italian.....”, p.561.

¹⁷² Paul B. Henz, *Layers of Time*....., p.223.

What the researcher intended to remark here is that, it is not to inaugurate with the verities of source on the intrusion of the emperor and expulsion of enemy force from Mätäkäl, rather it is to underline the presence of struggle in the area.

After the return from exile to Ethiopia, the emperor sent a message to *Fitawrari* Täfära zäläqä to recruit a man power which would accompany him from Omédela. Then, *Fitawrari* welcomed with more than seventy patriots under his leadership .The most remembered patriots who escorted the emperor to Bäläya were, *Gerazemač* Mäkuriaw, *Gerazemač* Teku, HayluYeferäd, Jänbäré Bogalä Liqu Gundi, Kendu Bitawa, Hiru and others.¹⁷³ The journey of the emperor and the Gideon Force from Omédela to the strategic site of Bäläya was expected to take ten days. However, due to the difficulty of the train and its hot climate the journey took fifteen days. It is reported that, about fifty-seven camels died in one day. After such difficulties, the emperor arrived to Bäläya and was welcomed by the surrounding people.¹⁷⁴

After the arrival of the emperor, the moral of patriots was enhanced significantly while the enemy and collaborator were hotchpotches. To strengthen their position, the sounding patriots received weapons, ammunitions, clothes, money and other supplies from the emperor. Moreover, to strengthen and intensify the patriotic movement in Agäw-Meder, the emperor sent firearms and ammunition to *Fitawrari* Mängäša Jämbäré. To this end, the Agäw patriots, *Gerazemač* Qoläč and *Fitawrari* Täfära Zäläqä were sent to address 395 weapons and 100,000 bullets to Mängäša.¹⁷⁵ (See also appendixes X).

From Bäläya to Guwanguwa, the emperor was accompanied by the Gumuz elders of Mandura ,namely, Adegwa Mangua, Baguni Gošu Horčä, Hisa Gizi, Muli Biti, Bamigaké Mähey Mimi Luqwandi Hiş Guké Mangwa¹⁷⁶ .And there again from Mandura the emperor was warmly welcomed by *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru ,who was collaborator for five years and allied with patriots. Thenceforth, the emperor stayed at Meramer for eight days near Dura river to commemorate his stay the town was named Qädamawi Hailä Selassé Bär (QHS) after its foundation in 1940s.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Abenew Debaligie, A History....pp.34-35; informants: Abé Dubalä, Säwagän Enyäu, Täsära Därsä, Šetu Abäwa

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Informants: Abé Dubalä, Säwagän Enyäu, Tamer Worqé; IES, Ms-2079, Ref..Date, 4/13/1936 E.C.

¹⁷⁶ Jria Mekuria, "A Historical Survey p.29.

¹⁷⁷ Bazezew, "A History of Čageni Town....,p.24, Informants: Aba Täšälä Yesmaw, Said Muhammäd, Tamer Worqé, Tamer Wondem.

The emperor entered Injebara on 23 March 1941. On the next day the emperor started the way to Buré on 6 April the emperor entered Däbrä Marqos, and finally on 5 May 1941 the emperor and his entourage crossed Mount Entoto and descended into the capital Addis Ababa exactly after five years of exile.¹⁷⁸

2.5. The Agäw people of Mätäkäl from liberation to Revolution: 1941-1974

After his return from exile, Hailä-Sellasé restarted the pre-1935 centralization and consolidation of his power. Accordingly, the administrative regulation proclamation No.1 of 1942, Ethiopia provinces were organized under four administrative units called *Awraja*, *Woräda*, *Meslané* and *Meketel Meslané*.¹⁷⁹ Following this proclamation, Gojjam was structured as an *awraja* consisting of seven *Woräda* and thirty-two *Meslanés* and ninety- one *meketel meslané*. *Worädas* were Däbrä Marqos, Bičäna, Moṭa, Däga-Damot and Agäw-Meder.¹⁸⁰ From this, Agäw- Meder was one *Woräda* that was led by *Däjäzmač* Tadämä Zäläqä with the seat at Injebara, which comprise Guwanguwa, Wombära, Zigäm and Segadi, present-day Mätäkäl with the exception of Guba and Dangur. This administrative structure lasted until 1946 after the second decree.¹⁸¹

As indicated above, the first decree placed Mätäkäl under Gojjam *Awraja* with the exception of Dangur and Guba districts. According to Jira, Dangur and Guba were placed under Bägèmeder and Sämèn *Awraja* respectively due to communication and geographical hindrance of Bäläs River¹⁸². However his conclusion seems inaccurate, since at the same time there was Dinder or Ayema River between Guba and Bägémder, and Bäläs River between Bäläya and Sämén.¹⁸³ If it was a geographical barrier that forced the government to place Guba and Dangur in Bégémder and Sämén, the setbacks had to be tackled after the reinstallation. However; nothing was done after placement of Guba and Dangur to Mätäkäl. The attempt to construct roads and bridges was made by the Därg.¹⁸⁴ (See appendix-III) Therefore, it was on one hand the intention of British who grip all powers of the country to continue as in pre-Italian political structure of the

¹⁷⁸ Paul B.Henz Layers of....p.134; Ayenew ,A History of....pp.32-33; Harold G.Marcus, A History....p.152.

¹⁷⁹ YäIthiopia Gezat Ministr, YäAgär Gezat Minister Mäṣehét, (AA, Berhanena Slam Matemea Bet, 1950), 10.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁸¹ *ibid*, p.15.

¹⁸² Jira Mekuriya, "A Historical Survey, P.30.

¹⁸³ Informants: Šetu Abäwa, Abé Dubalä, Šebabaw Ayaléw.

¹⁸⁴ NALA, Folder No17,17,01, A letter from, Gojam Sub-provincial administrative council to socialist Ethiopia Minister of principal provincial administrative office, Ref. 004/25/23, Date, 22/8/1968 E.C.

country.¹⁸⁵ Besides, the decree issued in 1942 was opinion. Because the emperor was power curtailed who could not run any political decision and he was unable to overhead the state up to the second Anglo-Ethiopian agreement.¹⁸⁶

In June 1946, the government passed the new administrative decree. According to the new proclamations, the term *Ṭäqlay Gezat* (governorate general) was introduced into the highest hierarchy in the provincial administration. The *Awraja gezat* (sub-province) was established as the next administration hierarchy and the former *Meslané* was renamed as *Woräda* (district) and became the third administrative tier. Consequently, the formerly *Awraja* administrative unit was restructured into *Ṭäqlay Gezat* level; *Worädas* were promoted into *Awraja* as well as *Meslanés* were upgraded to *Worädas*.¹⁸⁷

Mätäkäl Awraja with its seat at QHS was emerged. *Worädas* includes, Guwanguwa ,Wombära Debaṭi ,Mandura ,Dangur Guba and *Meketel Woräda* were ,Segadi , Zigäm ,Azäna, Bäläya ,Omédela . Besides, in 1960s *Meketel worädas* were again merged in to *woräda*’s and Azäna, which was under *Mätäkäl woräda* from 1941, was placed to *Ankäša woräda* in 1960s.¹⁸⁸

As it was in early times, the Agäw people of *Mätäkäl* continued playing their pivotal political role. Indeed, Zäläqä Beru was appointed as the administrator of Segadi up to his natural death in the 1950s. Furthermore, Zäläqä was also overall administrator of the Gumuz area of Mandura. It was placed in the administrative tier of Segadi. First Embiyalä Gäsäsä and later Alämayähu Gäsäsä were posted as the administrator of Guwanguwa. First *Fitawrari Däräso Tässäma* and later Admasu were appointed as administrators of Zigäm.¹⁸⁹

After a sporadic uprising of the Gumuz community in the 1950s, and 1960s Mandura and Debaṭi *worädas* were founded in the 1960s to facilitate the administrative system and to halt instability and turmoil at its infant stage. However, Yerga state that, Mandura *woräda* was

¹⁸⁵ Baharu, *A History of*, pp.179-182.

¹⁸⁶ Baharu, *A History of ----*, pp.179-181; Paul B. Henz, *layer of ...* pp.235-236.

¹⁸⁷ YäAgär Gezat Minister, p.10.

YäAgär Gezat Ministr, p.10; Informant: Abäjähu Assäfa, Fäntahun,, Zäwdu Čäkol

¹⁸⁸ YäAgär Gezat Ministr, p.10; Informant: Abäjähu Assäfa, Fäntahun,, Zäwdu Čäkol;
Getaye Amsal, “An Agricultural History of Ankäša Woräda”, 1941-1991, (MA Thesis, History, BDU, 2019), 18-19;

¹⁸⁹ Informants: Admasu Haylu, Abäjähu Assäfa, Fäntahun, Smanäh, Alämnäh , Saidu Muhammäd

organized as *woräda* in 1940s. This is stated as follows: “A History of Mandura *Wäräda* is part of a history of Gojjam, in general, and Mätäkäl *awraja*, in particular....Mandura was established at the time when the concept of *Wäräda* was developed in 1946”.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, existing primary source and my oral source confirms that Mandura *woräda* was organized as a new *woräda* following sporadic upset of the Gumuz community in the 1960s and *Fitawrari* Iyasu Zäläqä was appointed as the first administrator.¹⁹¹ (See appendix XI).

Meanwhile, the political difference and erstwhile enmity that was seen during fascist occupation between the surrounding *balabats*, especially the dispute between *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru and *Fitawrari* Däräso Tässäma in one group in the name of collaborator and *Fitawrari* Embiyälä Gäsäsä and his brother Alämayäh Gäsäsä on the other group who were patriots, was said to have been concealed by the intervention of *Fitawrari* Yänéw who was well known, feared, respected patriots of Ankäša. Afterward, after reconciliation, it was said to have, the whole *balabat*'s started to respect each other.¹⁹²

The administrative re-organization in the post-liberation period brought significant change in the administrative system. The administrative structure started too tight after the foundation of the administrative center at the nearby province. This has twofold significance for the people and the state. It enabled the government to uproot security problem at a nascent stage, and for the people, it paved the way to solve the administrative problems in a short time, which consume more than a month in the former years. Surprisingly enough, the structure did not bring any socio-political change. The main administrative actors were *balabats*, and the post-liberation period could not be brought any meaningful social change. Simultaneously, *Çeqaşum*, *Aṭibyadaña*, *nāñçläbaš* continued as it was in pre-Italian.¹⁹³ There was no terminology used to coin the *qäbälé*, rather it was named in the name of the church nearby.

¹⁹⁰ Yaregal Dessalegn, “A History Of Mandura *Wäräda*, (1941-2000)”, (MA Thesis, History, BDU, 2014), PP. 21 & 35.

¹⁹¹ Informant: Ayal Engeda, Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Asfa Abäjähu; DMUAC, 1774, from Gojjam governorate general To Mätäkäl *Awraja*, Ref.. 24/2362, Date, 26/3/1953 E.C.

¹⁹² Informants: Mäsärät Gäzhañ, Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zämänu Woräña, Šebabaw Zäwdé.

¹⁹³ Informants: Mäsärät Gäzhañ, Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zämänu Woräña, Šebabaw Zäwdé.



Photo source: Emhuway, Ṭeruworeq Iyasu

Figure 4 Fitawrari Iyasu Zäläqä

Fitawrari Iyasu Zäläqä was the veteran of Mayçäw, forerunner of patriotic leader of Bäläya, the first administrator of Mandura. Besides, he served as the administrator of Dangur, Ačäfär, Yelmana-Dénsa, Méça and Guba.

2.6. The Agäw People of Mätäkäl from the Dawn of Socialism to Eve of Federalism: 1974-1991

Plot, conspiracy, upheaval and political turmoil from different parts of the country from different socio-economic and political career culminated the long-lasting monarchy of forty-four years who was “the elect of God” on 12, September 1974. In this regard, Bahru also writes:

The Revolution was preceded by decades of opposition, both covert and overt. coup d'etat of 1960 marks a watershed in the political opposition in post-Liberation Ethiopia. Before the coup, opposition tended to be conspiratorial and elitist; after it, opposition was more open and mass-based. Opposition to the regime also had many facets. Peasants rebelled against increasing demands on their produce. Nationalities rose in arms for self-determination. Intellectuals struggled for their vision of a just and equitable order. Even some members of the ruling class thought the removal of Hayla-Sellase necessary to avert the total collapse of the socio-economic order.¹⁹⁴

By 1973 Ethiopian phenomena was beyond the imperial control. Meanwhile ,the committee that was constituted on 27-28 June 1973 as Därg, and to rally popular support denounced the slogan “*Itiopia Teqedäm*” Ethiopia First was also dimming the imperial power.¹⁹⁵ This is aptly stated by Andargachew:

Actually, the Derg did consider overthrowing Haile Selassie's government sometime in early July but rejected it because its members could not see eye-to-eye on the subject. However, this did not stand in the way of its actions,

¹⁹⁴ Bahru Zeude, *A History of...* p.209.

¹⁹⁵ Baharu Zewde, *A History of...* p.235; Harold Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia...* p.188.

which it started taking at the same time as it was expressing its allegiance to the Crown and to Endalkachew's cabinet. On 28 June, the Derg had placed the mass media under its control. In July and August, it used radio, television, newspapers, letters to government departments, the backing of the army and the police, and the guidance of 'Ethiopia First' to exercise increasingly significant executive and legislative functions to the detriment of the powers of the cabinet, the King and parliament - a move which has aptly been described as the 'creeping coup'.¹⁹⁶

After eroding the entire ancient regime officials systematically, the king became prey and finally the emperor was deposed and detained at fourth division, which was the very origin of Därg. And also, the proclamation that deposed the emperor transformed the Därg into PMAC, which assumed full state power.¹⁹⁷

After the coming of PMAC to power, a new political atmosphere started to whizz in the Mätäkäl and its environs. Also, it was said to have *Guwad* was assigned by PMAC to accentuate the newly government and to maintain peace and security. Albeit, there was nothing that could jeopardize the new regime in the area, *tebäqa guwad* literary guardians, were recruited from six *worädas* of Mätäkäl by considering their socio-political aspect and were trend in Čageni for fifteen days.¹⁹⁸ Why the socio-political background was considered as the criteria was that, *balabat's* who were considered as beneficiaries of the former government were suspected of being the threat of revolution. They were humiliated by the words and were considered as (*Adharian*) reactionaries.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, entire people were organized into different socio-biological entities. Based on sex and age different parties were said to have been organized. Subsequently, females' REWA (Revolutionary Ethiopia Women Association) REFA (Revolutionary Ethiopia Farmers Association), REYA, (Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association) were organized.²⁰⁰ There are different sources regarding this association. My informant Mäsärät Güzahañ and Zämäñau Woräña state that this association was instituted to incite the people politically. Further, they extend their idea that it was a pillar to create the cadres that were active in the politics of

¹⁹⁶ Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian revolution 1974-1987 A transformation from an aristocratic to a totalitarian autocracy*, (Cambridge University press, 1995), pp. 66-67.

¹⁹⁷ Harold G Marcus, *Ethiopia* . . . , pp. 188-189; Baharu, *A History of* . . . , p. 236; Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution* . . . , pp. 70.

¹⁹⁸ Informants: Šebabaw Šetu, Säwagäñ Enyāw

¹⁹⁹ Informants: Mäsärät Güzahañ, Zämäñu Woräña, Smanäh Alämnäh, Šetu Abäwa,

²⁰⁰ Informants: Mäsärät Güzahañ, Zämäñu Woräña, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Šetu Abäwa,

Därg.²⁰¹ Nevertheless, another informant stated that, it was not to awake people rather it was used to tighten the government administration on the one hand and was used to control the insurgents the criminals.²⁰²

The people of Mätäkäl were organized into these three political entities without socio-political segregation. After they were organized, the members had to pay the annual membership fee. Therefore, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were not exceptional from organizing themselves into different political entities and were actively engaged. Not only engaged in membership, but also paid the membership fee.²⁰³ (See Appendix-XII).

Apart from the association the Därg was the pioneer in re-structuring the Qäbälé which was formerly named after the nearby churches, the leaders of qäbälé had the titles like, Yäqäblé liqä mänebär, Yäqäbälé Šäonego Yäqäbälé Ṭaṭaqi, jointly yäqäbälé Šumäñoč. According to my informant, this administrative tier was assigned to perform governmental works at the qäbälé level. Indeed, Šäonego to give judgment at qäbälé level, Ṭaṭaqi to catch qäbälé criminal's leqä mänebär to supervise the overall function of his comrades.²⁰⁴

As for the Därg, it was these administrative tiers that play a significant role in seventeen years of hegemony. Thus, it was said to have this administrative hierarchy enabled to collect tax on time, collect expenses for natural and human disasters and to recruit soldiers.²⁰⁵

Sufficiently, my informant asserts that following “motherland call” of Därg in 1977, which was launched following the invasion of Somali, there were a number of personalities who campaigned to war front. According to informant, Menalä and Täsära were voluntary joint militia and they were the former veterans of Kara-Mara and Jejega. And, they were infused with images of war songs and pledges of readiness to die 'not the death of a dog, but the death of a lion' in the course of rescuing the Ethiopian people from the enemy. Then, they marched to Ṭaṭäq and they trained for three months then after they started to repulse the invading force. Menale

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Informants: Abé Dubalä, Šebabaw Ayaléw

²⁰³ Personal receipt photo taken from Gumadi during field work, Dated, 24/9/1981 E.C.

²⁰⁴ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Mäsärät Gäzahañ, Šetu Abäwa, Gétahun Abäwa

²⁰⁵ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Ayal Engeda,

state that, he fought in the battle of Deré-Däwa-Däga-Habur, Jegjega and Kara-Mara.²⁰⁶ Zämänu and Gètahun added that the first Agäw music traditional band named Mentamer and Šetunäh went to war front up to Kara-Mara to boost the morale of the Agäw warriors.²⁰⁷

Apart from the aspirant response for motherland call, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl had also played a decisive role in the economy of Därg. They had paid “*Inat Hagär Dhenenät Mäwaço*” literary motherland security fee, that was intentionally collected from the peasants to compensate the economic expenses of the government in the war front.²⁰⁸ (See Appendix-XIV). It was reported that the Agäw people of Mätäkäl supported naturally affected area. To this end, local people contributed money termed in Amharic *Bädereq Lätgodu wognoč mäwçao* (literary Contribution to assist victims of drought).²⁰⁹ (See appendix XV).

Finally, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were tired by war and contribution in the Därg. Therefore, the people started to oppose against the military and even came to rally behind the insurgent in different means ranging from material to intelligence and armed struggle. Onward, the EPRP started counter offensive by using Omédela and Quara as their military headquarter. Consequently, it was in June 1991 that the EPRDF occupied Mätäkäl and started to maintain insecurity.²¹⁰

2.7. The Agäw People of Mätäkäl and Insurgence: 1940s-1990s

2.7.1. Däjač Bälay upraising and the Agäw people of Mätäkäl

A considerable number of researchers agree that *Däjazmač* Bälay Zäläqä was one of the famous patriots who bravely fought Fascist Italians in Gojjam. He was “charmistic and popular” who won fame in his locality and elsewhere beyond.²¹¹ However, he did not belong to *Balabts* who

²⁰⁶ Informant s: Täsära , & Menälä , the later one is not only a veteran of Kara -Mara which is resounding battle over the invading force of Zeyid Bari, But also he was the member of the Därg army who served for seventeen years and live with two bullets in his body . Indecently , he is living street life in Mandura , Gänätä-Maryam town

²⁰⁷ Informants Zämänu Woräña & Gètahun

²⁰⁸ Informants : Täsälä Guwadé, Dañaw Engeda; Personal receipt obtained from Gumadi, Mandura during field work, Dated, 9/8/1982 E.C.

²⁰⁹ Personal Receipt obtained from Ambäla, Guwanguwa, during interview , Dated, 1978 E.C.

²¹⁰ Informants: Yänébat Aräga, Šebabaw Zäwdé, Dämläš Dämläw.

²¹¹ Baharu Zewde, *A History of ...* p.210.

were legitimate local ruling family or and even he did not have administrative experience before except his outstanding heroic deed during fascist occupation years.²¹²

The restoration of emperor to his throne did not get universal support. There were patriots who welcomed him as their legitimate ruler, there were a few who opposed his restoration to the throne after spending the occupation years in the relatively safety of exile while they were staking out their lives for liberation case.²¹³ Such displeasure became grave when their post liberation reward was deemed unequal with the sacrifices, they had sustained.²¹⁴

In Gojjam, following liberation of Ethiopia, Haylu Bälāw was promoted to *Ras* and Mängäša Jämbäré to *Bitwoded*. The first was made governor-general of Gojjam while the latter was appointed a vice-governor. However, Bälāy was assigned as the governor of his native district, Bičäna with the title *Däjazmač*. This was an unexpected title. Consequently, Bälāy demurred and felt deceived by such an unexpected political arrangement. He refused to obey the authority of the governor general and even central government. As the governor of Bičäna, he exercised power of his own will and went on to promote and demote officials in his district.²¹⁵ Rejecting repeated imperial requests to come to peace talks, Bälāy went to a plateau known as Somma Bäräha and began banditry. According to informants and secondary sources, the rebel *Däjazmač* fortified in a great mountain bordering Quarit, Däga-Damot and Hulät Eju Ennäsé. In February 1943, joint forces of Gojjam and the central government managed to invade Bičäna and capture Bälāy.²¹⁶ On the failure of this force to do so, militia was mobilized from Moṭa, Damot and Agäw-Meder and deployed onto the above-mentioned plateau. Subsequently, recruited militias from the Agäw people of Mätäkäl under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Embiyälä Gäsäsä, *Däjazmač* Zäläqä Beru, and *Fitawrari* Däräso Tässäma marched to Somma.²¹⁷ Surprised at the arrival of forces from Agäw-Meder, Bälāy was said to have expressed as follows:

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Baharu Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia, The Ethiopian Students' Movement, 1960-1974*, (AA, AAUP, 2014), P.53.

²¹⁵ Baharu Zewde, *A History of ...* p.210.

²¹⁶ Misikir, "A Political History of Agew –Medir....p.54; Informants: Assäfa Abäjähu, Ejegu Mogäs, Täšälä Yesmaw.

²¹⁷ Informants: Yegezaw Embiyälä, Täšäl äYesmaw, Ejegu Mogäs

“እነሴና እነብሴን ፈትፍቶ ባጎርሰዉ፤
አገዉ ምድር መጣ አጀን ያልቀመሰዉ።”

When I spoon fed Enäsé and Enabsé, Agäw-Meder, who hadn't tasted my hands came over²¹⁸

Then, the forces of Agäw-Meder responded.

“ያልተገራ ፈረስ ኮስትር እያላችሁ፤
እስኪ መጨረሻዉ እንዳይቸግራችሁ”

Calling the untrained horse [Bälay] the invincible man, you will be in trouble.²¹⁹

Following such metaphoric boasting, armies, the forces sent from Damot and Agäw-Meder encircled the summit where Bälay fortified. Finally, in the turn of the Agäw of Mätäkäl militias his boost was thawed following his fighter's desert and the contesting commitment to dash his xenophobic character.²²⁰ He was finally defeated and captured in April 1943.²²¹

2.7.2. Post Liberation Gumuz upraising and the Agäw People of Mätäkäl

The Gumuz community of Mätäkäl started to show a sporadic rebellious character after 1950s. It was especially after the death of *Däjač* Zäläqä Beru.²²² Nevertheless, Tsega states that, it was after the death of *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Ligu in 1944 rather Zäläqä Beru, that the Gumuz started to show misbehaving.²²³ However, the existing primary and oral sources state that, Zäläqä Ligu was considered by the Gumuz community as their rival rather than their friend. It was from Bäläya which was the seat of Zäläqä Ligu *Adema*, who were joint slave raiders from Gojjam, Gondär and Šäwa raided them. Therefore, his death meant to them their freedom.²²⁴ On the other hand, it was not in 1944 that the leader deceased, rather it was in April 1940 that Zäläqä Ligu passed away which is to mean when the country was in hot fighting with Italians for freedom.²²⁵ Moreover, Jira Mekuria and Bazezew state that the deceitfulness of the Agäw tax collectors was the cause for the Gumuz people's upset. They tried to underline that the Agäw

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Misikir, "A Political History of Agew –Medir....p.54; Informants: Assäfa Abäjähu, Ejegu Mogäs, Täšälä

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Baharu Zewde, *The quest for Socialist....* p.53.

²²² Informants: Täšälä Yesmaw, Admasu Haylu, Zäwdu Čäkol

²²³ Tsegaw Inter ethnic.....p.70.

²²⁴ Informants: Mäsärät Šewa, Jägenamaw Amarä, Adäla Guq

²²⁵ IES, የአርበኞች ደብዳቤ (1929-1930) ፈይል ቁጥር 1799ሀ አቶ ታደሠ ገብረ-መደህን ለቀ/ኃ/ሥ እና ለሌሎች የጻፏቸዉ ደብዳቤዎች እንዲሁም ሌሎች አርበኞች እርስ በእርሳቸዉ የተጻጻፏቸዉ ደብዳቤዎች

elders collected taxes from the Gumuz community, and exploited and even cheated the Gumuz people.²²⁶

Nevertheless, my informants from both ethnic groups confirm that, there were tax collectors of Gumuz from each clan and the sole responsibility of the Agäw elders was not beyond notifying the tax year. In Mandura, Dač clan, Begay, Aguwadera, Dapud clan, Dimen, Baro, Zanti, Dahuwa clan, Ambeqi, Kumati, Qurt, Dafili clan, wubgani were the tax collectors assigned by the government. In Debaṭi, in Gäsäsä clan, Wadem, in Debaguṭena, Linta Geži were appointed Gumuz elders by the central government to collect tax.²²⁷ This is confirmed by the governmental report of 1947, E.C, which state that, *Çeqašum* from the Gumuz people were appointed to facilitate the administrative system as in early years and were rewarded with the cloth. However, the report could not enlist the rewarded Gumuz *Çeqašum*.²²⁸ Therefore, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were intermediate people. This is not to mean the administrative system was pure from embezzlement what was performed as elsewhere. Rather, it is to underline that embezzlement what was performed in the area was performed by the two ethnic group *Çeqašums*. In any case, it was reported that, the appointees of Agäw met and notified to those tax collectors of certain Gumuz clan and after tax was collected, they brought and submitted the collected tax to government officials with the Gumuz elder of that clanship.²²⁹ Besides, it is to remark that, it was not push factor for upraising.

Obviously, the causes of the upraising were the death of *Däjač Zäläqä Beru* and spontaneous re-settlements. The Gumuz of Mandura and Debaṭi considered him as their real lord. Besides, Zäläqä Beru was their master during the five years of occupation. He also organized them to combat with *Fitawrari Embiyalä Gäsäsä* at the battle of Dura. Above all, it was on behalf of Zäläqä Beru that prominent Gumuz leaders escorted the emperor from Bäläya to Čageni. This respected, feared and welcomed leader of the Gumuz died at the end of 1940s. What triggered the situation was the delay to appoint other officials over the former territories Zäläqä and the uprising of Admasu who was the nephew of deceased leader against *Fitawrari Embiyalä Gäsäsä*. Admasu claimed the governorship of territories that had once under his uncle and he urged them

²²⁶ Jira Mekuria A Historical Survey of Gumuz, ...p;45. Bazezew Gelaw A History of Čagni. ...p.27.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ DMU, 1233. To Gojam governorate general Däbrä-Maqos

²²⁹ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäläqä Ambayä, Mäsärät Sewa

not to accept any other leaders other than the relatives of Zäläqä Beru. Hence he think that, the real administrative position belong to Beru's family instead of grandson *Fitawrari* Embiyalä. Finally this instability was ended for short period of time following the visit of *Ras Käbädä Täsäma* who was *Endärasé* of Gojjam *Ṭäqelay Gezat* in 1940s E.C. *Endärasé* forced the Gumuz community to pave the way from Čageni to Däbrä-Zäyt or Wombära and forced Admasu to surrender.²³⁰

Another cause of dispute was associated with spontaneous re-settlers in the area. This is supported by primary source, which is stated as follows:

“በ[ጉምዞች] እና በነገደ ወሎዎች መካከል ምንጊዜም ጸቡ አይበርድም፡፡ ምክንያቱም ከመንታ-ዉሃ እስከ ዳች ግብር-ጠልነው በማለት መንግስት በተረከበዉ ምክንያት ዘወትር ግጭት እየተነሳ ደም ሚፈስስበት እና የእርስ በእርስም ግጭት ምክንያትም ይህነው”፡፡

There is protracted conflict between the [Gumuz] and re-settlers. Because of the land that stretches from Mänta-Wuha to Dač, that the government considered *geber ṭäl*. Thus, the land is a source of conflict and bloodsheds.²³¹ (See also appendix-XIII)

The Gumuz community disliked the re-settlers who settled spontaneously and government-sponsored re-settlement of 1960s. The re-settlers were said to have been settled around Mänta-Wuha and from Mandura to Gumadi. Then these new settlers started to cut big trees around themselves and started ox's plow agricultural system in Mänta-wuha area. Meanwhile, the settlers named *Zälan* literary herders from Mandura to Gumadi also continued their stock raising. Then, hoe-agriculturalist people Gumuz community started to think about being sequestered economically by the resettled community. They realized the situation that hunting game and wild fruit that was and still is the basic supplement of their economy was in a state of dwindling since the re-settlers.²³²

A rolled problem that has been covertly flaring since the 1950s finally erupted in the 1960s. What triggered the situation was the death of Agažé, assigned by the government to notify the tax years. Uhis Kauča who was either his nephew or half-brother of Lambeča was said to have

²³⁰ *Ibid*; Bazezew pp.24-25.

²³¹ DMU,167,08.09 To Gojjam governorate general,Ref.1090/264/147,Date,29/3/1961 E.C.

²³² Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol,Sämanäh Alämnäh,Admasu Haylu,Gétahun Zäläqä.

killed Agažé and took his alphine when the deceased was sleeping in the hut house given by Lambeča.²³³ Thereafter, the government deployed a formidable army against the rebelled groups that was commanded by General Lämessa Bädaso, who was the General of the Federal army at the time. This incident alarmed the whole Agäw *balabat's* and forced them to campaign with the government forces.²³⁴

Indeed, the Agäw fighters from Bäläya under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Iyasu Zäläqä and vise leader *Däjač* Mäkuria Bezunäh assigned to fight the war from the Guba to Debaṭi *Däjač* Tadässä Jämbärä and *Gerač* Rāta Täklé the Agäw fighters from Guwanguwa woräda were assigned to fight from Čageni to Mandura and from Gumadi to Mandura. Furthermore, the government force-marched from Čageni to Debaṭi by two subtle Agäw men, namely Ademas Bitwa and Kassahun Yegezaw. Subsequently, the two personalities who pioneered the route to Debaṭi reward with alphine from government officials.²³⁵

The Gumuz community also gave valuable information for the government forces about the insurgents' war logistic and the weapon that the enemy had. Consequently, around 1962, the upraising was over and the situation forced the government to found administrative centers in Mandura and Debaṭi. After sporadic upraising and the handing of self-named Colonel Lambeča the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were said to have been composed the following short couplet.

ላምቤታ ኮረኔሊ ይንተኝ ካርኒሊ፡፡

Colonel lanbeča, was incarcerated with the receipt.²³⁶

From this couplet, one can draw that in one hand self-proclaimed colonel was caught and on the other hand the receipt that the government gave him was also brought.

Wahis, who was suspected in the death of Agažé was said to have been killed in the war confrontation and the people of Agäw composed the following couplet

ዋሂስ ጉንዳ ቲጉኻ ብንዳ

Wahis Gunda you are beaten (killed) near river.²³⁷

²³³ Informant: Täšälä Yesmaw, Tamer Terunäh, Tamer Worqé

²³⁴ *ibid*

²³⁵ Informants: Abé Dubal, Säwagäñ Enyāw Tamer Wondem, Tamer Worqé

²³⁶ *Ibid*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

Despite the government's action that was taken to ease Lambeča's revolt, the Gumuz people of Mätäkäl couldn't erase outpouring nature of being encroached by the resettles. Moreover, they continued the war with spontaneous resettles. In this round combat, the Gumuz people forced the resettles to evade the former resettlement area of Dač Aläm-Şähay and Çäräqa. Furthermore, they attempted to control Mänta-wuha that was police station.²³⁸(see appendix-XVI).Moreover, the Gumuz also started to kill indiscriminately Zälan who settled from Mandura to Gumadi.My informant Zäwdu state that only three individuals were escaped from the herders who settled in this area. Here Again apart from the direct war engagement with the insurgents, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were intermediacy in settling and concealing the situation to brought lasting peace in Mätäkäl. Consequently, suspected criminals were sought and detained. ²³⁹(See appendix-XVII)



Photo source Mastäwal Mäkuriaw

Figure 5 .Däjač Mäkuriaw Bezunäh

Däjač Mäkuriaw Bezunäh (1900-1991) a veteran of Mayčäw, the patriot of Bäläya, the vanguard to quell the Gumuz people uprising, the wise governor of Omédela, Segadi, Azäna and Wombära and finally the administrator of Mandura in post revolution.

2.7.3. The Agäw people of Mätäkäl and insurgent during the Därg regime

The proclamation that deposed the emperor transformed the Därg into PMAC, which assumed full state power. In spite of their socialist political philosophies, students, university professors,

²³⁸NALA,17,11,15,01,A letter to Imperial government to Minister of principal provincial governorate ,Ref.101/44/20,Date,29/2/1961 E.C.

²³⁹ DMUAC,64,03,05,To Gojjam governorate general ,Ref...Date,8/2/1962 E.C ; Informants: Abe Dubal,Säwagäñ Enyäu Tamer Wondem,Tamer Worqé

CELU and leftist organizations, armed groups, and army aviation all conspired against the establishment of PMAC ²⁴⁰. In the end, MESON and EPRP, two once underground organizations, provided the most significant opposition.²⁴¹

To quell the situation that the PMAC encountered at very stage it used a “carrot and stick” approach up to grounding its power. Subsequently, by using different methods the Därg wiped the opponents from urban centers to rural areas. Indeed, *Abyot Ṭebäqa* which was intentionally instituted to repress the opponents played a pivotal role in this regard.²⁴²

The well-known insurgent group in Mätäkäl during the Därg regime was EPRP which was said to have been sown and endured its fruit following development through cooperation commonly known as *Edegät Bähebrät Zämäća*. This insurgent group was renowned by their leader, Ayalnäš. She was said to have been a daughter of *Fitawrari* Seménäh Dästa, who threatened the Därg movement in Çara and its environs and was finally caught and was beheaded. Thence, his daughter Ayalnäš, stood to fight Därg and to revenge her father’s death.²⁴³ Here Wondemene stated that she was not the daughter of Seménäh Dästa and she used the brand to gain palatability from the people. Since he was prominent and welcomed anti- Därg agitator in Mätäkäl and Agäw-Meder at that time.²⁴⁴ The EPRP movement was the insurgents that shook the Därgs movement in Mätäkäl.²⁴⁵ To dispel the insurgent, the Därg had mobilized the *qäbälé ṭebäqa* and formerly *näçläbaš*. In the 1970s and 1980s, it is said to have the Därg got upper hand over his opponents and expelled them to the Ethio-Sudanese border.²⁴⁶

However, the situation was reverted since in the second half of 1980s, because of the people of the Agäw were tired by the recurrent wars and started to bid the insurgent groups.²⁴⁷ Then, EPRP started counter-offence by using Omédela and Quwara as their military base. In 1990 at the battle of Qoṭa, the insurgents devastated about eight military trucks with soldiers. In the same year, Pawé, which was once the administrative and Ṭan Bäläs clandestine project center of Därg was

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Baharu, *A History of Ethiopia*.....,p236.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Jacob Wiebe, "Let the Red Terror Intensify": Political Violence, Governance and Society in Urban Ethiopia, 1976-78, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 48, No.1, pp.14-21.

²⁴³ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Admasu Haylu, Gétahun Zäläqä.

²⁴⁴ Wondemeneh Adera, “EPRP’S Resistance In Mätäkäl (c.1982-1991)”, (MA thesis, History, BDU, 2018), PP.111-113.

²⁴⁵ Informants: Šebabaw Zäwdé, Tamer Worqé, Yawnäw Beru, Täšälä Guwadé.

²⁴⁶ Informants: Gäthaun Zäwdu Čäkol, Täšälä Guwadé, Dañä Engeda.

²⁴⁷ Informants: Šetu Abäwa, Šebabaw Zäwdé, Šebabaw Ayaléw.

also swept from the hands of the government.²⁴⁸(See also appendix-XVIII) At the same time,Därg lost the battle in Wombära at the battle of Bolalé in the same year. Furthermore, there was also bitter fighting at the battle of Addis Alām near Mänta-Wuha whom the insurgents once again defeated government forces. Then the insurgents crossed to Zigām and there again the government force was also devastated.²⁴⁹Surprisingly; Čageni was still under the control of the government force. Because of the presence of different organized military including *Abat Țor* that committed to fight the insurgents. Then the people were said to have composed the following pome:

አያልነሽ ታካያ ቻግኔግ ታቻያ?

አያልነሽ ምራቴ(ምትኬ) ቻግኒ ጠፋሽ እንዴ?

My alternate Ayalnäš why could you not entre Čageni?²⁵⁰

Here it is the tradition to name the second daughter in -law as an alternate in Agäw culture, so the Agäw people call her as she was daughter in-law. And also, it is possible to understand the people considered them freedom fighters who were near to them and inclined towards them.

Finally, it was in June 1991 that the EPRDF occupied and started to maintain insecurity. After the aforementioned success, the new government made the boundary in 1991 .And re-organization of regional administration system in the country placed Mätäkäl Zone to Benišangul-Gumuz Regional State. Officials of both the Guwangwua (Agäw) and the Mätäkäl Zone (Benishangul-Gumuz) agreed that the nearby Karr Mountain range serves as the boundary between the two regions.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Informants:Yäsiharäg,Mängest Gädefäw;DMU,1632,62,Yä1980 Yädähenenät Riport(Security Report of 1980 E.C) Ref...Date,1980 E.C.

²⁴⁹ Informants:Yäsiwas Haylu,Sämanäh Alämnäh,Täšalä Guwadé; Wondemeneh Adera, EPRP'S...,pp.89-93.

²⁵⁰ Informants:Ademasu Haylu,Ayal Engeda,Dämäläš Dämeläw

²⁵¹ Informants:Sämanäh Alämnäh,Aäbäbä Täfära,Ayal Engida

2.8. The Political Interactions of the Agäw People with Neighboring People

I. The Agäw –Gumuz interaction

Politically, the Gumuz of Guba and the Agäw of Mätäkäl jointly guarded the frontier since boundary delimitation. It was also with the Gumuz people that the Agäw of Mätäkäl warmly welcomed the emperor during his entry from exile. Simultaneously, it was with the Gumuz of Mandura and Debaṭi that, the insurgent group what is still remembered as Lanbeča revolt was smash down.²⁵² The Gumuz contributed, in the showing the defensive position of the insurgent, in spying and intelligence. Here, Tsäga and Jira state that the 1960s Gumuz upraise was the revolt to end the “patron-silent” relation with the Oromo and other highlanders like Agäw.²⁵³ Nevertheless, it seems ill-fitting to the situation on one way and it overwhelms the political role of Gumuz community that they were played in administrative system by itself. According to my informants Zäwdu and Zäläqä who were active and as well as capitalized relations with Gumuz assert that, politically the Gumuz people had their own *Çeqašum* appointees who were appointed by local administrators who facilitated the administrative system of his people. Insofar, the role of Agäw chiefs in Gumuz community was not beyond notifying to bring the tax to *Mägest gemeja* bét. To some extent, they may act as advisors in administrative schemes. Therefore, the internal administrative system was left to Gumuz *balabat*’s. The Agäw people and Gumuz people have had strong political relations during in the period under dissuasion.²⁵⁴

II. The Agäw- Šenaša Interaction

Politically, the Boro-Šenaša of Dangur and its surroundings were ruled by the Agäw chief called *Fitawrari* Zäläqä Liqu. Following his death, his son Eyasu Zäläqä became the governor of Tumha, Agäw-Meder and Bäläya, up to Dangur district. Furthermore, the Šenaša of Debaṭi and its environs were administered by the local chief of Agäw namely Beru Woledä-Gäbr-eal, in pre occupation years, during the occupation years by *Fitawrari* Derässä Tässäma of Zigäm and Däjač Zäläqä Beru of Moča in the post-liberation up to 1960s by *Fitawrari* Embiyalä Gäsässä. Thus, the Agäw chiefs administered by assigning the local *Çeqašum* from Šenaša.²⁵⁵

²⁵² Informants: Assäfa Abäjähu, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Täšälä Yesmaw, Zäwdu Čäkol

²⁵³ Jira Mekuria, A History of..., pp31-32&37; Tsega Endalew, Inter-Ethnic..., pp, 124-125.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵⁵ Fenta Shiferaw, “A Historical Survey Of Boro-Šenaša People Of Mätäkäl, Northwestern Ethiopia: ca. 1890s – 1991”, (MA Thesis, History, JU, 2017), pp. 19-20; Informants: Säwagä Säwnät, Assäfa Abäjähu, Zäwdu Čäkol

III. The Agäw-Oromo political Interaction

In the course of incorporation, the Agäw chief namely Beru-Woldä-Gebr-eal was said to have accompanied *Negus* Täklä-Haymanot and jointly occupied the Oromo of Wombära. Besides, it was reported that the Oromo of Zigäm and its environs were administered by the Agäw chiefs. Moreover, to maintain the soil of Ethiopia from invaders, the Oromo people of Wombära under the leadership of Biftu Anno accompanied to the northern front with his counterpart Zäläqä Liqu and Embiyälä Gäsäsä of Bäläya and Segadi respectively.²⁵⁶ After his return from the northern front, as his counterpart Agäw chiefs, he organized and sacrificed the time and labor as patriots.²⁵⁷ Following the sporadic rebellious uprising of Gumuz it is said to have the two ethnic groups political elite and the two people highly engaged to smash down the event that was happened in the area.²⁵⁸

IV. The Agäw-Amhara interactions

The two peoples had strong political ties. The Agäw people were said to have pro-Täklä-Haymanot who accompanied him to incorporate Wombära, they had also quasi- autonomous who's their hereditary leadership was affirmed by the Gojjamé ruling family and finally it was with the Gojjamé force that they accompanied to northern front. In the post-liberation period, the two ethnic groups sacrificed in pacifying the region and the country.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶Tsega Endalew, *The Oromo...* p.45; informants; Sämanäh Alämnäh, Assäfa Abäjähu

²⁵⁷*Ibid*

²⁵⁸*Ibid*

²⁵⁹*Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

3. ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE AGÄW PEOPLE OF MÄTÄKÄL: 1902-1991

3.1. Land Tenure System: 1902-1991

Land, for most Ethiopians, was central to life. From land come sustenance, status and often-political power. "In the agricultural societies of highland Ethiopia, to have rights over land is to be human. To be landless is to be sub-human".²⁶⁰

Land has been deep rooted among the Agäw people of Mätäkäl particularly and the Agäw people of Agäw-Meder generally. My informant attested that land has been life and that is why the Agäw people express their displeasure and blessing as, ብተ፡ አኹ ይግህ (let land and water endure you) ብተ፡ አኹ ካንትግህ (let land and water see you).²⁶¹

Meanwhile, in the Gojjam land tenure system was unique in its nature. Each plot of land was thought by its inhabitants to have been founded many generations ago by a "chief father," and it was from this chief father that most rights over land or tribute from land derive. These rights were of two general kinds: rest and gult.²⁶² (See also appendix-XIX).

Rest was the right to inherit a portion of the chief father's land through lineal descent. Beginning with men or woman, the relationship traced bilaterally. It was a hereditary system of land ownership and use. A person's particular genealogical position determines the exact percentage he was able to claim a physical parcel or parcels in which he claims the share. A claimant's chances of winning were particularly higher if a close ancestor had previously worked the property in question.²⁶³

A *Gult right* was a typically non-heritable claim to all or a portion of the tribute that a landowner would typically owe to the ruler. The recipient of this tribute has the obligation to carry out a number of judicial and administrative tasks in addition to the right to revenue, goods or services. The assignee was referred to as *balagult*, "the owner of the gult," since at the height of the

²⁶⁰ Harrison C. Dunning, "Land reform in Ethiopia: case study in Non-Development", V.18.No.271.p.271.

²⁶¹ Informants: Sämanäh Almenäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Abé Dubal Tamer Terunäh

²⁶² Habtamu Mengistie, Lord, Zega And Peasant In Eastern Gojjam, C.1767-1901", (MA Thesis, History, AAU, 2003), PP.14-22; NALA, 17,1,11,15,01, A Letter written to Provincial governorate general, Ref...Date, 27/2/1965 E.C.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

system, his duties were essentially governmental.²⁶⁴ Moreover, there was *Semon* land, which was given to the church and also *Yämadäria* land, which was also given for the governmental service that the individual rendered.²⁶⁵

The land tenure system that was entertained in the Gojjam was practiced by the Agäw people of Mätäkäl and its environs. There were *rest* landholders who were believed by local people as *balabat's* who were “men of blood” of the founding father of Mätäkäl. Simultaneously, there was *semon* land, which was guaranteed to the Orthodox Church. According to oral and archival sources there were fifty *balabat's* who were owners of land in Mätäkäl.²⁶⁶ (See appendix XX). These landholders distributed each parish of land for their family and their relatives. Thus, those who were landless were obliged to pay multiple of fees for land owners.²⁶⁷

In 1950s, the land measurement system was introduced in Mätäkäl. Indeed, *Qumälé* which was a rope made of leather was used by local Agäw peoples to measure the land. According to the 1950s land measurement and division, the land was divided based on its fertility, into *läm*, *läm-ṭäf* and *ṭäf*, literary cultivable, semi-cultivable and uncultivable. In such fertility measure, land was divided as *Yäbétä-Mängest* and *Yäbét-Kehenät* and there was 546 *qumälé* of *läm*, 322 *qumälé* of *läm ṭäf* and 2423 of *ṭäf* in Mätäkäl *Yäbétä-Mängest* land and *Yäbét-Kehenät*, *läm* 484, *läm-ṭäf*, 6 and *ṭäf*, 2 *quml*.²⁶⁸ (See also appendix-XXI-B)

Following self- sponsored resettlement of Wollo people in the area it was said to have, the Agäw local chiefs distributed the land for the immigrants.²⁶⁹ However, Nugussie state that,

native settlers of the Awi... community were not interested regarding Muslim settlement on their fertile land. They feared that the significant number of Muslim migration to the area could lead to shortage of their fertile farm land... Thence, the seven house of Agäw family namely ;Kokura, Čhara, Ankäša, Banja, Azäna, Mätäkäl and Zigäm resisted Wollo Muslims not to cross Teski River and even decided to expel who settled early... Since the 1960s Wollo Muslims settled in

²⁶⁴ Temesgen Gebeyehu, “Peasants, land reform and property right in Ethiopia: The experience of Gojjam Province, 1974 to 1997”, *Journal of African Studies and Development*, Vol. 5(6), pp. 145-156, October, 2013 DOI: 10.5897/JASD12.056 ISSN 2141 -2189 ©2013 Academic Journals
<http://www.academicjournals.org/JASD,pp.148-150>.

²⁶⁵ Habtamu Mengistie..p.22.

²⁶⁶ Informants:Tamer Worqé,Tamer Wondem,Smanäh Alämnäh ;NALA,11,1,08,14,01 Report from Mätäkäl Awraja to Minister of interior ,Ref...Date..

²⁶⁷ Informants:Tamer Worqé,Tamer Wondem,Smanäh Alämnäh

²⁶⁸ WMTAC, 160,Report from Mätäkäl to Gojjam governorate general,Ref.7046/6,Date,25/8/1944 E.C.

²⁶⁹ Informants :Säidu Muhé,Täšälä Yesmaw,Tamer Worqé

and around the areas of Mäntawuha town fearing the threat of Agäws...the Gumuz committed to expel Muslims and they informed all of their families to fight against them. Then after, the Gumuz carried out guerrilla war...The Agäw balabats collaborated with the Gumuz against the Muslim settlement in the Gumuz areas.²⁷⁰

From this one can perceive that there were repeated joint attempts from the Gumuz and Agäw peoples to expel them from the area. It seems an erroneous conclusion and far from the truth.

My informants state that it was the Agäw local chiefs, namely Bitäwa Agedäw, Gäbäyähü Tässäma, Ali Tässäma Ademas Adäla, Agafari Agalu who welcomed and persuaded local people and distributed the land to re-settlers in Mänta-Wuha, Dawur Čageni around present-day Bolé and Worwora.²⁷¹ In fact, there was a minor clash between Wollo re-settlers and Agäw people of Mätäkäl around the Teski River, which was erupted because of their work on the unworkable days of St.Mary and like days.²⁷²

Following the 1970s, nationalization of land, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl redistributed their land without any opposition; hence, there was no shortage of land in the area. Thus, land was distributed without land measurement by local *gemač*.²⁷³ Moreover, my informant Géthun and Belata Tamer state that the land redistribution during the Därg regime was not new phenomena for Mätäkäl people and the people distributed the land according to the proclamation. Since the people had the experience of land distribution during the imperial period for spontaneous settlers.²⁷⁴ Here my informant, Takälä Dästa states that the proclamation was heart fully supported by tenants. Nevertheless, the landowners were not sure what to do and were half-hearted about the decision. It was in this situation that the new proclamation was grounded. Consequently, the tenants were said to have composed the following couplet:

ባላባቲ ይገሰቲ ምጊስታ እላህ አንኳ ጉሊቲ፡፡

Greedy *balabat*, you won't own five granaries hereafter.²⁷⁵

From this, one important point is that, the tenants were pleased by the distribution of land.

²⁷⁰ Nuguse, "A History of Muslim people in Mätäkäl", (MA Thesis, History, BDU, 2018), pp. 21-24.

²⁷¹ Informants: Gétahun Zäläqä, Yshiwas Haylu, Tamer Worqé, Yawnäw Beru.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ Informants: Tamer Ṭerunäh & Gétahun Zäläqä

²⁷⁵ Informants: Takälä Dästa & Gétahun Zäläqä

After the demise of the Därg (military socialist) regime, the decree of TGE in its declaration on economic policy announced the continuation of the land policy of the Därg regime.²⁷⁶

The first land measurement, which evicted and directly affected the peasants in Mätäkäl was applied by TGE. There was land redistribution for peasants by using *gämäd*. It was local Därg officials who were forcibly evicted from their land and were said to have “bureaucrat”: Those who were considered as formerly Därg officials and “bureaucrats”, thus, these officials were forced to hold only two hectares or four *qada* lands only. According to my informant, the land redistribution was the penalty against the support of the people to EPRP. Because it was EPRP that wipeout the Därg military from Mätäkäl and the EPRDP suspect that the people may support his former ally later his bitter opponent after the ascendancy to power.²⁷⁷ Consequently, the people composed the following couplet

አጉዌ ካንታኒካ ጌሜድ ቤታርስታ

ሱቄ ዙራኒካ ጌሜድ ቤታርስታ

እንዳ ጌርክዳማ አቂ ፌታርስታ

When I look upward, a rope was starched

When I returned downward, a rope was starched

How human could be bored on this evil day.²⁷⁸

From this couplet, one can draw that the people were not interested in the land measurement that was introduced in 1990s following the downfall of the Därg regime.

3.2. Agricultural System; 1902-1991

3.2.1. Farming

The agricultural sector has been historically the foundation of the Ethiopian economy, in part due to its reliance on rain.²⁷⁹ Yet, the agriculture system of the country is essentially small-scale, subsistence-oriented and significantly dependent on rainfall. Subsistence farmers who use traditional tools generate about ninety percent of the country’s agricultural production and farming practices.²⁸⁰ The agricultural sector consists of crop, livestock, and fishery and forestry

²⁷⁶Wibke Crewett and Benedikt Korf, “Ethiopia: Reforming Land Tenure, Source”: *Review of African Political Economy*, Jun., 2008, Vol. 35, No. 116, The Politics of Capital (Jun., 2008),pp.204-205.

²⁷⁷ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol,Dämläš Dämeläw ,Yawnäw Beru.

²⁷⁸Informant:Zäwdu Čäkol,Admasu Haylu,Dämläš

²⁷⁹Zachary Donnenfeld et al ,”Ethiopia Development trends Assessment”,-----2017,p.34.

²⁸⁰ Belay Kassa and Dawit Alemu, “Agricultural Research and Extension Linkages”: Challenges and Intervention Options, *Ethiop. J. Agric. Sci.* 27(1) 5,p.55.

sub-sectors. Crop production is the dominant sub-sector within agriculture. It constitutes the means of production, mixed production systems (Crop-Livestock). It accounts 70% of production, which highly relies on cereal- based mixed production system. In fact, there were also cash-crop based mixed farming systems. Another agricultural includes Pastoral and Agro-pastoral production system. It accounts for 30 % of extension and has an important role to play both in improving production efficiency and in promoting technologies to change circumstances and disseminate information on impact evaluation.²⁸¹ Whatever it was, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were agriculturalists and used agricultural plows, an ox pair, horse pair or donkey pair, either by pairing with ox or by pairing each plow animal.

3.2.2. Ox-Plow farming

The Agäw people are agriculturalist people who highly relied on ox-plow agricultural system. Moreover, they used a horse plow agricultural system for their basic subsistent way of life. It was reported that, the Agäw of Mätäkäl were not strong land tiller up to 1950s. They relied on animal husbandry and they had purchased grain from hoe-cultivator the Gumuz community of Mandura and Debaṭi for household consumption.²⁸²

According to existing sources, in 1950s two factors forced the Agäw people of Mätäkäl to till their land better than before. The first was associated with the settlement of wallow Amahra who were in state of immigration since 1940s and the second one was associated with foundation of Mätäkäl as *Awraja* in 1948. Following their settlement in Mänta-wuha and Daur, Wollo Amhara started cleaning the forest and practicing crop production, which created competition over native Agäw's who formerly, relied highly on animal husbandry and purchased grain for households from the Gumuz hoe-agricultural practice. This is more stated by Ayenew: "This competition of the Agäw with Wollo settlers to expand agricultural fields transformed the Agäws of the region into real plow agriculturalists. Previously, they had been unenthusiastic about plow agriculture and were attached to cattle herding".²⁸³ This seems the general conscience of people as *Balabat*. The role of *Balabat* was not tilling the land, but it was facilitating the administrative system and revenue collection of the surroundings. My informants who remembered the day as "exhausted

²⁸¹Gizaw Eshetu, "The Impacts Of Farmers Training Centers In Enhancing The Livelihoods Of Rural Farmers"; The Case Of Kutcha Wereda, SNNP Regional State, (MA Thesis ,AAU Curriculum and Instruction, 2018),p.15.

²⁸²Informants: Haylu Demesaw, Assäfa Abäjähu,

²⁸³ Ayenew Fenta, Society, State...p.170.

and xenophobic” confirm this.²⁸⁴ Following the foundation of Mätäkäl as *Awraja* in 1948, *Fitawrari* Woldä Berhan Akalu was deployed as governor general of Mätäkäl. Then, he was said to have well aware the nature of the Agäw of Mätäkäl and was said to have found a post in Bizera-Kani to stop the movement of Agäw people to Gumuz area on workable days and he forced to till the land. His motive was the first an attempt to end the conscience of *Balabat* rather to thought and awake the Agäw people in Agricultural aspect.²⁸⁵

3.2.3. Horse-Plow Farming

Horses in Agäw culture have multiple uses. It is used a back animals, escorting animals for different occasions, wedding and different holy days.²⁸⁶ Beyond this, the horse have been used for farming purpose.²⁸⁷ There are varied sources about when and why it was started. Accordingly, Täklä-Iyasus, and informant Dañä, it was following great Ethiopia famine of 1888-1902 that cleaned entirely the whole farm animals that the Agäw people started coping the situation by training back animal as farm animals.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, why the people trained different back animal for farming purpose was said to have because of the double significance of back animal like loading, transportation and the ability of back animals to resist tropical disease. Here my informant notes that for tropical disease areas donkey were used for farming.²⁸⁹ Here, R.E. Cheesman who travelled the Nile valley around 1920s nearly two decades after kefu-qän asserts that, “where they now have to plough with donkey”.²⁹⁰ The Agäw people used pack animal as farming animal either by pairing with an ox or by pairing each the pack animal.²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ Informants: Haylu Demesäw, Assäfa Abäjähu,

²⁸⁵ Informants: Dämesäw Haylu, Ayal Engeda.

²⁸⁶ Informants: Asäfa Abäjähu, Dämesäw Haylu, Ayal Engeda

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Täklä-Iyasus Waqjera, *YäIthiopia Tarik*...p.288; Informant, Dañä

²⁸⁹ Informants: Tamer Work, Tamer Wondem, Dañaw

²⁹⁰ R. E. Cheesman, “The Upper Waters of the Blue Nile”, *The Geographical Journal*, Apr., 1928, Vol. 71, No. 4 (Apr., 1928), pp.372.

²⁹¹ Informants: Dämesäw Haylu, Zäwdu Čäkol



Figure 6 Paired Ox-Horse plow

Photo taken by present researcher during his field work on, June ,7,2022

3.3. Farming Tools

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl have been using different farming tools as the farmers elsewhere in Ethiopia adopted. The farming tools have been varied parts what the Agäw people state *Béra-Akeha*. These farming tools are cheap and locally made. It is accustomed in accordance with the soil fertility and agroecology of farming sites. Besides, it has been well designed, flexible, and easy-going. The farmers of Agäw have used longer handles. The components of ox-plow are *eref* (the stilt), *mofär*(beam), *deger* (two wooden ears), *wogäl* (sheath), *maräša* (plowshare-which plows) *märkeça* (a leather strap, which adjusts plowing depth) and *qänbär* (that inserted into the plowing share's sheath, a yoke). The farming tools have used without significant changes for centuries. All parts of the ox-plow are locally made materials. Except for *maräša* and *wogäl*, which are made of iron, the other farming tools are made of wood. The yoke that is used for back animals is different from the ox's²⁹² (see fig.6.)

²⁹² Informants:Säidu Muhamäd,Ayal Enegeda,Fäntahun Asräs,Assäfa Abäjähü .



Figure 7 . Farming tools

Photo by present researcher, Gumadi, on December 2022

3.4. Crop Production

The existence of diverse agro-ecological zone forced the people to produce varied crops which are suitable to existing agro-ecological zones. There are three different agro-ecological zones that resemble in the area, namely qolla, woina däga and däga. Much of the land in the region is fertile and there are three major types of soil. These are red *demi*, black *Şarki* and brown soil *bureburi*. The soil type and its characteristics depended on the topographical features.²⁹³

The agro-ecological and soil type of the study area has determined the production system of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. According to my informant, in all ecological zones of the Mätäkäl crop rotation has been an age-old practice and relying up on the climatic condition, the Agäw peasants produced a large variety of agricultural products, like cereal crops, oil seeds, pulses, vegetables and fruits. Of the cereal crops, Dagusa ,Maize and ţéff were the leading crops that are grown and abundantly produced by the Agäw people of Mätäkäl depending on the type of the soil, the Cash Crops Nug pulses, Coffee, Vegetables and fruits, Banana, Mango, Papaya, were dominant one.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Bogal Aligaz, Mangema....., pp,15.

²⁹⁴ Informants: Talşalä Guwadè, Zäwdu Čäkol, Abé Dubalä

3.4.1. Types of Crop

I. Cereal crops

A.Dagusa

It is an indigenous Ethiopian crop that has been grown in warm areas, it is most widely grown cereal crop for a long period of time in Mätäkäl.²⁹⁵ Dagusa is one of the most important food cereals in the sub-Saharan, which constitutes 4% of the total area of cereals production per year (nearly half a million hectares) of Ethiopia. And also, 4% of the total annual cereal grain production in the country was Dagusa.²⁹⁶ However, Ethiopia strategy support program II states that it constitutes 12.8% of share in total area cultivated and 8.5% of the total production share²⁹⁷. The cultivation of this crop is relatively easy and it has been found to be reliable under circumstances where other cereal crops would have failed due to drought or would have given negligible yield.²⁹⁸

Dagusa represent one of the critical plant genetic resources for the agriculture and food security of the Agäw people. The Agäw people used the grain for making native bread, injera, porridge, local beer, Aréqé alone or in mixture with téff, maize and barley. Moreover, the Agäw people used Dagusa to store for a period up to decade. Hence, it can be stored up to a decade or more without spoilage and weevil damage. Consequently, it has played an important role as a reserve crop for a long period for the Agäw people. Therefore, the Agäw people produced Dagusa in large quantities in different agro-ecological zones. Their production systems have been unimproved.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Baharu, *A History of Modern* p.; Informants: Šebabaw, Tamer Worqé

²⁹⁶ Asfaw, Tessfaye, et al., "Genotype by environment interaction and yield stability analysis in finger millet (Eleusine Corancana) in Ethiopia," *American Journal of Plant Sciences*, vol. 2, pp. 412-414, 2011.

²⁹⁷ Alemayehu Seyoum, Paul Dorosh et al, "Crop Production in Ethiopia: Regional Patterns and Trends, Development Strategy and Governance Division", *International Food Policy Research Institute*, Ethiopia Strategy Support Program II, Ethiopia, working paper, 2011, p.2.

²⁹⁸ Informants : Šebabaw, Tamer Worqé , Zäwdu Čäkol, Abé Dubalä

²⁹⁹ Informants: Zäwdé Mekuria, Admasu Haylu, Ayal Engeda

B. Maize

Africa is distinctive among world regions in that; ninety-five percent of its maize is consumed by humans rather than being used as livestock feed or industrial raw material.³⁰⁰ It was probably introduced by the Portuguese in 16th and 17th C to the country and introduced to different parts of the country afterward. Its production has increased since 20th Century. Maize has been produced at an altitude range of 1400-2000m with moderate heat and moisture requiring a large amount of water, about 500ml.³⁰¹

The Agäw People eat maize as a household garden crop, at its green, milky stage. Boiled as a snack or roasted on the cob. Besides, it was used as flour and its kernels then serve as the raw materials for beer or porridge. The latter is variously known by the name, *Behuri*.³⁰² Furthermore, the peasants of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl have adopted several varieties. Subsequently, Agäre (unimproved) Maize, which produced for many years, and *Mertu* (improved yield maize) were dominant one. The latter one was said to have introduced during the Därg regime. Maize has been used for local consumption in different ways.³⁰³



Figure 8 .Maize, photo

Photo taken by present researcher, Gumadi, on December,2022

³⁰⁰James C. McCann, *Maize and Grace Africa's Encounter With A New World Crop, 1500–2000*, (Harvard University Press ,2005),P.1.

³⁰¹*Ibid*,pp.19&30

³⁰² Informants: Abé Dubalä, Säwagäñ.

³⁰³ Informants: Sämanh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Dämsäw Haylu

C.Ṭéff

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl produced three major varieties of ṭéff, nāç ṭéff (white) which refers to its color; däbo ṭéff (which is not completely white or red): qäy ṭéff (red ṭéff).³⁰⁴ Moreover, ṭéff is the staple food for woyna-däga (medium of its altitude) and qola areas. It is the preferred, but not necessarily available, food grain in some parts the Agäw peasant's. For most areas of Däga (highland of its altitude) areas of Mätäkäl, ṭéff has not been a staple food.³⁰⁵

II. Cash Crop

A. Nug

Nug is an indigenous cash crop to Ethiopia, where it is grown in rotation with cereals and pulses. Nug is an oilseed crop mainly cultivated in different parts of Ethiopia. It constitutes about 50% of the Ethiopian oilseed production.³⁰⁶ It is cultivated on waterlogged soils where most crops and all other oilseeds fail to grow and contributes a great deal to soil conservation and land rehabilitation.³⁰⁷

In the Agäw people of Mätäkäl, the crop production of nug has been cultivated for its edible oil and cash crop.³⁰⁸ For feeding, the seed has been roasted and pound by wooden mortar then it may be prepared 'woṭ' or 'leṭeleṭ' what the Agäw people called ሰግጥ፤ which was prepared from mixed pounded nug and crushed cereals, and it have been preferred food for young boys. In addition to this, the crop offers an important source of seed protein, that significantly the human dietary protein intake.³⁰⁹ As cash crop, it was taken and sold in the nearby market and employed to fill the financial constrain.³¹⁰

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ Informants: Šebabaw, Tamer Worqé, Zäwdu Čäkol, Abé Dubalä

³⁰⁶ A. Getinet and S.M. Sharma, Niger Guizotia abyssinica (L. f.) Cass, *International Plant Genetic Resources Institute* (IPGRI), PP.7-8

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ Informants: Säidu Muhamäd, Ayal Enegeda, Fäntahun Asräs, Assäfa Abäjähu.

³⁰⁹ Informants: Ṭobéw Täfära, Zäwdé Makuriyaw, Yäshiharg Ahmäd

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

3.5. Indigenous Labor Exchanging Forms and Labor Division among the Agäw people of Mätäkäl

3.5.1. Indigenous Labor Cooperation Forms

Despite the difference in the names, the labor cooperation forms are common in many agrarian society of rural Ethiopia. In the Agäw people of Mätäkäl, apart from their labor exchange during special occasions like during festivities or emergencies, there are different labor exchanges in agricultural production.³¹¹ This agricultural labor exchange depends either on matrilineal or patrilineal relatives or villages. There are different types of traditional labor exchange forms among the Agäw people of Mätäkä. It may be in group or individual forms: Wubiri and Wonfäl are significant labor exchange forms.³¹²

Wubiri; Wubiri have been a practice of cooperation that is performed when one community member needed more and additional labor in either harvesting grain on the special occasions. Furthermore, it may also have applied to those humble families of community members. In this labor exchange means, there is no any return expected from the wubiri recipient and it is free render and support endowed from community member's.³¹³

Wonfäl: Wonfäl is another practice of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. Unlike Wubiri, Wonfäl have been the mutual understanding made by wonfäl members to cooperate in return intermittently among wonfäl members. In this cooperation, the members are expected to render the labor service that they had received from wonfäl members. It is applied in tilling the land harvesting the grain and other ways of life.³¹⁴

3.5.2. Labor Division among the Agäw People of Mätäkäl

In the tradition of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl, women are the vanguard in the day-to-day way of life. They had been involved in agriculture, trade, production of cloth, as well as fetching of both firewood and water. Moreover, they also took part in the preparation and selling of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks. Furthermore, the women's have had their own cotton spinning Wonfäl, which was performed in return to each member.³¹⁵ Interim of resource ownership, they have had joint ownership right equal with men. In making resource management

³¹¹Informants:Säwagäñ Yesmaw,Sämanäh Alämnäh,Zäwdu Čäkol,Admasu Haylu,Tamer Worqé

³¹²*Ibid.*

³¹³Informants:Tamer Terunh,Täšälä Yesmaw,Abè Dubalä

³¹⁴*Ibid.*

³¹⁵Informants:Sämanäh Alämnäh,Zäwdu Čäkol,Tamer Worqé

decisions, the amount of power in which a wife or husbands has, however, depended on the extent of individual's labor contribution for a specific item of production.³¹⁶ For instance, women (wives) have equal power in discussing and deciding with men (husbands) as to what portion of the produced grain should be stored and what portion should be taken to market for sale, because both have participated equally in the production process of grain.³¹⁷

Obviously, there are certain gender-based activities /tasks, especially household practices, are predominantly the sphere of women. These include the care of children's and their socialization, preparing food, cleaning house, fetching water, getting milk, production of household apparatuses and spinning cotton thread to produce traditional cloth, like *gabi*, *Kuta*. In addition to this, cultivation of homestead farm is mainly women's concern. Activities like plugging, sowing, hewing wood, were performed by men.³¹⁸

3.6. Share crop production Among the Agäw of Mätäkäl

There are different means of share crop production among the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. In pre-revolution era, it is said to have, the social strata that prevailed in different parts of the country were seen in the nature of the Agäw people. Furthermore, it is said to have the *gäbar* system aggregated entire landowner and landless people of Mätäkäl. This *gäbar* system is said to have been verbally agreed share crop production based on *Balabat* and tenant family. However, after the end of *gäbar* system, different shared crop production was made between the people based on its nature of agreement and property that the owners had.³¹⁹ Based on the nature of agreement *Sézanti –erbo*, a quarter, *Šuhanti siso* one-third, *Šis* equal half can be mentioned. Based on the property that the owners had, *Beti-Šemada* land rent, *Beri-Šemada* plough animal rent, *Béra-Gerbi* ox-labor service, *Qurči*, fixed rent are the dominant plow share crop system of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl.³²⁰

Sézanti, *Aratäña*, *quatri*; this has been a means of share cropping in which a person enters to the house of owner as full time servant and finally at the crop year shares the fourth of crop.

³¹⁶ Informants :Dämälaš Tamer,Zäwdé Mekuria ,Zäläqä Ambayä

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid*

³¹⁹ Informants :Ayal Engeda,&Šebabaw

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

Šuhanti, Siso, one-third: it was also a means of share crop in which the owner of the plow animal and the worker agreed to divide one third of the crop product for the worker. In this type share crop, the worker was obliged only to work on workable days.

Šiš, yäikul, equal: this share crop is signed between plow animal owner and worker to share the crop equally at the end of crop years. In this agreement, the owner of the plow animal agrees to give his full plow animal to his co-opt share holder and his co-opt shareholders agree to plow and work with his labor.

Béra-Gerbi, Yäbäri Gulbet, plow animal labor; this is an agreement made between the owners of the plow animal and worker to till the land. Here, the worker has a plot of land but do not have animal. Thence he till two workable days on the plow animal owners land and the third day on his plot of land. The above share crop methods are introduced after 1974 revolution that enabled landless to have own lands.³²¹

Table.1.Cropping Calendar

Type of Crops	Land preparation	Sowing	Harvesting
Dagusa	March –April	May –June	November-December
Maize	January	June-July	November-December
Ṭéff	July-August	July-August	November-December
Barly	April	June-August	November-December
Nug	March	July-August	November-December

³²¹ Informants: Säwagāñ Yesmaw, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Tamer Worqé, Ayal Engeda.

3.7. Peasant Association, Producers' Co-operatives and Service cooperation in Mätäkäl

Before the hurling of producers' cooperative, Därg launched peasant association, which was intentionally designed to distribute the land to tiller. In this regard, it was said to have been *zämač* (campaigner) who played a significant role in distributing the land for landless peasant were dispatched to different part of the country.³²²In 1978 Producers' cooperatives was instituted on the basis the issuance of proclamation No. 138.³²³ The Därg launched producers cooperative to exceed the producer's cooperation among the peoples of Ethiopia who were known in individualistic farming system and *gäbar*-system relation.³²⁴According to this proclamation, the peasants were not forced to lose their land but also, they were to be member to get agricultural inputs. Therefore, the peasants were enrolled without their interest and it couldn't bear the fruit as it was expected. According to 1980s report there was one producer cooperative with sixty members in Mätäkäl and dominantly it was organized in Guwanguwa only.³²⁵(see appendix-XX).Here it is impossible to know the specific Agäw people PC .What lesson the informant gave me is that, they were organized forcedly without their conscience and it could not bring any change in their life.³²⁶

All peasants were organized in to peasants' association and they started to pay annually membership fee.³²⁷ (see also appendix XXIII). Nevertheless, in Mätäkäl it was nominal and far-fetched to bear the desired objective. The existence of varied socio-economical and land ownership system of the province made the plan nightmare. Thus, the Gumuz people were collective land ownership system while the Agäw people were hereditary landownership system .Moreover, "the labor exchange system of the Gumuz people which shrink, break and reborn in

³²²Informants:Zäwdu Čäkol,Täšälä Yesmaw ,Tamer Terunäh

³²³ "A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of Cooperative Society,Negarit Gazetta, (Proclamation No.138, March 3, 1978), p. 41.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵NALA 17,1,11,17,20.A Letter Written to Gojjam Sub-Provincial Gevrenorate,Ref.1199/σv/744 ,Date,23/2/1975 E.C.

³²⁶ Informants:Säman Alämen,Täšälä Yesmaw,Šebabaw

³²⁷ *Ibid*; personal receipt obtained during field work,Dated,1/1/1974 E.C.

different occasion as the people prefer and the leadership quality whom PA leaders were absorbed by the indigenous system forced the PA to be intact”.³²⁸

3.7.1. Service Cooperatives

Service cooperatives were the peasant associations that were established according to Proclamation No. 138 of 1978. It was founded to render services to peasant and to save their money and time. Accordingly, the SC provides market service, consumer commodities, saving services and others.³²⁹ Henceforth, it aimed at protecting peasants from exploitation by private traders. Analogous to other areas, the central goal of service cooperatives in Mätäkäl was to market shops of the cooperatives where they made distribution of goods to the members using membership cards.³³⁰ The service cooperatives supplied commodities like sugar, oil, salt, match, soap, nail, dry cell batteries to the members through the shops in. According to the source, there were thirty SC in Mätäkäl with fourteen thousand eight-hundred thirteen members.³³¹ (See also appendix-XXIV) However, it was insignificance due to a number of reasons. In one hand the embezzlement that the head of association engaged and inability to supply variety of goods and satisfy the demand of the members. Consequently, the members withdrew from membership.³³²

3.8. Indigenous Soil Fertility Management Practices

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl employed a variety of techniques to maintain soil fertility. The main methods used to increase nutrient contents are mixed farming and rotational cropping. Moreover, organic manure was also applied to enhance the soils' physical and chemical fertility.³³³

Mixed Cropping: The peasants of Mätäkäl used mixed cropping as one of their traditional methods for managing fertility. This is a technique for intercropping specific crops with other crops that are used in certain fields. In fact, it is possible to sow barley with nugget seed, maize with potato, or maize with local cabbage. This was a method of sowing certain crops with other

³²⁸ Dessalegn Rahmato, Settlement And Resettlement In Mettekel, Western Ethiopia, *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, MARZO 1988, Anno 43, No. 1 (MARZO 1988), p.25&pp.29-30.

³²⁹ Alämayähu Lirénso, —”Grain Marketing in the Post 1974 Revolution: Policies Problems and Prospects”, In Proceedings of the eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, I (Addis Ababa, 1984), p. 392; Informants: Asäfa Abäjähu, Tamer Worqé, Tamer Terunäh

³³⁰ Informants: Šetu Abäwa, Tamer Terunäh.

³³¹ NALA 17,1,11,17,20 To Socialist Ethiopia provincial military administrative council 1975 E.C Report ,Ref.1199/ሐ/744 ,Date,23/2/1975 E.C.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Informants: Sämanäh Almenäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Tamer Worqé, Tamer Terunäh

crops. Indeed, barley with nug seed, maize with potato, and or maize with local cabbage might be sown.³³⁴

Crop Rotation: This method involves alternating several crops on the same cultivated land in order to restore nitrogen levels. The method is especially useful for preserving the nitrogen content of soils where leguminous plants were part of the rotation. Therefore, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl engaged in a variety of rotational agricultural systems in accordance with the agro-ecological system of the region they engaged.³³⁵

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl follow a three cycle shifting agriculture. After the land has been prepared for planting, finger millet is first sown. The next crop to be planted, after the necessary land preparation has been completed, was nug or sorghum. Most of my informants insisted that in the major plot the order of planting is first millet followed always by finger millet. When the crop is ready for harvesting, the people merely cut off the head (the part bearing the grain), lay the stalk on the ground without uprooting it and, after a short interval burn it. The cycle is repeated on the new plot – i.e., finger-millet, sorghum or nug and finger millet again into some occasions it may be late for a year. However, the farmers who settled in däga climatic condition were involved in cultivating horse beans, maize and barley in a sequence. Some variants of crop rotation replace wheat for maize, and téff for wheat and barley.³³⁶

Another traditional method of managing soil fertility is by using organic manure (fegi). It has been a tradition among Agäw's farmers ever since the beginning. Because it contains a significant amount of nitrogenous chemicals incorporated through urine in addition to organic matter, organic manure (Fegi) is put to the soil to increase both its physical and chemical fertility. The many varieties of livestock manure's varying degrees of fertilizer efficacy are widely known to peasants. Furthermore, when compared to cattle, horses, and donkeys, the manure from sheep and goats provides the best manure, and this, according to them, is due to the fertilizer's high levels of nitrogen, phosphate, and potassium.³³⁷

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ Informants: Säwagāñ Yesmaw, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Tamer Worqé, Ayal Engeda

³³⁶ *Ibid*

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

3.9. The challenge of Agriculture

In the meantime, many government attempts were made to modernize agricultural methods and expand the production system. Consequently, agricultural extensions that were launched with the goal of transforming the traditional agricultural system into a modern one have been introduced in 1930s with the opening of Ambo Agricultural School.³³⁸ This trend was upgraded to college in 1950s following Jimma and Alamyia agricultural collage, which were instituted in 1952 and 1954 respectively.³³⁹ In parallel, the Imperial Government chose the package program CADU, which eventually evolved into ARADU and WADU. This was then followed by the Minimum Package Program (MPP1 and MPP2) method, which was designed to scale up production. MPP1 ran from roughly 1971 to 1975. After it, the nation entered a socialist era. Land reform and collective production units received a lot of attention during this time. In the 1980s, the MPP2 program came to an end.³⁴⁰ Then, updated agricultural inputs like fertilizer, high yield variety seed, biocides, modern agricultural tools and agricultural professionals and technician has continued as acute challenge.³⁴¹

Therefore, the first agricultural input chemical fertilizer and high yield seed in Mätäkäl was introduced during the Därg regime by Worqenäh Beru. In terms of technicians, it was first introduced during imperial period. Thus, *Yähezeb Nuro Edegät Balämuya*, literary public development agents were assigned to serve the people during the imperial period. These technicians served comprehensively the spiritual and secular jointly.³⁴² Simultaneously it was said that there were moveable veterinary professionals and health servants who served the people during the imperial period. According to my informants, it was during the Därg regime that different agricultural professionals were appointed and started to support the farmers accordingly their profession.³⁴³

Despite the governmental effort to transform agricultural system, it have been innate in production, farming tool and cropping and sowing except minor changes in the utilization of certain sort of chemical fertilizers and improved crops. This was because of the outward of its

³³⁸ Belay Kassa and Dawit Alemu, "Agricultural Research and Extension Linkages":...p.58.

³³⁹ Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant And The State* :Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950s-2000s,(AAU,Addis Ababa University press, 2009)p.34.

³⁴⁰ Kristin Davis et al,P.8, Dagnachew Bekel and Duk-Byeong ,p.223, Gizaw Eshetu,P.18.

³⁴¹ Informants:Sämanäh Alämnäh,Zäwdu Čäkol,Tamer Worqé

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

policy, lack of consistent land tenure system, concentration of package program centers and technical colleges in southwestern part of Ethiopia and lack of patron to traditional technologist and land degradation and population growth.³⁴⁴

The outward policy system can be seen into its concentration, hub of budgetary and planner's capability and knowledge fullness. In the midpoint of concentration in policy making, the producers or peasants who were the direct actor of production and the land were invisible, were unconsidered in all old regime and during the Därg regime. Moreover, the center of budget was also the foreign AIDs and foreign loans which ended with their Aids.³⁴⁵

Another factor was also associated with lack of consistent policy. During the imperial period, it was said to have in one hand it was intended to amass exportable crops by relying on large producers and mechanization that evicted peasants from their land and daggered small producers, then it was transformed to produce large number of cattle's. Finally it was in the third developmental plan that small producers were given due attention. During the Därg regime, the agricultural collectivization was introduced which forced the producers to farm in-group. The package program and agricultural and technical colleges were concentrated in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. This concentration hindered the people not to have any Cognizant's regarding to the agricultural transformation or update technology; in fact, it had nothing to do for small landholders and tenants.³⁴⁶

The land holding system of the country was also another factor for the stagnation of agricultural sector of the country .Hence, the land was owned by the landowners what they were named *balabat's* ,the government and the church. Later it was transformed to the hand of the state³⁴⁷.According to my informant ,neither government nor the people did not gave patron to the local technologist who produced farming tools like sheath and plowshare were said to have been the backdrop of agriculture.³⁴⁸

3.10. Livestock Rearing

Livestock production was an important economic activity of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl .Furthermore, much like crop production, livestock production has been an integral part of the

³⁴⁴ Desalegn Rahamato, Peasant and State....pp.47,49, 56-57,&59,62

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*;Informants: Zäläqä Ambayä, Säwagäñ Enyäu, Säidu Muhammäd

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*,informants:Sämanäh Aälmnäḥ,Admas Haylu,Zäwdu Čäkol

Agäw people of Mätäkäl. For long period, it has been economic benefit or source livelihood but also it was the source of social status. This is more illustrated by Ayenw Fenta as:

Cattle were not only a means of livelihood to the people but also a source of prestige to the owners. The number of cattle they owned determined the social status of the Agaw of Mätäkäl. Individuals who owned more than a thousand cows had special status within the community and prepare annual ceremony ...At the ceremony, the elders of the community bestowed the individual who washed his body with milk with the title of butta, which means “very wealthy man”. An individual who held the greater number of ceremonies of washing his body with milk gained a high social position and recognition within the community.³⁴⁹

From the quotation, one can discern that the cattle were not as the source of income, but also they used to determine ones social status and prestige. In addition to this, my informants Aba Täšälä and *hamesalqa* Tamer confirm that the person who was rich performed bathing with milk annually.³⁵⁰ However they could not tell me the name that Ayenew named as “Buta ceremony”. Moreover, the person who was considered as rich was said to have worn the stomach of the cattle. The Agäw peoples of Mätäkäl used cattle for, laughing, for market and for the uses of food.³⁵¹ According to my informants, the number of their livestock production was decreased from time to time. These is said to have been because of the shortage of grazing land and unfavorable climatic condition from year to year.³⁵² The cattle keeping varies seasonally. Accordingly, in dry season the people were forced to move long journey to feed their cattle’s absence of available grass at nearby area forced them to move long journey. Alternatively they gave to their Gumuz *wodaj* literary to their friends during the dry season. In rainy season, they keep their cattle in the nearby areas hence there was abundant grass fodder for their cattle.³⁵³ Apart from cattle rearing, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were also overriding reared in the, sheep goat, donkey, horse, and mule poultry.³⁵⁴

3.11. Trade: 1902-1991

Trade has been one of the important economic activities in Ethiopian history that enabled many countries, governments, and peoples to interact. It was the caravan merchants of different

³⁴⁹ Ayenew Fenta, Society State...pp.62-63.

³⁵⁰ Informants: Täšälä Yesamw, Tamer Worqé

³⁵¹ Informants: Sämanäh Alämnäh, Aba Yawnäw Beru,

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ Informants : Säwagāñ Eneyäw, Šebabw Ayaléw, Tamer Terunäh

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

societies, who grouped due to their long distance trade, established strong ties and diplomatic relations, with the neighboring society and states.³⁵⁵

Mätäkäl was one of the important centers of trade activities beginning from the early period related with the involvement of both the Ethiopians and Sudanese traders. Especially after the revival of long distance trade, it became the most outstanding international trade center.³⁵⁶ The trade practiced based on fairs or markets of varying importance as elsewhere in different part of the country. In great market of every week where the people of the locality could buy everything, they wished: cows and mules, chickens, salt, incense, pepper.³⁵⁷

The Agäw people were the intermediate people of this long and short distance trade of 19th and 20th Century. The Agäw merchants controlled the trade routes that run from Wombära to Buré and also they dominated trade that run from Wombära to Segadi and then to Dangela or Buré. They were active trader of trade between Guba to Dangela and from Guba to Segadi Then to Buré or Dangela.³⁵⁸ Hence, their settlement pattern enabled them to act as intermediaries for bargaining the commodities that were needed at market.³⁵⁹

The trading items were gold, slaves; coffee, cotton, ivory and civet were the main commodities of trade. Of this, coffee was dominant one, which was domestically and internationally profitable commodity. Besides, sugar, clothes, shoe, Abujadi, perfume and other trade items from the Sudan to Mätäkäl were imported. They also exported coffee, Onion and cotton to the Sudan. Rifles were also other prominent items of trade on the border.³⁶⁰ Trade was generally based not on cash sales but on barter. When the two articles to be exchanged were not of equal value the difference would often be made up by measures of bread. The means of exchange vary from time to time. It was said to have been there was barter trading, trading in the salt bar, trading in bullet and after the intrusion and expansion of MTT with MTT and after the expansion of modern cash

³⁵⁵ Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction To The Economic History Of Ethiopia, From Early Times To 1800*, (England, Staples Printer, 1961), pp. 307-321.

³⁵⁶ Abdussamad H. Ahemd, Gojjam: "Trade, Early Merchant Capital and The World"....., pp. 114-126.

³⁵⁷ Informants: Zäläqä Ambayä, Säwagän Enyāw, Sädu Muhammäd.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*

³⁶⁰ Abinew Debalqie, *A History of Dangur*.....P, 30-32; Mahatemä Selasè, *Zekere..(Reconciliation)*.., pp. 390-395.

money with it system, especially in post liberation period it was said to have been trading in cash became common.³⁶¹

The trading system was said to have been conducted with different difficulties. Starting from his ascendancy, *Ras Mängäša Atikäm* started to strengthen the trade post at Dunkur which was the last frontier of Ethio-Sudan in Mätäkäl. Nevertheless, his attempt was impaired by his counterpart *Ras Gugussa* of Bägémder in 1906, who informed the British about Mängäša's order over his merchants to go to Dunkur that prevented their export items from going to Mätätäma. Nevertheless, Britain gave little attention to the requests of *Ras Gugussa*, because Britain got access to the Ethiopian commodities such as gold, coffee, ivory, civet, cattle and other animals produced in the districts of Damot and Agäw-Meder through the trade route line of Dunkur. Moreover, it was reported that the language, geographical and market dues were the principal drawback of commerce in the area.³⁶²

In the course of the Italian occupation, it was declined because of the struggle between the two groups, collaborators and patriots that were emerged following the Italian occupation. In post liberation period it was interrupted after the Gumuz people uprising that was emerged since 1950s. Here my eyewitness informant assert that after 1960s Lambeča revolt, it was said to have cotton which was the most significant material for the Agäw people was abandoned from the market. This rampant event was over after the end of the rebellion, thence, the Agäw people Mätäkäl constructed the following couplet.

ትፋካ ይንትሓ ካኒሊ

ቻቹታ ኩንግርታ ሴግታካሊኒ፡፡

You women who is indolent, if you could spin, extra cotton was brought as you could.³⁶³

From this couplet one can understand that, there was the shortage of cotton for spinning in the former years and after the end of upraise the cotton was scaled up in the market

³⁶¹ Informants: Zäläqä Ambayä, Säwagäñ Enyāw, Sädu Muhammäd.

³⁶² Abdussamad H. Ahemd, Gojjam: "Trade, Early Merchant Capital...., pp.119-122; Abnew Debalqie, A History of Dangur.....P.30.

³⁶³ Informants: Tamer Ṭerunäh, Yawnäw Beru



Figure. 9. The currency

Some currencies used by the people during the imperial and the Därg regime which are obtained during field work. Photo taken by present researcher

3.12. Taxation: 1902-1991

Taxation system in Ethiopia was not only the way to upkeep political power, but also social hierarchy that chained the king with the provincial governor and down to the parish.³⁶⁴ Agricultural taxes, which were closely bound up with the highly complex traditional system of land-tenure, as well as the relations between the social classes, varied greatly from situation to situation. It was said to have paid in different kind ,Close ,gold,silk,grain,wax,cattle, skins of lions, leopards and antelope. Furthermore, the peasants were forced to pay different tax system in and different means.³⁶⁵ They were expected to render free serves to local officials ,they were also urged to give food and drunks which was said as *Meten* for passenger's ,they were also forced to pay in cash and crop.³⁶⁶

The Agäw people were not exceptional from the fate of Ethiopian peasant's .They paid what their counterpart did. According to my informant, it was said to have they paid *Yämāngest Geber* and *Yäbétä-Kehenät geber* literary the governmental tax and the religious tax. Subsequently

³⁶⁴ Richard Pankhurst, "Tribute, Taxation and Government Revenues in Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century Ethiopia, (Part I)", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, JULY 1967, Vol. 5, No. 2 (JULY 1967), pp.37-38.

³⁶⁵ Richard Pankhurst, "Ethiopian Taxation Prior To The Time Of Menilek: A Collation And Analysis Of Estimates, Part I", *Michigan State University Press, Northeast African Studies*, 1983-84, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1983-84), pp.58-64.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

following the incorporation, they were forced to pay *qurt geber*. Here my informant could not underline how many taxes did they paid in cash and kind. What they recalled is that initially they elected their *gämač* or *gémati*. This *gämač* was be trusted and strong in spiritual life and was to be well accepted by all community members. Then this *gämač* notifies whom how many to pay according his wealth including his land and plow animals. Then the peasants pay what was notified in cash and kind.³⁶⁷

Nevertheless, during the ascendancy of *Ras Haylu*, who was said to have greedy ever seen in Gojjame royal family, the people were forced to pay different tax forms in addition to normal known tax system. Thus the Agäw people of Mätäkäl paid *Yäçes geber* hut tax, *Yäqula geber* head tax, *yämar geber* honey tax, *yä qänd geber* ,tax per head of cattle *yägéšo geber* tax on géšo plan and *yäafrsata geber* traditional criminal detection.³⁶⁸ Hut tax was the tax system that newly married couples were expected to pay ,head tax was all adults expected to pay,tax per head of cattle was that the cattle owners were expected to pay per head of cattle Yägéšo was tax system that buckthorn owners and the people who bought it from market were expected to pay taxable.³⁶⁹

Following the orchestration of voice for land reform from within and abroad, 1929 and 1935 land tax reform were launched to rationalize the revenue collection and exceed government treasure. The first reform was primacy to ease the burden of tenant and enabled them to pay the corves in the cash and guaranteed to redistribute the land for them .while, the second reform urged the nobility to pay the tax in cash to the central government, gave the power of collecting the tax to the minister of finance. Yet, it could not bear the fruit that was expected. Henceforth, the nobility became the downside for the imperial government and the outbreak of the Ethio-Italian war.³⁷⁰ In fact, in Gojjam the *Ras Haylu* preceded the reform.

During Italian interlude it was said to have the peasants were not paid the tax. In post liberation period, in 1942 the government issued the decree that abolish the service that the peasants rendered to local men of blood and it was said to have the decree issued in 1944 divided the

³⁶⁷ Informants: Aba Täšälä Yesmaw, Gétahun Zäläqä

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*; Geremew Eskezia, “The Taxation System of Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot of Gojjam: 1907-1932”, *EJSS* Vol. 4, No. 1, May 2018,pp.1-9.

³⁷⁰ Desalegn Rahamato, *State and peasant*...,pp.191-192.

land into lām, lām-ṭāf and ṭāf the tax to be 50,40 and 50 lām, lām-ṭāf and ṭāf gaša per respectively. However, it was 1966 decree that ended the social hierarchy that was existed for long period of time of period the peasants were to pay tax directly to the state.³⁷¹

My informant asserts that, in the post-liberation to revolution, the peasants paid the land tax and religious tax in cash. Accordingly, the peasants paid 1.5 ETB to 2:00 ETB according to their wealth. Unfortunately, they were unable to show the receipt. During the Därg regime the mandate of tax collection was given to PA, and PA collected the tax according to the decision of the government. It was said to have the people paid twenty ETB. Thus, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl paid in cash to the end of the regime.³⁷²(See appendix XXV).

3.13. Economic Interaction with Nighboring People

I.The Agäw-Gumuz Interaction

The two people have been trade relations and agricultural interactions. Interims of trade, the Agäw people were the bargain of the Gumuz product of ginger, Cotton and gold that dominated the twentieth century domestic trade of Ethiopia. Here my informants from Čageni and Bäläya who were merchants for long period confirm that, they brought cotton from Guba and sold it in Dangela and Segadi and later in Čageni. From Dangela and Segadi again, they took salt to the Gumuz land and exchanged either barter with cotton or ginger or sold in cash.³⁷³Moreover, prior 1950s the Agäw people who relied highly on livestock rearing filled the shortage of grain by purchasing from the Gumuz community.³⁷⁴And afterward their rely on ox-plow agricultural system, It is reported that the Agäw people thought the Gumuz people ox-plow agricultural system .Furthermore, it is said to have, in dry season, the Agäw people gave their cattle's for the Gumuz people up to the coming of summer.³⁷⁵

II.The Agäw-Oromo economic interaction

Economically, the Oromo people brought with them coffee, which was unseen in the area before their settlement. Coffee tree was introduced to Wombära from Wälläga area by a certain person,

³⁷¹ Baharu, *A History of* . . . ,P.193.

³⁷² Informants:Täšälä Yesmaw,Gétahun Zäläqä Zäwdu Čäkol;Personel recipt copied from Gumadi, During field work,Dated ,4/5/1981 E.C.

³⁷³ Informnts:Zäläqä Ambaya,Säwagän Säwnät,Tamer Terunäh,Mässärät Šewa

³⁷⁴*Ibid.*

³⁷⁵*Ibid.*

FarooWarsu, nick named Aba Qonte. Then it started to be cultivated widely around the Kitar hills and Bolälé, then again to whole Wombära area.³⁷⁶ However, to the north of Wombära, it is said to have been introduced during the Därg regime and it was from this time on ward that the Agäw people of Mätäkäl started to produce this cash crop.³⁷⁷ Moreover, the Agäw people started to act as middlemen in the trade activity from Wombära to Zigäm Segadi and from Guba to Dangela via Bäläya. Furthermore, beyond coffee production, the two people have been strong trade interaction for long period.³⁷⁸



Figure 10 Coffee grown in Mätäkäl

Coffee grown by the Agäw people, photo taken by present researcher, Guwanguwa, on November, 2022

IV.The Agäw –Amhara economic interaction

Economically, after the intrusion of Amhara, it was the Agäw people who welcomed spontaneous settlers and distributed land for them. Besides, It was the Agäw people of Mätäkäl who highly rely on the herding livestock, started to till the land because of their competition between the two ethnic group .Likewise, it was the Agäw people who thought them how to plough back animal as farm animal. In addition, the two ethnic groups have been strong commercial relation.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ Mengistu Geremew, A History of Wänbära Wäräda, 1941-1991.....,pp.18-19.

³⁷⁷ Informants:Abaži Gädihun,Aba Mälakä-Hewot Meherät,

³⁷⁸ *Ibid*

³⁷⁹ Informants:Säwagän Säwnät,Sämanäh Alämnäh,Assäfa Abäjähü,Ejegu Mogäs, Admasu Haylu.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT OF THE AGÄW PEOPLE OF MÄTÄKÄL: 1902-1991

4.1. Settlement Pattern

The Agäw people primarily settled on various parts of land, with family members descended either patrilineal or matrilineal. Accordingly; the families were the symbol of identity for its members among the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. My informant asserts that, the settlement pattern started to combine different clans since the beginning of the second half of twentieth Century. Since then, the Agäw village is usually composed of the people of the same clan and /or sub-clan who claim different patrilineal or matrilineal descent.³⁸⁰

Concerning the Agäw house construction, it is reported that, hunt cylindrical with conical roof which is supported by single center pillar which contains a central room with circular corridor. It contains kitchen, rest room, bed room and sometime calf, sheep and goat corral all in one roof.³⁸¹ Since the coming of the Därg regime, a new house construction by using corrugated iron was introduced and decorating the room in traditional way by using different bricks continued as it was in early time.³⁸²



Figure 11. Household materials of the Agäw people

Source: Čageni Cultural and Truism Office

³⁸⁰ Informants: Zäläqä Ambayä, Säwagāñ Enyāw, Sädu Muhammäd

³⁸¹ Informats :Täšalä Yesmaw, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Asäfa Abäjähü, Säidu Muhammäd, Hamesaläqa Tamer Worqé.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

4.2. Marriage System

Universally marriage is a legally recognized union between a man and a woman who have committed to share home together in the hopes of building enduring, loved associates.³⁸³ The social functions of marriage establish distinct duties and responsibilities for men and women.³⁸⁴ There are various ranges of marriage, which reflects the diversity of the social institution around the world. The most typical type of marriage in any case is monogamy, which is a union between one man and one woman. Most often, these marriage customs are carried out according to personal preference and religious beliefs. Polygamy is multiple spouse marriage, and it is illegal in many parts of the world. Polyandry marriage is a system in which a woman may get married more than one husband, whereas polygyny marriage is sharing of a husband with one or more wives.³⁸⁵

In Ethiopia society's marriage is the norm that people should perform when they reach a certain age. The Ethiopian civil code recognizes three main categories of marriage such as civil, religious and customary. Religious and customary is the dominant types of marriage practiced in Ethiopia.³⁸⁶

According to my informant, there were three types of marriage in the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. Based on the context, traditional marriage system and Kétamuwi or Zämänawi or Modern marriage system and based on its repetition and ceremonial system, *Ameni* and *Méša-feši* the first and widow marriage system and the last one was sister exchange marriage system, which was performed by the will of the bridegroom and the bride family.³⁸⁷

It was among the inhabitants of the various adjacent villages that marriage relationships formed out of their clan. Of course, this does not mean those marriage relationships among the inhabitants of adjoining villages did not exist.³⁸⁸

In this thesis the researcher made an attempt to look traditional marriage system of the first or *Amin* marriage system.

³⁸³ Bernard Jessie, *Ground Rules for Marriage: Perspectives on the Pattern of Era. American*, (Psychiatric press, 1991), p. 45.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ Kalkidan Bekele, "Cultural Practices That Affected The Status Of Women In Benishangul Gumuz Mandura Woräda", (MA Thesis, Gender Study, AAU, 2007), pp. 20-21.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ Informants: Sämanäh Alämnäh, Täšälä Yesmaw, Tamer Worqé

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

4.2.1. Marriage Proposal and Marriage Ceremony among the Agäw People of Mätäkäl

A. Marriage proposal

According to my informant, initially the family of the bridegroom arranges who to marry to bridegroom by considering the socio-cultural and economic aspect to be proposed. Then, it is said that they sent a letter of marriage request or elders to proposed family. If the female family welcomes a marriage proposal, they make an agreement with three local elders.³⁸⁹

Before a week or less than a week, the wealth that was given from the two-couple family was enrolled in the front of three up to five elected elders, what the Agäw people say *Šuha dañeka* or *Agabi Daña*. Moreover, it was on this day the bride's wealth payment was unequivocal. And also, the number of *Mizé* to escort the groom was informed on this day. In general consensus, this day was termed *Keşer* literary contract a day, in which all decisions were decided. According to the Agäw elders, the marriage ties between and below seven genealogies was not only impossible but also unthinkable.³⁹⁰

B. Marriage ceremony

According to the Agäw elders, the marriage ceremonies have to be performed on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Other days has been considered as the days of "minorities". Simultaneously, the marriage months are March-April, commonly after Easter.³⁹¹

One day before the marriage ceremony, a pavilion was constructed from savanna grass for the fetes who were summoned. Besides, all patrilineal and matrilineal families were summoned to enjoy the feast and to contribute in all aspect; this day is known as *Inşuslay*. On the day, ten up to twenty best men were selected by the bridegroom's family and the bridegroom himself. On the next day he (bridegroom) was taken by his best men and blessed by elders in the house. After blessing; he was backed by his matrilineal uncle and taken outside of the house. Then he took crude by chalice and he rotates the wooden-mortar three times in a clockwise direction. In the third round, he threw the chalice at the mortar and his best men and people who rotate with him break the chalice.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Informants: Täşälä Guwadé, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Abé Dubalä

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ Informants: Tamer Terunäh, Yawnäw Beru

³⁹² Informants: Sämanäh Alämnäh, Täşälä Yesmaw, Tamer Worqé

There are varied sources according to the breakdown of a chalice full of crude by his best men. The first group states that it is considered the deed as the transformation of the bridegroom from childhood to adulthood³⁹³. While another group considered that the ability of the bridegroom to cope and wine the challenge what he will face in his future marriage tie.³⁹⁴

The first one seems persuasive, hence there is Agäw saying that, **ምሬ ጊጺኝ** literary mean being and transforming from childhood to adulthood.³⁹⁵

When they marched to the bride's house, they were welcomed by *Asadari*, literary the person who would serve all night. This *Asadari* notified the arrival of the bridegroom and his best men to the bride's family who were waiting them. Then, the bride's family and her villagers in the pavilion tested the best men.³⁹⁶ This testing question includes:

Agäwña	Amaharic	English
አይስ አዋ ቲንቱንጋይ	ማንን ለማን ልትወስዱ መጣችሁ	Who for whom
ስሟ ድቂዋን	ሙሉ ስሞቻቸዋል	Name them
አካባቢ ብሽታኑ እስታ ካበለ ቿ አያቂ	የቀበሌ አስተዳዳሪ፣ የቤተ-ክርስቲያን አስተዳደሪ እና መነኩሲት እነማን ናቸዋል	Who is qebele administrator ,who is provost and who is nun
ወኝይ ቤራ-አክኝ	የበሬ ዕቃ ስንት ነዉ	How many farm tools are there

The themes of the above question are; the socio-cultural and economic aspect which are used to identify the quality of being industrious farmer, his relativeness, his religion and his commitment to make the tie heart fully .Hereupon, they were permitted to enter and start to song. The bridegroom and his best man spent all night at the bride's house and next day they returned to the bridegroom's house .After their arrival, before the entry of the bride to the house, the bridegroom's mother and his brother pledged to the best men to consider her as one of his daughter and sister respectively. After pledged of alliance in front of best men, the bride and the

³⁹³Informants: Aba Täšälä Yesmaw, Gétahun Zäläqä

³⁹⁴ Informants: Sämanäh Alämnäh, Täšälä Yesmaw, Tamer Worqé

³⁹⁵ *ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *ibid.*

bridegroom were permitted to enter the house by slaughtering a sheep.³⁹⁷ The marriage system was hand hovered after the dispersal of honeymoon what the Agäw people say *Čagulafirisi*.³⁹⁸



Figure 12 Bridegroom, bride (mist one) and their best man

Photo taken by present researcher during his field work on May 20, 2022

4.2.2. Change and continuity in marriage system

Here the researcher has made to draw the changes based on the special occasion that my informant told based on the event that were happened. Indeed, to show the change and continuity my informant state እትጊ ጊዛይ during the ascendancy of Itgé (Zewditu) ፌሬንጅ አምታዳስ ፋላንጋ (in post liberation) ደርግ ይንቱኒዳስ (during the Därg ascendancy).³⁹⁹ Accordingly, the beginning of twentieth century, post liberation to Därg and during the Därg regime.

The marriage ties were unique during imperial and the Därg regimes. During the imperial period a marriage relation was held between the social hierarchies that prevailed for a long period of time. The marriage tie was made between *balabat's* with *balabat's*, *Česäña* with *Česäña* and outcast with the outcast. The marriage tie was confided based on the socio-economic and political fatigue of the time.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Informants: Täšälä Guwadé, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Abé Dubalä

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ Informants: Aba Täšälä Yesmaw, Gétahun Zäläqä

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

After the coming of the Därg, a marriage tie that was confided in the socio-economic and political hierarchy of the time was started to corrode and finally it was buried after the ascendancy of EPRDF government.⁴⁰¹ Simultaneously, the bride-wealth payment varied from time to time and the will of the family. Accordingly, in pre-imperial period; a salt bar was paid as a bride-price. If the family of the bride were respected and feared as well as rich, two salt bar was paid if not, as the agreement between them. Since the imperial period, especially in the post-liberation period, the bride price was started to be paid in cash. As it was in early time the bride price, vary based on the social strata of the bride family. Indeed, it varied from two ETB up to ten ETB. However, during the Därg regime, it increased highly.⁴⁰²

According to my informants, why the bride wealth payment was started to pay in cash during the imperial period and started to increase during the Därg regime was the increment of the monetary system in the country and the attempts to end the of social strata which paved the way for the “outcaste” to be competent in marriage ties.⁴⁰³

Furthermore, before the introduction of mills and the expansion of infrastructure, male and female youngsters were contributed differently to the bride and the bridegroom families. Accordingly, the male youngsters collected fire wood, pounded peppercorn, and finally, one day before the ceremony, they constructed a pavilion. The female youngsters mashed the grain for local beer and local alcohol.⁴⁰⁴ Apart from the change that was seen in the marriage contribution, the ceremony by itself was changed. According to my informant, in early time, during the ascendancy of Haylä-Selasè and post-liberation period up to the coming of the Därg in the pavilion there was *Šédaki* prepared to the fete, which was made up of bamboo tree and used as *Musob*. There on *Šédaki*, five up to six single Injera were laid on and the fetes were enjoyed with it. This trend ended following the upcoming of the Därg to power.⁴⁰⁵

In early time, the elders who were summoned to bless the bridegroom and the bride blessed by holding Milk, honey and green grass in their hand, after the blessing was over, the fete were obliged to drink blessed milk and honey which was used to imply the God have given us the

⁴⁰¹ Informants: Säwagāñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Tamer Worqé, Ayal Engeda.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ Informants: Aba Täšälä Yesmaw, Gétahun Zäläqä

⁴⁰⁵ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Täšälä Yesmaw, Tamer Terunäh

honey and may the God enable you to have milk and honey and also may our God make your marriage tasteful as honey and milk.⁴⁰⁶

Despite the above changes, the marriage proposal, marriage request letter, the blessing in the home and backing of the bridegroom by a matrilineal uncle ,the revolving of the mortar three times ,the quest at the family of bride, and the profess continued as it was in the first half of twentieth Century.⁴⁰⁷

4.3. Kinship among the Agäw People of Mätäkäl

Before looking at the kinship system that the Agäw people of Mätäkäl practice, it is important to look at the kinship terminology of the Agäw people. There are different expressions that the Agäw people of Mätäkäl used to strengthen the relationship with the people that they have been. This can be classified as consanguineous kinship, *Iši-Yesga-Zämäd*/Flesh line, affine marriage kinship *Tuteñi-Yägabeča* religious or ritual kinships, *Kestant Čuwa/Tabela/Cheristena Inat/Abat*/God father/mother can be mentioned.⁴⁰⁸ Here the researcher have attempted to see consanguineous kinship.

Consanguineous kinship (*Zämédu Mabiri/Geneñu*);According to the Agäw elder, consanguine kinship relations was instituted and have been strong since the beginning of the twentieth Century .This kinship system was conducted annually after Easter. According to my informants, the elders of the kinship scheduled when and where to perform the meeting .Then, they notified to all kinship members the day of *towači* literary the entry day and *fešeši* exile day .Then all kinships took all the material for this festivity to the place that the ceremony to be held. During the entry day, all kinships will appear in the ceremony .On the next day, all kinships were summoned and stood in the front of elder kinships and present their genealogical line. Accordingly, seven genealogical lines were counted in matrilineal or patrilineal genealogy. Nevertheless, there was not a clear meeting day before the pre-liberation period. In post-liberation period, the annual meeting was started. My informant asserts that the annual kinship meeting was introduced following the population increase and the introduction and expansion of modern education. Hence, the marriage ties between kinship who are less than seven genealogies

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ Informants: Säwagäñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Tamer Worqé, Ayal Engeda

have been strictly forbidden in the socio-cultural aspect of the Agäw people .So it was introduced on one hand to protect the marriage tie between the kinships, and on the other hand, to introduce and tighten the kinship members.⁴⁰⁹

4.4. Horsemen Association (Firistiniw Mabiri)

The horse played and still is playing a significant role in the socio-economic, cultural and political mode of the Agäw people. The Agäw people instituted the Horsemen Association, which is called *Firistiniw Mabiri* in Agwña is the biggest traditional association which the Agäw people practice annual.⁴¹⁰ There are varied sources on the foundation and objective of the Horseman Association. Accordingly, Ayenew states that it was founded for the exchange of information during the Italian occupation.⁴¹¹ However, my informants, Ato Fäntahun who is a member of association and Alemu states that it was founded in 1942 after the expulsion of Italians from the soil of Ethiopia. It was founded to commemorate the preponderant role that horse played at the battle of Adwa, Mayčäw and during the five years of patriotic resistance movement.⁴¹² Ayal Engeda who is a member of HA confirmed that it was primarily to commemorate the role of horse and the hero's that the association was founded.⁴¹³ The later one is acceptable and is convincing, hence my informant assert that, during the five years of Italian occupation, the message transmission between the patriots was held covertly by wearing as deacon or priest or via females patriots.⁴¹⁴ In any case, the association from inception was organized at qäbälé level and it grew widely to comprise the whole seven-houses of Agäw who were said to have been came from Lasta.⁴¹⁵

An assembly of fifteen members who were elected through direct voting and who served for five years term headed the association. Each district or woräda has a sub-association headed by an assembly of three members. A general meeting in which all members from all districts participate was held once a year on Miyazia 23 and at district level on Ṭer 23. All members host the general association on especial events or celebration like holiday celebration or funereal day

⁴⁰⁹Informants: Säwagäñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol, Admasu Haylu, Tamer Worqé, Ayal Engeda.

⁴¹⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹¹Ayenew Fenta, "A History of Ankäša Woräda ..., P.33.

⁴¹²Informants, Fäntahun Aseräs, Alemu Alene, "Horse culture & tourism development: Towards initiating horse tourism in Awi Zone, Northwestern Ethiopia", *Cogent Social Sciences*, 6:1, 1735116, DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2020.1735116, p.13.

⁴¹³*Ibid*; informant, Ayal Engeda.

⁴¹⁴Informants: Säwagäñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol.

⁴¹⁵Ayenew Fenta, "A History of Ankäša Woräda ..., pp.33-34

.Subsequently, the members escorts the deceased body on the funereal ceremony. Besides the members has been escorted the Arc covenant (Tabot) on the holiday ceremony. This was held in turn by turn.⁴¹⁶ Furthermore, it has been its law and order. This is more elucidated by Ayenw as

If a wife of an association member passes away, that man is prohibited from marrying the widow of a member, and any women who lost her husband will never marry a man from the association members. Horsemen association also serves as an institution for solving conflicts among the members. Any conflict arising between members is solved at kebele, ketena or wäräda association members. Unless it is very serious case, and beyond its capacity, members do not take their cases to courts.⁴¹⁷

The horsemen association has been historical, socio-cultural, and political significance than economical interest. Historically, it has its genesis which goes back to 1942, socio-culturally, it is the only association which was instituted to commemorate the role of horse and express the tradition. Besides, it paved the way for the association members to synchronize by the members before the legal organization. Politically, it was instituted to plant the role of the Agäw in the defending the mother country from the invading force the threat of the country.⁴¹⁸



Figure 13 Horseman's

Horseman's who were galloping during horsemen day celebration festivity and the participants of horsemen members

Source: Obtained from Awi zone Cultural and Tourism office (Injebara)

⁴¹⁶ Aemu Alene, Horse...p, Ayenew Fenta, A History of...p.34.

⁴¹⁷ Ayenew Fenta, A History of ..., p.35.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid*,34. informants:Fäntahun Aseräs, Ayal Engeda.

4.5. Hunting Game Animal

Hunting and gathering were the chief subsistence economic systems of Ethiopian society for a long period. The traditions as well as traveler accounts show that, before the nineteenth century hunting has been used for different economic significance. Hunters obtain ivory and skins, horns that had high significance for economy. Ivory was carried out by the members of the ruling classes of Ethiopian highlanders who made their highly expeditions to the lowland areas for their hunting purpose. Hunting was considered a recreational sport, social status and it was conducted for trophies. It is said to have in Ethiopia hunting dangerous wild animals earned a high status for the hunters among their people.⁴¹⁹ Mätäkäl was one of the hunting ground starting from early century to the second half of twentieth century. This multi-end and multi-aimed task was said to have been conducted in the middle of October to the beginning of May. Hence, in this dry season, the volume of the rivers decreases and the wild animals move from place to place to find water and grass. At this time, animals are clearly seen by the hunters from a distance.⁴²⁰

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl were not exceptional from this annual and periodical engaging objective. The people conducted hunting for recreational sports, trophy and social status. Furthermore, it was conducted on a subsistent diet. Nevertheless, since the second half of nineteenth century hunting for commercialization was started following the importance of ivory, buffalo, and rhinoceros' horns at the international market.⁴²¹

According to my informant's and primary source, hunting and hunters were uniquely respected and honored in Agäw society. Consequently, it was common to perform periodic hunting in groups or individually in the Mätäkäl, which was endowed with wild animals like elephants, buffaloes, lions and giraffes.⁴²² (See also appendix-XXVI).Individually, a person was said to have hunted by using a trap or by dog hounding hunting in Mätäkäl area. The second hunting practice that was conducted in-group was periodical hunting activity, which was conducted during the dry season. It was conducted for the trophy. From inception, the hunters select a

⁴¹⁹ Abdussema H. Ahmad, " Hunting in Gojjam: The Case of Mätäkäl," in Tadesse Seyene (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 1 (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1984), p. 237.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² NALA,17,1,11,16,08,A Letter written to Forest ,Fish and Wild Animal Preservation principal office,Ref.20/208//1 Date,14/11/1968 E.C;Informants:Tamer Worqé,Tamer Terunäh,Täšälä Yesmaw,Yawnäw Beru

hunting site and the day when to do so. Afterward, the group camped around the hunting site and arranged the rounds by lotto system. The round continues up to the last group member. In this turn a group member was obliged to precede by shooting the game and then after his gunning, all group members fired the game animal what they attain. A group member who fired initially was said to have the hunter of the day and the castration belonged to him. Not only in hunting game animals, guarding their temporary site camp was said to have been performed in turn.⁴²³

Up to the first half of the nineteenth century the Agäw people hunted this game animal by using swords, javelins and shields. Sometime the hunting activity was said to have been conducted by using horses .However, after the battle of Adwa and the expansion of fire-arms in Mätäkäl, the hunting game animal was transformed from hunting by outdate tool to update fire-arms, this ended the importance of horse in hunting game animal. Moreover, the expansion of modern fire arm simplified the task of hunter and exceeded the death toll of game animal.⁴²⁴

According to my informant, up to the first half of nineteenth century, the hunting was performed for recreational sport, trophy and social status. The nobility, who spent most of their time in war or in residential areas recreated and surmounted the intent of war by hunting game animal. Therefore, in the Agäw of Mätäkäl, it was the person who killed wolf has specially honored and respected.⁴²⁵ According to them, it was wolf, which was considered the king of game animal. They underline that; wolf can kill elephants and can kill lions. So, killing wolf means killing wild animal king.⁴²⁶

Nevertheless, since the dawn of the second half of twentieth century, hunting activity started to degenerate. According to my informant, hunting was declined because of two factors. The first one was that the government prohibited hunting game animals in Mätäkäl and its environ. To this end, the Agäw people started to obey the government law and order and started to abandon the hunting activity.⁴²⁷ This is confirmed by existing primary sources. According to a primary source, hunting game animal was prohibited and those who hunted game animal without the consensus

⁴²³ Informants: Tamer Worqé, Tamer Terunäh, Täšalä Yesmaw, Yawnäw Beru, Abé Dubalä

⁴²⁴ Informants: Säwagäñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol.

⁴²⁵ Informants: Asäfa Abäjähu, Säwagäñ Enyäu, Tamer Terunäh, Säwagäñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

of the government were considered as illegal and were buckled.⁴²⁸(see appendix XXVIII).For instance, there were different decrees that were issued to ban hunting game animal as illegal. There were proclamations in 1942 and 1944, which banned hunting game animals .Likewise, the mandate to protect and manage game animals was given to the minister of Agriculture .And also, the issue also made different methods to thought people to consider game animal as the resource of the country.⁴²⁹(See appendix -XXVII).

The second factor was associated with the introduction and expansion of modern schools. This introduction and expansion of modern education forced the people to compete in teaching their children rather than competing them in hunting game animals as in the former years.⁴³⁰

Actually, illegal hunting activity in Mätäkäl continued as it had been in an early time. To this end the Imperial government ordered Gojjam T/Gezat to control those illegal hunters who kill and force the game animal to migrate to Sudan.⁴³¹(See appendix-XXVII &XXIII). However, it was in vain. This continued during the Därg regime, where *Fitawrari* Iyasu Zäläqä was considered collaborator with illegal hunters.⁴³²(see appendix-XXIX)

According to scholarly work of Ayenew, why the illegal hunting continued in Mätäkäl up to Därg period was that, the first one the loosely nature of imperial decrees. The decrees and laws that were issued were not such strong enough .Another factors was the geographical setting that barricaded the government not to enforce laws and its “malarias” nature of hunting area created favorable conditions for illegal hunters.⁴³³This is supported by archival sources ,which state that in Mätäkäl *awraja*, in Dangur and Guba *woräda*, the illegal hunter who crossed via Omdéla from Bégémeder and Sämén *Ṭäqelay gezat* killed a considerable game animal, To caught them, the geographical seat of hunting ground was twiddled the police.⁴³⁴(See appendix- XXX)Up to the wake of Därg, there were illegal hunters who crossed and hunted game animal from Mätäkäl.

⁴²⁸ NALA,17,1,11,16,09,To Gojjam Governorate general ,Ref.3087/31/61,Date,9/12/1961 E.C.

⁴²⁹NALA,17,19,20, To Gojjam Governorate genral,Ref.2/14//57 Date,1/5/1957 E.C.

⁴³⁰Informants:Asäfa Abäjähü,Säwagäñ Enyäu,Tamer Terunäh; Mahatämä-Selassé,*Reconciliation...pp.347-354*.

⁴³¹NALA,17,1,11,16,09, To Gojjam governorate genera l, Ref.3087/31/61,Date,9/12/1961 E.&NALA,17,1,11,16,08, A Letter written to Forest ,Fish and Wild Animal Preservation principal office,Ref.20/208//1 Date,14/11/1968 E.C.

⁴³² NALA,17,18,17, To Bälačäw Täkola,Ref.4/2/15/25/8/1969 E.C.

⁴³³Ayenw Fenta, “Society State.....pp.174-175.

⁴³⁴NALA,17,1,11,14,01, To Gojjam governorate genral,Ref.774/99,Date,26/2/1961 E.C.

4.6. Traditional Medical System

Traditional medical practice is an age-old treatment in which human beings relied for the prevention of health disorder. It is still widely in use for preventive and curative role of the various health disorders and human ailments.⁴³⁵

WHO, define the traditional medicine as:

The sum total of knowledge, skill and practice based on the theories, beliefs and experience indigenous to different cultures whether explicable or not, used in the maintenance of health as well as in the prevention, diagnosis, improvement or treatment of the physical and mental illness⁴³⁶.

In its broader classification, traditional medical treatment has two features namely, natural folk medicine and magico/spiritual healing system. The former is extracted from plant, animal and mineral products by local healers, while the magico religious practice is the process of curing the patient through spiritual healing.⁴³⁷

The process of the traditional medicinal preparation and the method of the treatment among the Agäw people have been an age old and an indigenous knowledge application that the healers produced it from locally available plant, animal and the mineral products.⁴³⁸ Thus from animal product like bone ,meat ,urine ,butter and honey were the most significant products which have been used as medical treatment. Salt and mineral water were also another medical treatments .Plants like the node of eucalyptus tree, garlic, pepper, ginger were other plant products, which were used for traditional medical system among the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. The animal, mineral and plant were used independently or by mixing it in three ways. In one hand it was said to have used in liquid form to drink, or to smear on injured part or to fumigate her/or himself.⁴³⁹

4.7. Cast System

Cast system is ostracizing certain group of people by using different criteria. Furthermore, it may be also defined as restriction in marriage, restrictions in commensality, hierarchical grading, pollution, traditional occupation, and ascribed statuses of particular ethnic groups assumed to be bounded and discrete entities. Moreover, the 'caste' concept can be addressed by considering

⁴³⁵WHO ,General Guidelines for Methodologies on Research and Evaluation of Traditional Medicine,(Geneva: World Health Organization ,2000),p.1

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁸ Awi Zone cultural and Tourism Office Bahalawi Mädaahanit Qemema,p.12.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*;Informants:Assäfa Abäjähu,Mälakä-Berhan Meherät

different categories of objections. Of the objection, two prevalent ideological: myths and notions of pollution are in consideration. Mythological, the marginalized groups are seen more as associated with nature and the wild, and even, in extreme cases, as being descended from unions. On other hand, notion of pollution is seen in their impurity of food or way of life.⁴⁴⁰

According to my informant's artisan like weaver, blacksmith and tanner were considered as outcast groups in the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. According the tradition, upon the division of land by God what Agäw called *Deban*, the craftsman came after the division of land was over, where they were late on their craft work.⁴⁴¹ Then the God finally permit them to live by their craftwork. Traditionally the Agäw people considered craftsman lost their land by their mistake that they had made during the division of land. They were not permitted to have land. They were considered as victim by their guilty what they made. Simultaneously, tanners were also considered as impure who eat taboo foods.⁴⁴²

Meanwhile they were not strictly ostracized and stiffly restricted in social life of the community they had been played important social and ritual roles in the life-cycle events, at birth, male circumcision, marriages and funerals, as circumcisers, musician. They had also being consulted for their presumed occult powers or medical knowledge, as surgeons, dentists or veterinary experts. Nonetheless, they were prohibited from marriage tie with other people of the Agäw people. This was said to have been true up to the coming of Därg. Afterward it was said to have been the marriage tie was started.⁴⁴³

4.8. Holy Day Celebration

According to Ethiopian the prolific historian Tadesse Tamirat, Christianization of the Agäw people of Gojjam was said to have been started during the ascendancy of Amedä-Şion who was the defender of the Orthodox Christian church and “a true champion of its expansion”. Amedä-Şion forced and urged traditional believer Agäw people to accept Christianity by killing their leader Žan-Čuhay who stiffly resisted and finally arrested ZäYohannis. Nevertheless, his attempt never ended the militancy of the Agäw people against the church, “it was with the establishment

⁴⁴⁰ Alula Pankhurst, “‘Caste’ in Africa: The Evidence from South-Western Ethiopia Reconsidered”, *Journal of the International African Institute*, 1999, Vol. 69, No. 4 (1999), pp.485-490.

⁴⁴¹ Informants: Tamer Worqé, Tamer Terunäh, Täşalä Yesmaw, Yawnäw Beru

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴⁴³ Informants: Mässärät Güzahañ, Zämänu Woräña, Zäwudu Čäkol, Säwagäñ Säwnät, Şetu Abäwa

of the center of the Christian kings in Gondär, Agäw-Meder was no longer at the periphery of the Empire, and this seems to have gradually weakened the militancy of the Agäw resistance against the Church”.⁴⁴⁴ The same author in his well-accepted book state that, there was a monastery named Ṭana Qirqos which was found in the 9th Century AD.⁴⁴⁵ At the same time Ṭana and its environ was dominantly settled by the Agäw people.⁴⁴⁶ Furthermore, the king who was “the defender of the church and the true champion of Christian expansion” himself was not a devoted Christian and had no strong relationship with religious leaders.⁴⁴⁷ Therefore, one can draw from this that, on one hand the measure taken by Amedä-Šion to force the Agäw people to accept Christianity seems the politico-religious intention of the king. Moreover, the religion and religious process of the Agäw people needs further investigation.

The Agäw people have unique traditional music and dance which are used to commemorate and glitter special occasions like wedding ceremonies, hunting, farming, harvesting, rituals of birth, and public holidays.⁴⁴⁸

Obviously, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl as other Christian counterpart have been wonderful holyday festivity. The people celebrate Ṭemqät, Mäsqäl, Fasika, and other holyday celebration colorfully. Here the researcher tries to look how the people celebrated Mäsqäl based on the socio-cultural significance of the feast.

4.8.1. Mäsqäl (Méskal)

According to my informants Assäfa and Alämayähu; Mäsqäl festivity to Agäw people was not only the festivity, but also have considered as a seasonal transformation from rainy season to shining spring and transformation from food scarce to food extra. They asserts that this is why the stems were abraded which is used to imply that let the rainy and food scarce seasons ended here and began bright season.⁴⁴⁹

The ritual practice

⁴⁴⁴ Tadesse Tamrat, “A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Century”, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, January 1972, Vol. 10, No. 1 (JANUARY 1972), pp.140-145.

⁴⁴⁵ Tadesse Tamrat, Church and state....pp.371-377&pp.383-384.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.53.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.222-225.

⁴⁴⁸ Informants: Mäsärät Gäzahñ, Zämänu Woräña, Zäwudu Čäkol, Säwagäñ Säwnät, Šetu Abäwa

⁴⁴⁹ Informants: Assäfa Abäjhu, Alämayähu,

Mäsqäl has multifaceted socio-cultural values in addition to its religious base and role as a world heritage list. Different cultural dressings, food and drink, practices, games, interactions, etc. are also performed within each Christian dweller's village to accomplish the Mäsqäl ceremony with great joy, happiness and success.⁴⁵⁰

Two weeks before the festivities, the female and male youngsters started the preparation. The male youngster starts to cut the stem, making touches from a twig and prepare the pyre for the festivity. The female youngster starts to prepare local bears and alcohol. On September 26, one day before the main festivities, the male youngsters accumulate the stem and pyres that were prepared for this day. Besides, they erected pyre on the right and left sides of the house gate, at the pillar and at the doorstep.⁴⁵¹ Simultaneously, female youngster brought bright yellow flowers what local people called *Addili Ababa* and *Siwi* to make the feast colorful. According to my informants, this day was called *Gomata Miši* literary stem entry day, which was celebrated to commemorate the fumigation of queen Ellini to find the true cross. Another informant stated that, it is considered as the beginning of a bright day and the end of rainy season. Whatever it was, the entry of the stem was started from respected feared elders of the community, than to adults and finally to least young households. This entry of the stem may stay up to 5:00 PM local time. It is in this day that all new agricultural products are appreciated.⁴⁵²

On this day, people chanted by saying *iyohé, iyohé, iyoha, iyohé, Amita Gušahyā, hoyä, Mésikä, hoyä*. When they meet with someone else in the way, it was common to say *Deruša*, the respondent may say *liha-Šaya-Améto Tamp*. When the inserting of the stem was over from top of a community to bottom of a community member's, they returned to their home.⁴⁵³

On September 27, approximately at 11:00 local PM, the whole community members starts chanting *Iyoha, Iyohe, Iyoha Iyohe*, and they went to the bonfire site by escorting their elders. Clergyman and community elders selected the bonfire site. After the priest blessed the *dāmāra*, they started to circle the bonfire in a clockwise direction three times based on the social order of the people. Accordingly, priests, elders, adults and children. After the third, the elders gave a blessing and the touches were thrown by chanting *Deruša* to the bonfire according to the social

⁴⁵⁰ Informants: Täšälä Guwadé, Täšälä Yesmaw, Abé Dubalä, Sämanäh Alämnäh

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² Informants: Aba Mehrät, Aba Solomon Amené, Aba, Täšälä Yesmaw

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

order, priests, elder's adult and children. There, they eat and drink local products which were brought by the females. Then again, there was livestock slaughter was performed at the bonfire site.⁴⁵⁴

The preparation, practice, and ritual circling vary from time to time. Subsequently, from the first half of twentieth Century to the revolution, the pyre, a stem and touch made up of twig were prepared based on the favor of local nobility. Moreover, the inserting of the stem was said to have been made only at the houses of local *balabat*'s. Likewise, the bonfire site was also said to have selected by local nobility and clergymen. Apart from this, the encircling of a bonfire by itself was based on social strata that prevailed, accordingly, nobility (local leaders) clergyman, *balabat*'s, and tenant and outcast groups. Simultaneously, the inserting of stem was performed based on the social strata that prevailed.⁴⁵⁵ Nevertheless, following the coming of the Därg, the social strata that prevailed for a long period of time was ended. However, the bonfire site was decided to be at *qäṭāna* level which with the will of *qäṭāna* leader.⁴⁵⁶

Back to the Italian years my informant's recalled that the five years of Italian rule were black years in which the Christian people did not heart-fully celebrated the ritual day. They assert that the Italians banned the people not to celebrate any ritual days, Henceforth; it was considered as creating favorable conditions to deal with the political situation against them.⁴⁵⁷



Figure 14. Mäsqäl Celebration.

Photo taken from Awi Zone culture and tourism office (in the left one) and by present researcher, Čagni (in the right one).

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ Informants: Zäwdu Čäkol, Säwagäñ Säwnät, Šebabaw Täšälä

⁴⁵⁶ Informants: Täšälä Guwadé, Täšälä Yesmaw, Abé Dubalä, Sämanäh Alämnäh

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

4.9. The Socio-Cultural Interaction with Neighboring People

I. The Agäw-Gumuz Interaction

Traditionally, the two people are said to have been strong traditional interaction. According to Agäw elders, once upon a time the Agäw and Gumuz people were settled in the northern part of Ethiopia. Then, the hunter Gumuz community lapsed from there, and the Agäw people did not find them for a long period of time. After a long period of time when the Agäw people came to the Agäw-Meder area for hunting, they found black people. However, they did not say anything to them, when they returned to Lasta they told to their elders that they had found black people elsewhere they made hunting. Hereafter, the elders articulated them that, they were lost brothers at early times and urged them to make friendly relation with them.⁴⁵⁸ Simultaneously, the Gumuz tradition states that the Gumuz people and probably the Agäw people were twin brothers with different color with different natural gifts. Woldelesi states this as:

Once upon a time, twin sons were said to have been born from a mother. One of the twin sons was black skinned (Gumuz) and the other was fair colored (non-Gumuz). They both grew up and matured, and then contested for power in the absence of a local assembly. At first, they both were given a horse for galloping. But the Gumuz fell down, while the highlander galloped well. Then they were offered to choose from bow and arrow on the one hand and spear and shield on the other. Then the Gumuz took the former and the non-Gumuz took the latter. Gradually, they were also made to choose from Inga (the Gumuz term for porridge) and Injera, where the Gumuz favored the former while the highlander favored the latter. Later they were asked to settle either to the right (in the Central highlands of Ethiopia) or to the left (towards the low lands of the periphery). From these two alternatives, the non-Gumuz chooses to settle to the right in the central highlands and the Gumuz choose to settle to the left towards the periphery⁴⁵⁹.

Still, another oral and secondary source reveals that during the coming of seven houses of Agäw to Agäw-Meder and Matakäl, they were warmly welcomed by the famous Gumuz woman called Aduck. According to oral tradition, Aduck played a significant role in the peaceful division of the land to the seven Agäw brothers and she is said to have laid lasting imprint on the protection of the seven houses of Agäw from the attacks of the neighboring enemy. Consequently, the Agäw people were “thankful to Aduck, and upon her death, all of the

⁴⁵⁸Informants: Ayale Engeda, Sämanh Alämnäh, Zäwdu Čäkol

⁴⁵⁹Wolde Selassie Abute, "Gumuz and Highland Resettlers: Differing Strategies of Livelihood Ethnic Relations in Matakäl, North West Ethiopia," (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Göttingen, 2002), p.55.

founding fathers of seven houses of Agäw were said to have come together and buried her dead body in what is today west of Injibara town, where stone ruins are currently witnessed”.⁴⁶⁰

The Agäw-Gumuz has capitalized socio-cultural relations. There was and still is a common saying that, **ንጳስኩዊ ጉሙዝካ**, literary our Gumuz, and at the same time the Gumuz people say **ሹ ኳ** which is literary mean our men. Historically, this is said to have developed during slavery. Accordingly, Slave hunters what were said to have come from Gojjam and Gondär made slave hunting in Gumuz areas. Then after slave hunting was over, the hunters took a rest in Agäw residential areas. When the Agäw got a good opportunity, they released hunted Gumuz people. Then, released Gumuz considered the person who released them as their relative and called them **ሹ ኳ** literary our people or our Men, and the Agäw called **ንጳስኩዊ ጉሙዝካ** our Gumuz.⁴⁶¹

Moreover, my oral informant state that,

**እንታሊ ዲብሳኒስ እንኳኸንኹስታ ድኪ ጌርክዳ አድማስ ይንትካማ (ጉሙዝካዋ ቼዋና) ::
ጌወካማ ባላበትካኋዳ ይንትካማ ፋራን ጊዛይ ቼወስቱንከሳ ጉሙዝካዋ አዋዋ ኬምፕስ
ቼዋንትካ እንክርዓኒስ ኬምፕስ ቼወስቱንከሳ በይፅካማ ድፃባያና ::**

According to tradition, the *adema* who came from different parts of the country made slave hunting in Gumuz areas. Then, they took a rest in our *Balabat*. Thence, the Agäw *balabt's* in one hand invite and enjoyed with the *adema* and on the other hand, they finds the way to free hunted Gumuz and even encourage hunted to hide themselves.⁴⁶²

However ,Abenew states that ,Zäläqä Liqu was not only the ruler of Bäläya, but also was slave hunter and also a man who created favorable conditions for slave hunters called *adema* who came from different part of Ethiopia. He added that, the slave hunting of Zäläqä Liqu forced the Gumuz community to exile to Sudan.⁴⁶³ In this regard Abdussamad also claim that, the Gumuz of Mätäkäl were enslaved by the Agäw people of Mätäkäl, whom they enslaved the Gumuz people

⁴⁶⁰ Alemayehu Erkihun, “Inter-ethnic relation among Awi and Gumuz, Northwestern Ethiopia since 1974: A shift from hostile to peaceful co-existence”, *African Journal of History and Culture* Vol. 7(2), pp. 64-70, February, 2015 .p.65; Informants: Ayal Engeda, Asäfa Abäjähu

⁴⁶¹ Informants: Ayal Engeda, Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Ademasu Haylu

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ Abnew Debalqe, A History of. ...pp.19-20.

by using Segadi and Bäläya as their launching pad.⁴⁶⁴ Again, Jera state that, the Gumuz of Mätäkäl were enslaved dominantly by the Agäw people. Moreover he assert, it was because of this abhorrence that the Gumuz people started cutting the hand and the reproductive organ of men and the breast of Women to show hatred against them.⁴⁶⁵ For instance, one can consider that the inter-ethnic interaction of the two people may seem slave-lord interaction. Nevertheless, it seems erroneous about the nature of slave in the surroundings. The slaves were the war captives who lost the battle. In this regard, it was not only the Gumuz but also all ethnic groups who lost the battle and captured as war captive became slave or domestic worker or sold.⁴⁶⁶ Besides in the region i.e in Mätäkäl the Gumuz elders, the Gumuz of Guba, Hamedan's family and Kojälé of Assosa, were also active slave hunter in the area.⁴⁶⁷ Likewise, the Agäw people by themselves were also said to have enslaved in some extent. Accordingly, it was reported that they were hunted and sold at Däbärä Marqos in 1950s.⁴⁶⁸ My informants also assert that:

አጃ ጁወኃ ይንታንኩዊ ጉሙዝካዋ አታን ጊዛይ ታቢዓ ሽንጉዋ እሚኻስካማ ካሳና

If slave hunter were not successful in hunting the Gumuz they took (enslave) maiden Agäws.⁴⁶⁹

Despite its rotten in history, it has been a lasting seal in Agäw-Gumuz interaction. Indeed, it is said to have, in this unpleasant deed, the two people developed the consideration of being custodianship of each other.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, one can find that Agäwaized Gumuz in different part of Mätäkäl who completely inherited the Agäw tradition and became Agäw. This Agäwaized Gumuz were said to have been formerly served in the household and who were not willing to go back after the abolishment of slavery.⁴⁷¹

Despite their strong socio-cultural and traditional bonds, there was selective killing, which was performed by the Gumuz people since 1940s. Accordingly it was Agažé that the first death of the Agäw by Gumuz was seen. This seems to be the penalty for their support of the new settlers. Hence, the Agäw people started to hand out spontaneous settlers and combat Gumuz by

⁴⁶⁴ Abdussamad H. Ahmad, "Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897-1938", *The Journal of African History*, 1999, Vol. 40, No. 3 (1999), pp.433-443.

⁴⁶⁵ Jira Mekuria, "A Historical Survey p.22-24.

⁴⁶⁶ Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa*, (London, ---1995)p,174.

⁴⁶⁷ Abdussamad H. Ahmad, Trading in Slaves in....., pp.433-443.

⁴⁶⁸ Ayenew Mammo, "Slavery, Slave Trade, and Manumission in Gojjam, 1940s-1950s", Vol. 2, Issue 1, www.literaryhorizon.com, PP.31-41

⁴⁶⁹ Informants: Sämanäh Alämnäh, Ayal Engeda

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷¹ Informants: Täšälä Guwadé, Täšälä Yesmaw, Abé Dubalä, Sämanäh Alämnäh

organizing with Amahra settlers. After killing, the Gumuz people emasculate or took the deceased male reproductive organ and his hand or female breast and her hand. This is not as Jira stated, to show the animosity; nevertheless, it was to confirm his bravery in the community. As elsewhere in other ethnic group in early days, a person who kill big game animal and external ethnic group had been especial honorable with in ethnic group.⁴⁷²

II. The Agäw- Šenaša interactions

The Agäw people have been strong socio- cultural integration with the Šenaša people. Socio- Culturally, the two people have strong socio-cultural interaction. Thus, the two people are the adherents of orthodox Christianity and practice different holiday celebrations together. Besides, the two people had been in the practice of *idder*, which contributed a significant role in the funereal and holiday celebration of the two people.⁴⁷³ Nonetheless, there was no any marriage tie between the two people. Here my informant state that, it was the existence of varied marriage traditions was the center of backing. Thus, in the Boro-Šenaša, tradition, passing wife to families, Abduction, agreement of bride and bridegroom were seen as normal while in the Agäw tradition, it was proscribed tradition. However, after the coming of Därg it was said to have the marriage tie was said to have been started.⁴⁷⁴

III. The Agäw- Oromo interaction

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl have also strong socio-cultural interaction with Oromo people. Socio-Culturally, especially after the incorporation of Wombära and the conversion of local people to Christianity, they started to act as Christian goodwill and they have been strong marriage ties without language set back. At the same time, there was Buta ceremony within the two ethnic groups. In fact, it was celebrated in different way. Furthermore, there is a tradition state that, the daughter of Ginda was married to an unknown nobility of Wombära Oromo, and the nobility of Wombära were considered as direct descendants of this daughter. Therefore, according to the Agäw tradition, beyond socio-cultural interaction, they do have bloodline.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ Informants: Säwagä Säwnät, Assäfa Abäjähu, Tamer Worqé

⁴⁷⁴ Informants: Assäfa Abäjähu, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Täšälä Yesmaw, Zäwdu Čäkol

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*

IV. The Agäw-Amahra Interaction

The Agäw-Amahra interaction Socio-culturally, after the coming and the beginning of permanent settlement, in the first half of the nineteenth century the two ethnic groups started to practice holiday celebration together. They have been the socio-cultural institutions like *idir* and *iqub*. Moreover, the two people have been strong marriage ties. Surprisingly enough, after the intrusion of Wollo Muslim; they started to convert the Agäw people into Islamic religion. Thus, there are Agäw Muslims in the study area whom local people said *Awi Selama* literary Agäw Muslim.⁴⁷⁶

4.10. *Mébärawi Tamteñi*, Social Cohesion among the Agäw People of Mätäkäl

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl have developed different means of social cohesion for long period with those people who were not similar ethnic group or those people who did not embrace patrilineal and matrilineal kinships. Indeed, *Anguwa-Şahuñi* literary breast sucking, and *Kestant*, literary spiritual kinship can be listed.⁴⁷⁷

Sucking the breast has been a method, which brought a parent-child association among the Agäw people of Mätäkäl with non-Agäw ethnic group and non-bloodline kinship. In this method, one Agäw may suck the breast of other ethnic group: Gumuz, Şenaşa, Oromo or within the Agäw ethnic group who does not have bloodline. A formal procedure is conducted and the "son" sucks the honey mixed with milk and tapped on the breast (or in most cases the thumb) of his "father". This ceremony highlights the fostering aspects of the relationship. Afterward, the person who sucks the breast became son and the person who was sucked became father.⁴⁷⁸

Apart from breast sucking, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl employed another method for social cohesion with people who were not kinship in all aspect. Thus, *Kestant*, religious kinship was another one. In this occasion, prior to the date in which the child was Christianized at a nearby church, the family systematically selected from the proposal or inquiry that they had. The one, who was chosen as to be godfather/godmother of the child, was expected to bring either clothes or a towel during the occasion of baptism. Therefore, the person who became godfather was named as *kestant-tabela* while godmother, *Kestant-Čwa*, the child as *kestant-Jéra* and the whole

⁴⁷⁶*Ibid*

⁴⁷⁷ Informants: Säwagāñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Assäfa Abäjähu, Ejegu Mogäs, Admasu Haylu

⁴⁷⁸*Ibid*.

family *abälejik*. During this baptism ceremony the child's family, who were also *abälej* to their child's godfather, had to prepare food and drinks for priests as well as for neighbors and relatives in the churchyard and at home.⁴⁷⁹

4.11. Traditional Conflict Resolution Method among the Agäw People of Mätäkäl

Conflict is not a brand-new phenomenon in human history. An inevitable human experience will always exist as long as people coexist. Conflict can be defined as disagreement or potential confrontation between two or more parties that are pursuing antagonistic or competitive goals. Conflict can be either overt, identifiable through actions or behaviors, or covert, in which case it goes unnoticed for a while because incompatibilities are hidden or ingrained in institutional structures like governments, businesses, or even civil society. Additionally, conflict is inherent in the character of people. It is a universal truth. There is only one person who is free from conflict, and that person is a dead person.⁴⁸⁰

The main causes of conflicts between peoples in Mätäkäl were related to the farming land and the filling of encroachment. Following the spontaneous settlement program of 1940s and 1950s, the Gumuz people of Mätäkäl were evicted and displaced from their original and known environment. Furthermore, planned resettlement program of 1976 also had strongly instigating factor of the conflict. Thus, the Gumuz people were pushed to in accessible land. This created the filling of encroachment. Therefore, they developed fabulous hatred wars against the invaders, who gradually settled in the rich highland parts of Mätäkäl.⁴⁸¹ In such eviction of the Gumuz community, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl were either the evictor in the name of resettles in Pawi or Ṭana Bäläs project area or were also the host of the Gumuz war of 1960s who bid the re-settlers. Moreover, they were also the middlemen to reconcile the emerged phenomena.⁴⁸² After this sporadic upraise, it was said to have the Gumuz people started selective killing of non Gumuz peoples in the area whom they called “Šewa”.⁴⁸³

The competition for control of market was another underlying factor for ethnic conflicts between Amahra spontaneous re-settlers and the Agäw people. Hence the Agäw people were the bargain

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ Informants: Säwagāñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Assäfa Abäjähü, Ejegu Mogäs, Admasu Haylu

⁴⁸¹ Berhanu Meberatie, Spontaneous resettlement, ...p, 51 & 79-80; Paolo Dieci and Vittorio Roscio, Resttlemnt and development in Ethiopia: Economi-----pp. 118-120.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ Informants: Säwagāñ Säwnät, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Assäfa Abäjähü, Ejegu Mogäs, Admasu Haylu

of the trade between the Gumuz land, Oromo land and Šenaša. For instance, the desire to control items of trade and trade routes was an equally intense factor in Mätäkäl.⁴⁸⁴ The region was/is rich in natural resources particularly gold, which invited aggressions and invasions. The control of the gold deposit, which was traditionally panned mainly by the Gumuz in the streams of the Abbay River, aroused conflicts within the communities.⁴⁸⁵

The Gumuz in particular became victims of slave raids and raiders they killed the raider.⁴⁸⁶ Besides, the Agäw people were said to have been slave participated in the two folded in rotten history. Therefore, they were victim and actor of the slave raiding history. Moreover, Mätäkäl was also hunting ground in which hunting was conducted for trophy and economic significance. Disputes occurred over other items of trade and natural resources. Animal skins and civet were another important source of contention between the Gumuz, Šenaša, Oromo, Agäw and Amahra communities. There were hunting expeditions in this region mainly in the first half of the twentieth century. Control of the important animals, the items of trade and the resourceful areas made the region a hunting ground for armed men. The highland hunters could not safely move in the forested areas dominated by the Gumuz. They had to either take forceful actions against them or form friendships and continue to capture animal skins and civet.⁴⁸⁷

In this socio-economic competition, the Agäw people were also double participants. Thus, they were actively engaged in hunting with other hunter groups. In addition, they bitterly fought with the slave raiders and hunters with the Gumuz people.⁴⁸⁸

Dispute were prevented and managed by adhering to the values and principles of the community. Therefore, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl have used the *Šomégal* traditional institution to reconcile the Inter-ethnic conflict.⁴⁸⁹

Šomégal is the traditional conflict resolution system, which was a widely used and practiced institution of conflict resolution method among the Agäw people. The term “Šomégal” refers to elders of the community. Although the term Šomégal literally mean ‘elderly’ refers to old age, in

⁴⁸⁴Berhanu,...p.44.

⁴⁸⁵*Ibid*

⁴⁸⁶Abdussamad H. Ahmad , “Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897-1938”, *The Journal of African History* , 1999, Vol. 40, No. 3 (1999), pp.433-440.

⁴⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹Informants:Täšälä Guwadé,Täšälä Yesmaw,Abé Dubalä,Sämanäh Alämnäh

the context of conflict resolution one should not necessarily be of old age to be recruited as “Šumégili” or Šomégal. Instead, elderly members of the community were respected for their knowledge of customary laws and are alleged as symbols of wisdom, peace and reconciliation .Moreover, they were expected to be impartial and have a rich of experience .Therefore, a young adult man could be considered by the society as Šumigili as there was no restriction of age to be Šumégili”.⁴⁹⁰

According to my informant, the elders have been a certain method of hearing cases. The first one plaintiff and the defendant may came in front of the elders and present their case by upended there. Another method was that the elder by themselves with their pleasure might also summon the plaintiff and defender to present the case. The third method was said to have been the another external body other than plaintiff, defender and elder may present the case to elder to reconcile the case.⁴⁹¹

In each instance, the plaintiff always stands in front of the elder and makes their case first. The other party was/is expected to listen throughout one party's speech in later answer in his return. The defendant, who is positioned in front of the elder, was the second to make their argument. The elders may question each party for explanation in turn after hearing the cases. Additionally, the elders attempt to persuade one party by emitting the other if the case requires further inquiry and one or both parties conceal the facts. They employ their own talents and knowledge of cultural norms, values, and customs in this process, and they forewarn the party by making use of customary laws.⁴⁹² Elder demanded that both parties leave them alone for a short while as they determined the root of the issue. They talk about what they have seen, as well as what they already knew, and then they suggest a potential remedy. The parties are then summoned, and the proposed decision is presented to them together with a thorough justification and recommendations. The reconciliation process would begin if the parties were happy with the outcome. The wrongdoer will frequently be required to take an oath, bless the agreement, and make restitution during the settlement process. Following the conclusion of the reconciliation ritual,Šomégal let the two parties to shake hands with each other and kiss one another. Then, the

⁴⁹⁰ Informants: Ayal Engeda, Zäwdu Čäkol, Sämanäh Alämnäh, Ademasu Haylu

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

conflict parties swear oaths as a sign of joint commitment to peace and reconciliation was over.⁴⁹³



Photo source: Aynäbäba Engeda

Figure 15 Balambaras Guq Manguwa and Hamesaläqa Engeda Tässäma

Balambaras Guq Manguwa (1904-1990) was a Gumuz elder, who welcomed the emperor from exile who was the leader of PA association during the Därg and was respected feared and welcomed Gumuz elder. Again, *Hamesaläqa* Engeda Tässäma (1893-2003 E.C.) was Traditional Historian, who played significant role to quell 1960s the Gumuz revolt as arbiter, campaigner, feared, respected and lovely and who was welcomed Agäw elder.

⁴⁹³ Informants: Mässärät Gäzahñ, Zämänu Woräña, Zäwudu Čäkol, Säwagäñ Säwnät, Šetu Abäwa.

CONCLUSION

The Agäw people of Mätäkäl who belong to a central Cushitic linguistic group are settled in the present-day Agäw-Meder from 6th Century to 13th Century.

Politically, the Agäw people of Mätäkäl played a significant role in guarding the border and the soil of Ethiopia. The Agäw people of Mätäkäl with their counterparts the Gumuz people of Mätäkäl guarded the Ethio-Sudan border from Ayima to Demazin. The people were also forerunners in defending the soil of Ethiopia and were the campaigners of Mayçäw and Kara-Mara. The people also bitterly struggled the insurgent Gumuz on one hand as the campaigner and on the other hand as the intermediate. To end the upset of Bälay uprising, the people were also the prime mover to combat the “Bandit.”

Economically, the Agäw people have been agrarian people who produced cereal crops like dagusa, teff, maize, cash crops nug and pulse. The people used ox and pack animals for agricultural purpose. There were different types of indigenous labor cooperation forms that have been arranged either patrilineal, matrilineal or in villagers; Wubiri and Wonfäl have been significant labor exchange forms. Moreover, there have been traditional share crop productions which were applied by the Agäw people of Mätäkäl. The people maintain the fertility of soil by mixed cropping, crop rotation and manure.

Socio-culturally, the people have been distinguished marriage system, holyday celebration and annual kinship meeting. The people have been the seven houses Agäw horsemen association which was instituted in one hand to commemorate the preponderant role of horse in national defense and to the socio-cultural validity. The Agäw people of Mätäkäl have been strong inter-ethnic interaction with non-Agäw ethnic groups of the study area. Thus the people have been socio-cultural, political, economic and c interaction with non-Agäw people. The people applied religious kinship and breast sucking to develop and strengthen inter-ethnic interaction.

To solve dispute, in intra and inter-ethnic way of life the Agäw people of Mätäkäl employed Šomégal whom the plaintiff and defenders were judged according to their disputes by the customary laws.

GLOSSARY

Adema —was the name of a hunting team

Adaharian----- a group or people who were considered as anti- revolutionary move⁴⁹⁴

Ato- a civil title given to ordinary people.

Aba-father,title particularly to a priest or a monk.

Abun- bishop.

Alläqa- head of the Ethiopian Orthodox church.

Aser-alläqa- a military title equal to commander of ten.

Aṭebya-daña - local judge.

Awraja- administrative sub-province.

Balabat - Individual with the hereditary owner of rest land.

Bitwadäd- the highest politico-military title.

Çeqašum- Village chief

Däjazmač/Däjač/ - a military title a step below Ras

Däga-. Zone with cold climatic condition.

Deban—means sky-god by the Agäw

Fitawrari- a military title below Däjjäzmač.

Gaša- unit to measure land, which is equivalent to 40 hectares.

Geber- tribute.

Gerazmač - commander of the left, military title.

Gult- non-hereditary right to collect tribute from rest land owners.

Gult-gäž- gult governor.

Hamsa-aläqa- a military title equivalent to commander of fifty.

Kumälé - unit of land measurement in some parts of Gojjam Such as

Lej ‘child,’ - title reserved for sons of the royal family and of the upper nobility.

⁴⁹⁴ It seems corrupted name of “**die-hard**” those people or groups that are unable to transform and change rapidly with revolution and vantage point for anti-revolutionary movement.,See,Mao,Tse-Tung,*Four Essays on Philosophy*,(China, foreign language press,1968),pp,18-19.

Mälakä-Berhan- a religious title in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church given to head of a church.

Meketel- an administrative unit next to mesläné.

Näçläbaš - local militia.

Qäbälé- lowest administrative unit.

Qäñazmač - commander of the right, a politico-military title above

Qolla- hot climatic zone.

Ras- the highest traditional title.

Rest- usufruct rights over land.

Rest-gult- hereditary gult.

ṭäqelay-Gezat- province.

Woräda- administrative unit below awrajja.

Wäyna-däga- moderate climatic zone.

Woyzäro- a civil title given to married woman.

Zämač- campaigner.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name of Informant	sex	Approximate age	Date and place of interview	Remark
1	Abäbä Täfära	M	80	12/9/22 Abäba Selaśé	He was born and grew in Abba. He served as government officials during the imperial period. He is knowledge full on the socio-cultural aspect of the Agäw people and the Agäw Gumuz interaction.
2	Abé Dubalä (Çeqaşum)	M	90	12/04/22 Bäläya	He was born and grew in Bäläya, he served as Çeqaşum during the imperial period and detained for short period of time during the Därg regime. He is informative on the political role of the Agäw people in Guarding the frontier, the socio-cultural-economic aspect of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl.
3	Assäfa Abäjähu	M	89	12/09/22 Čageni	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa and the son of qësis Abäjähu who lost his life at the battle of Aśäwa-Mädhanialem. He served as government official in Mätäkäl, Bična and Guba and Dibaři. Currently he is living in Čageni town. He is well informative on the five years of Italian occupation and on the political ,socio-cultural aspect of the Agäw people
4	Ayal Engeda	M	70	23/08/22, Mandur	He was born in Guwanguwa and grew in

				a	Mandura. He is informative on the tradition of the Agäw-Gumuz people and inter-ethnic interaction of the two people
5	Dañw Engeda	M		4/10/2022,Zigäm	He was born and grew in Zigäm.he is informative on the tradition of the Agäw people and cultural aspect. He is also Knowledge full and eye whiteness on the movement of insurgent EPRP members in Zigäm
6	Dämäläs Tamer	M	67	9/11/22,Segadi	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa.He served as Militia during the Därg regime. He is informative on the tradition of the Agäw people, the nationalization of land and land distribution during the EPRDF government and the movement and the role of the Agäw people in and against insurgents.
7	Dämesäw Haylu	M		12/8/22,Bizera-Kani	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa. He is informative in the Agäw-Gumuz interaction and conflict resolution means.
8	Ejegu Mogäs (Ato)	M	85	3/9/22 Bizera-Kani	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa. is informative on the marriage system of the Agäw people
9	Fäntahun Aseräs (Ato)	M	87	7/08/22	He served as the government official in BiČäna,Enäbsè and Däbrä-Marqos and he is informative on the administrative system of early years since the imperial period, knowledge full on the socio-

					economic system and cast system of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl.
10	Gétahun Zäläqä (Ato)	M	68	22/09/22,Bizera-Kani	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa woräda .He was the campaigner to erode the EPRP members from Zigäm.He is rich in the political aspect of the Agäw people and the inter-ethnic interaction of the Agäw, Amahara,and the Gumuz people. Moreover, he is informative on the re-settlers and its aftermath socio-economic and political aspect.
11	Mäsärät Güzahañ	M	65	3/3/22,Čageni	He was born and grew in Banja.He served as a teacher currently he is teaching in private school and informative on the traditional practice of the Agäw people and holy day celebration of the Agäw people. He is also informative on the insurgency in the study area
12	Mäsärät Şewa	M	76	4/10/22,Gelgäl Bäläs	A Gumuz elder, who was born and grew in Mandura woräda. He is rich in the inter-ethnic interaction of the Agäw and Gumuz people.
13	Mäsärät Hawaria Desta (Ato)	M	92	Pawi	He was re-settler and informative on the insurgent movement in the area as well as inter-ethnic interaction in the area.
14	Mälak-Heywot Meherät	M	70	5/7/22,Segadi	He was born and grew in Banja.He attended the church education and he served as deacon, priest and religious administrator in Mätäkäl .He is

					informative on the holy day celebration of the Agäw people as the whole.
15	Mängesté Gädefäw	M	70	Mambuk	He was born and grew in Bäläya. He served as service cooperative merchant. He is rich in the last day of the Därg regime and informative on the combat of the government and insurgents.
16	Menalä Haylu	M		22/11/22,Mandura	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa woräda .He was a veteran of Kara-Mara and served seventeen years und
17	Säidu Muhammäd	M	70	22/04/22,ageni	He is informative on the political, social and economic aspect of the Agäw people. Besides, he is knowledge full on the inter-ethnic interaction of the Agäw people with Amahara, Oromo, Gumuz and Šenaša.
18	Sämanäh Alämenäh	M	85	22/05/22,Gumadi	He was born in Abäba and grew in Gumadi.He is rich and informative in the socio-cultural, economic and political aspect of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl .He well remembered the patriot and the collaborator and the campaigner of during the fascist occupation and the sporadic upraise of Gumuz people.
19	Säwagāñ Enyāw	M		23/07/22, Bäläya	He was born and grew in Bäläya .he was also the best friend of Täfära Zäläqä who was considered by the central government as the frontier guard. He is informative in the border guard and the political aspect of Mätäkäl fully. He is also rich in the socio-

					cultural and economic condition of Mätäkäl Agäw.
20	Šebabaw Ayaléw	M		“””	He was born in Gondär and Married and live span his life with the Agäw in Baläya. He is knowledge full on the Agäw -Amahara interaction in the border province of Gonder and Bäläya
21	Šebabaw Zäwdé	M			He is born in Mèça and currently living in Segadi. He is informative in the political aspect of the Agäw people since the coming of the Därg and inter-ethnic interaction of Agäw Amahra.
22	Šetu Abäwa	M	68	3/5/22, Balaya	He was born and grew in Bäläya and he served as the Qäbälè Liqämänbär during the Därg regime. He is informative on the land distribution during the Därg regime and rich in the EPRP movement and combat with the Därg army in Bäläya and around Mätäkäl.
23	Tamer Wondemu (Çeqaşum)	M	69	22/4/22, Cagni	He is born and grew in Guwanguwa .He served as Çeqaşum during the imperial period. He is informative on the political system and hunting system of the Agäw people of Mätäkäl
24	Tamer Worqé	M	87	23/09/22	He was born and grew in the Guwanguwa woräda .He served as näçläbaš and Militia during the imperial and the Därg regime respectively. He is rich in the political aspect of Mätäkäl and the socio-cultural

					and economic the Agäw people.
25	Täsära Därsä	M	70	Bäläya	He was born and grew in Bäläya. He took military training at Taq but unfortunately he was unable to engage in combat with Somali because of his illness and he backed by the government permission. Anyway he is informative in the insurgent movement in Mätäkäl and the regime of the Därg regime
26	Täsalä Yesmaw	M	89	Bizera-Kani	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa woräda. He served as näçläbaš and campaigner during sporadic upraise of the Gumuz people. He has fresh knowledge on the sum-total history Mätäkäl generally and of the Agäw people particularly since the first half of twentieth century.
27	Ṭobéw Täfära	F	58	Gumadi	She was born and grew in Gumadi. She is informative on the couplets that were constructed during anti-Därg movement and labor division of the Agäw people
28	Wondé Zägäyā (Ato)	M	78	Pawi	He was a farmer in Pawi and has Deep knowledge about the history of inter-ethnic interaction in Mätäkäl <i>Awraja</i> .
29	Worqenäh Täfära	M	70	Gumadi	He was born in Ababa and grew in Gumadi. He is informative on the sporadic upraise of the Gumuz people and the role of the Agäw people in ending the case as campaigner and middle men.

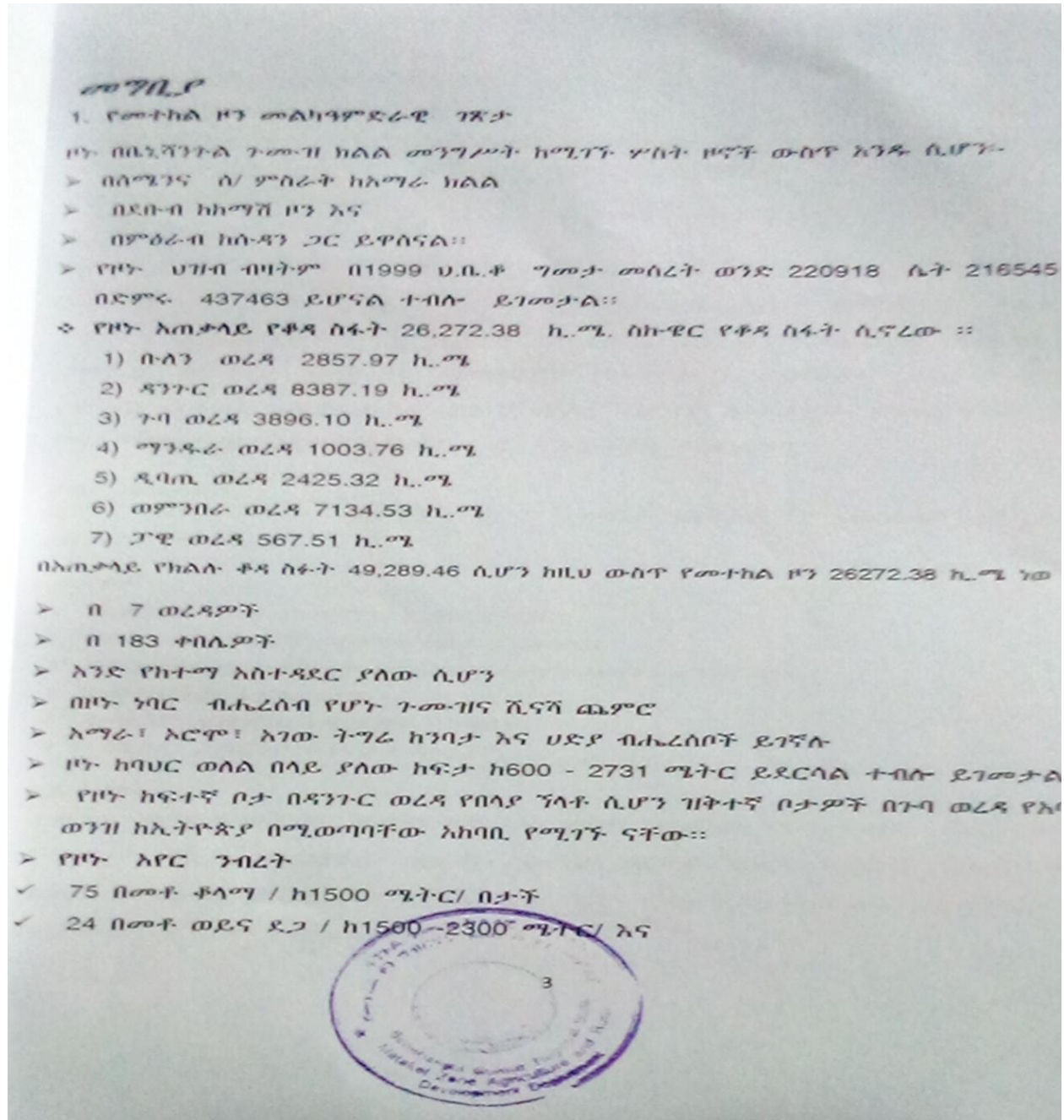
30	Yawnāw Beru	M	70	Guwanguwa	He was born in Guwanguwa who served as Čeqašum during the imperial period. He is informative on the Agāw culture and the political role in the area.
31	Yānabt Aräga	M	70	Guwanguwa	He was born in Bure and came to Guwanguwa. He is informative on the inter-ethnic interaction and the socio-cultural aspect of the Agāw people.
32	Yäsiharg Ahmmäd	F	56	Mambuk	She is Amahara settler and informative on the Agāw Amahra interaction, the sporadic upraise of the Gumuz people and the government reaction to the case. Besides, she has full understanding on the issue of revolutionary Ethiopia women Association.
33	Yäsiwas Haylu	M	60	Čageni	He was born and grew in Čageni town. He was a teacher for long period of time up. Currently he is HR in mind college Čageni branch. He is informative on the re-settlers and the insurgent movement in Mätäkäl.
34	Yegezaw Embiyälä	M	67	Čageni	He was born in Čageni town and grew there. He served as administrator during the imperial period and as militia and as a teacher during the during regime. He is informative on the patriotic resistance and the role of Agāw people against insurgency in Mätäkäl and in Gojjam.
35	Zäläqä Ambayä	M	70	Čageni	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa. He was merchant for long period of time who

					brought the Gumuz product like ginger and cotton to local market. He was also the campaigner to end 1960s Gumuz upraise. He is informative on the political interaction of the Agäw people with the Gumuz people and also the socio-cultural aspect of the Agäw people.
36	Zämänu Woräña	M	70	Čageni	He was born and grew in Čageni .He served as a teacher in different woräda in Mätäkäl. He is informative on the holy day celebration among the Agäw people and the campaign of Agäw to combat the Somali invading force.
37	Zäwdu Čäkol	M	65	Mandura	He was born and grew in Guwanguwa.He served as the administrator of Mandura during the Därg regime. He is informative about the 1960s Gumuz rebellion and the reaction of the government to end the upraise .He is also knowledge full in all aspect of the region and the people in the region.
38	Zäwdé Mäkuria	F	70	Čageni	She was born and grew in Guwanguwa woräda .She now well about the Agäw-Gumuz interaction and conflict resolution among the two people. Besides she was informative on the labor division among the Agäw people and the socio-cultural aspect of the Agäw people.

APPENDIXES

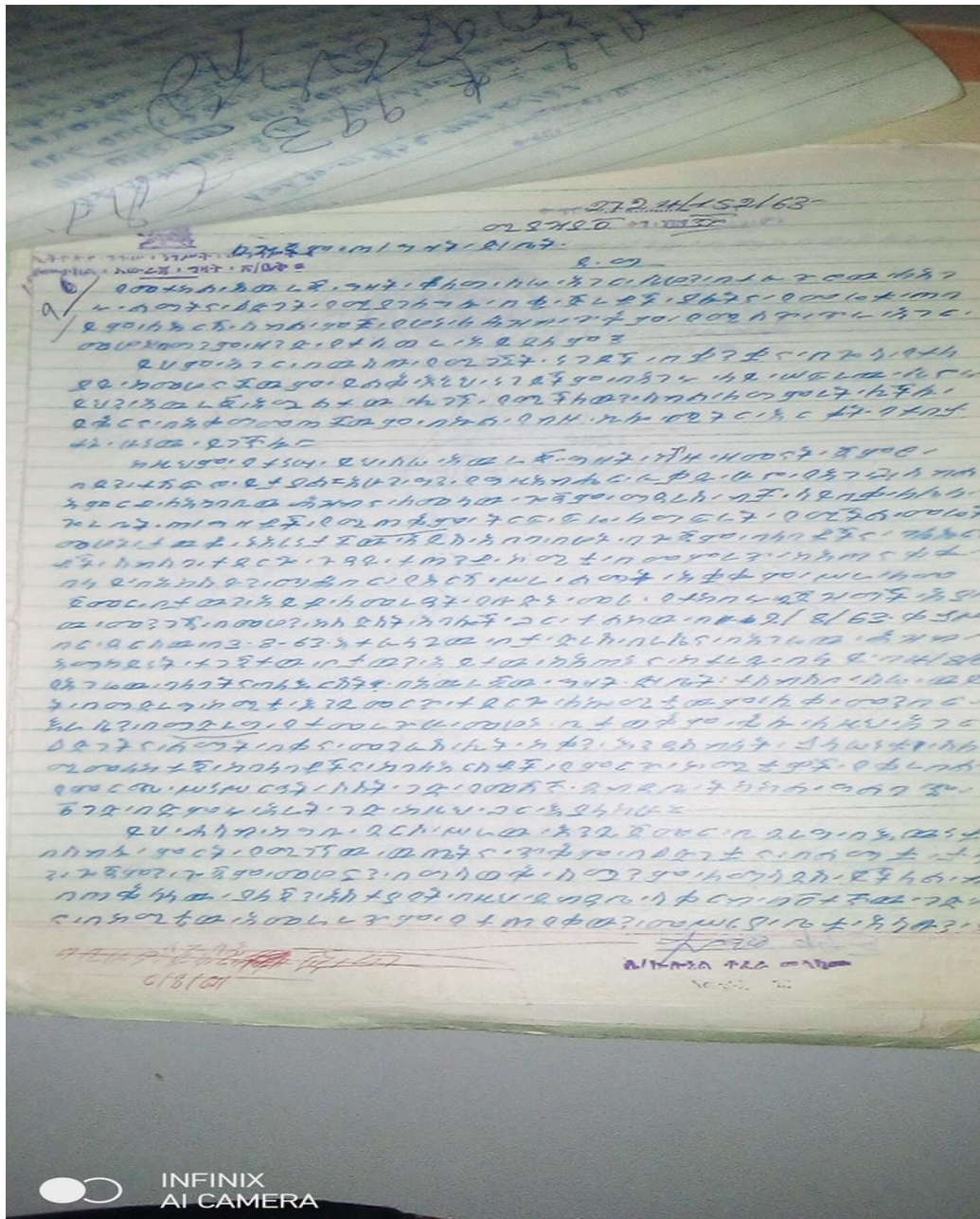
Appendix-I

The general Geographical setting, altitudinal variation and population distribution of Mätäkäl.



Appendix-II

The natural resource endowments in Mätäkäl, the people that inhabit the region and the attempt of local chiefs to utilize the natural resource.



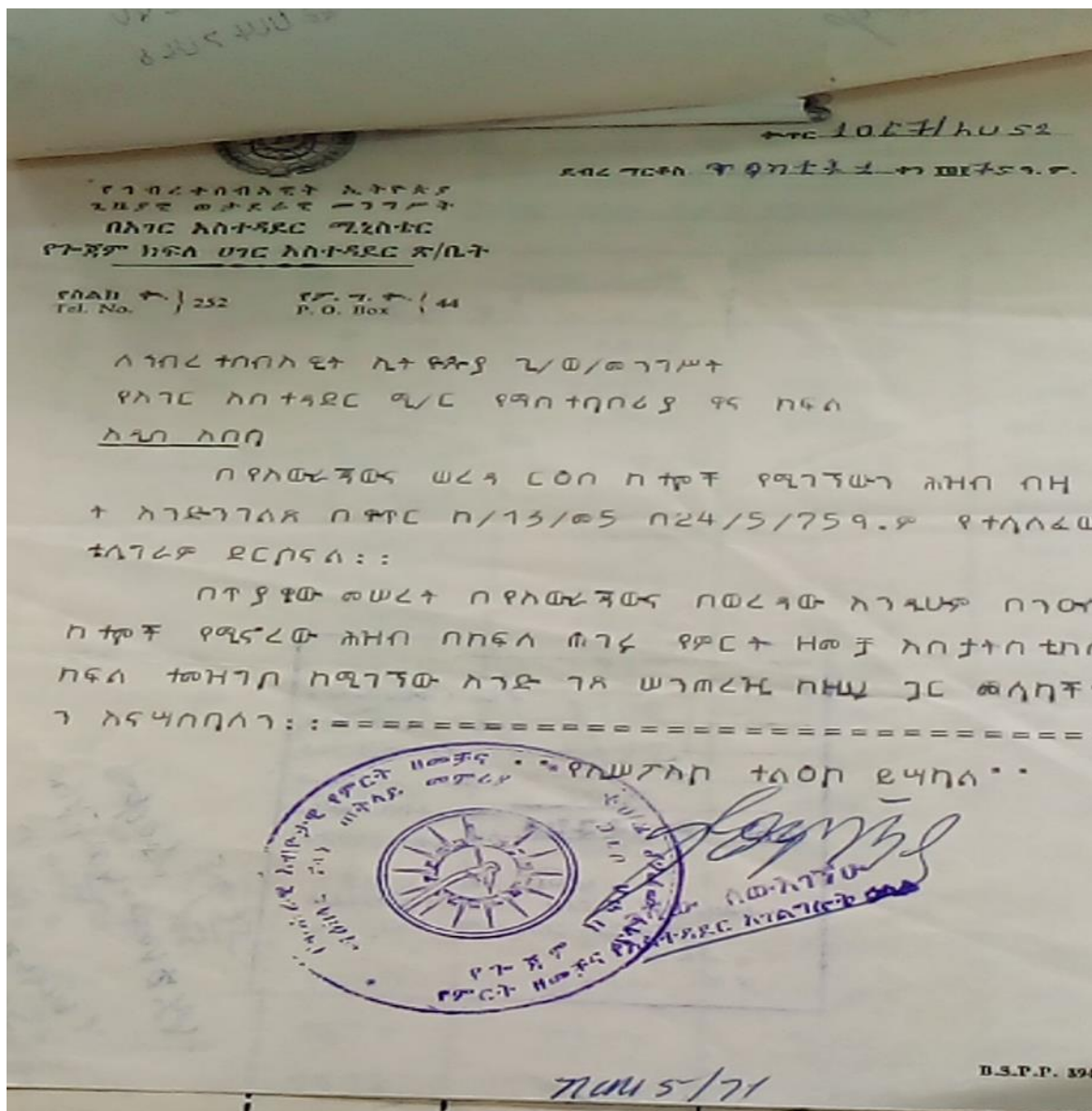
The decision of PAMC to construct the road from Injebara to Guba

124

The PMAC attention to Matakäl to transform the area in agricultural sector and infrastructure.



Appendix -V-A

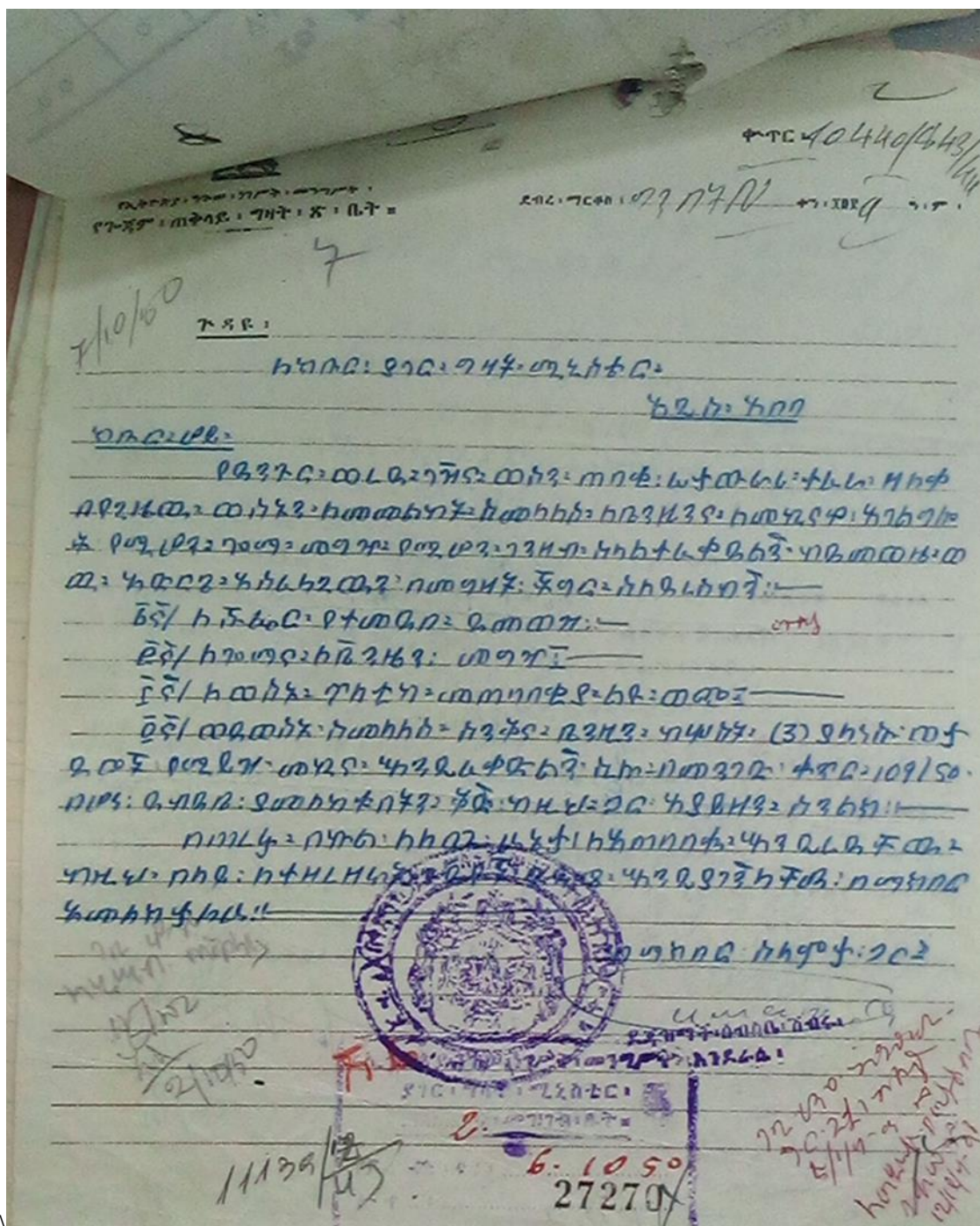


Appendix V-B

1984/5 population census of Mätäkäl

ተረፎ የጥር	አ ፀ ረ ጽ	የ ፀ ረ ጽ ስያ	የአካባቢ ብዛት / በዕለት /				ጠቅላላ የአካባቢ ብዛት
			አጭር		አጭር/ከፊት/		
			ዕ ገ ጾ	ሰ ጥ	ዕ ገ ጾ	ሰ ጥ	
4	አገል ሥጦራ	የገገላ	27553	24996	18226	9699	80474
		የገገላ	18936	20629	18146	21475	79186
		አገል	37143	20648	21250	18798	97839
5	ደብረ ግርግር	አገል	17013	17013	18482	35145	67653
		የገገላ	13353	13250	51951	54592	133046
		የገገላ	7734	8420	12000	18000	46154
		አገል	12188	13517	30000	39119	94824
		ደብረ	5608	7520	7642	7510	28280
		ደብረ	15949	15127	6200	6566	43842
		ደብረ	28400	25000	7300	7300	68000
6	የ ግ	አገል አገል	24820	25198	28650	28500	107168
		የገገላ አገል	13095	14250	15240	15300	57886
		አገል	18000	18320	18507	18952	73779
		አገል	9980	12214	11654	10540	44388
7	ደ ተ ከ ሰ	ደብረ	26853	34273	4500	6000	71626
		ደብረ	13150	15300	4125	5250	37825
		ደብረ	15800	18178	3500	4113	41591
		የገገላ	7100	8210	2315	2825	20450
		የገገላ	3300	4200	2700	2300	12500
		ደብረ	3100	3900	735	955	8690

Appeal to Interior Affairs, in the need to have automobile, fuel and driver to facilitate the pacification of the border.



To Minster of Finance, to notify the resource expended to repulse the fascist occupation



The expense utilized from Gojjam/Agäw-Meder to Northern front during Italian War 1935

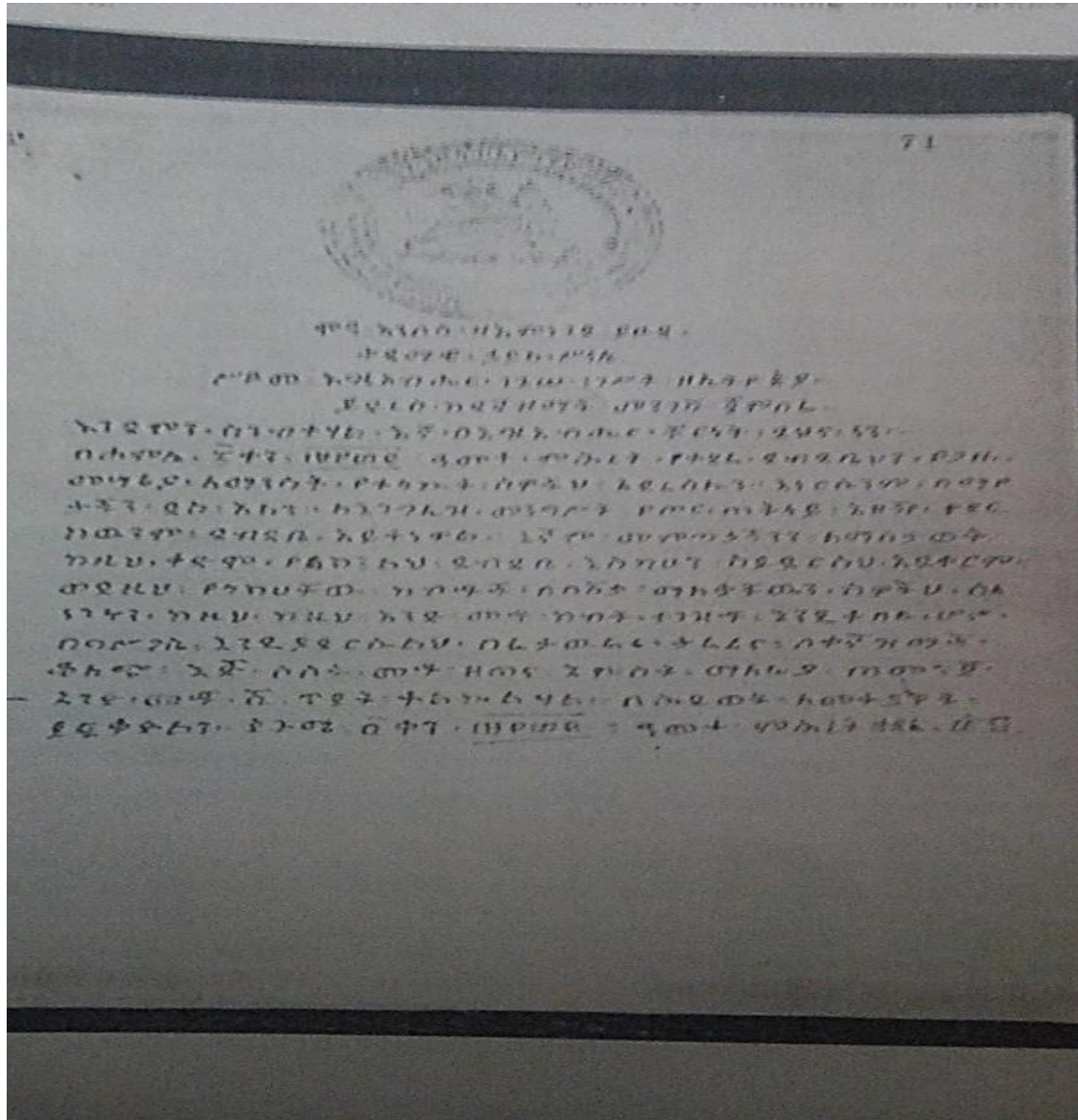
130

The Fascist forces (invaders) forts in Gojjam and Mätäkäl

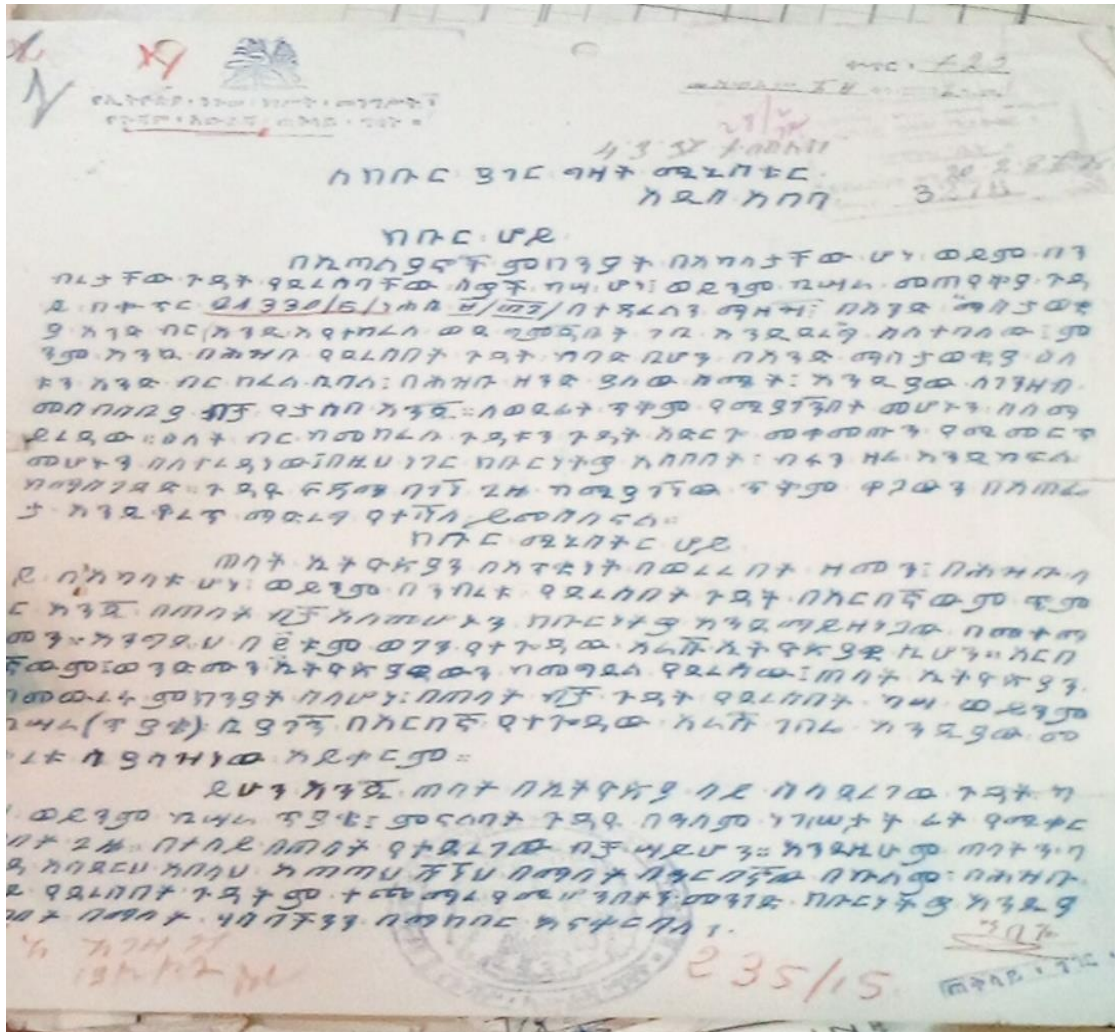
<u>በጊዜ የሰጠ ከቤት የገንዘብ የውጪ ደንብ</u>	
ጉዳ	ፃጊ
አገፅ	ፋገገላ
"	አገገገላ
"	ወደብረ
"	ገቢ
የጥቅም ገቢ	አበፅ
"	ገቢ
"	ደገበገበ
"	ገቢ ያሰጠ
"	ግር ገቢ
"	ጥገ
ገጽ	ገጽ
"	ደብረ ወርቅ
"	ደገገ
"	ወርቁ ግር ያጥ
ደገ ጥጥ	ጥጥ
ጥጥ	ዘጊ
"	በሐር ግር
"	ወሽገጽ
"	ጥር ያጥ
ደገገ	ደብረ ወርቅ
"	አገጥ ወርቅ ያጥ
አገገር	ደብረ
"	አበጥላ ገጥገገ
"	አበጥላ ገጥገገ
"	ገገገላ

Appendix-IX

The letter written to *Fitawrari* Mänägsa Jänbér from Negusa-Nägäst Haelä-Selasé to strengthen and intensify the patriotic resistance movement in Agäw-Meder and the firearms and ammunition sent to this end.



The burden of peasants during the five years and the resource stained during the fascist occupation years



The appointment of Fitawrari Iyasu Zäläqä as an administrator of newly founded Woräda, Mandura in 1960s.



Appendix-XII

The receipt of REYA annual membership fee, obtained during fieldwork



በአብዮታዊት ኢትዮጵያ ወጣቶች ማኅበር

በ 08/12/81 ከ/ሀገር በ 08/12/81 አውራጃ የ ወረዳ አካወማ ኮ/ጽ/ቤት

የገንዘብ መቀበያ ደረሰኝ № 082166

ቀን 24/10/81

ከ 2098 - ከአወጣጥ፡ 08/09/81 ር. 21187.

የኢት. ብር በፊደል አንድ መቶ ስንቲ ገዢ፡ ሃሳይ፡አብነት

በአጋዝ 107=25

የከፈለበት ምክንያት 50% የአውራጃ፡ ደርክ፡ ነገ 1981-9

ገንዘብ መቀበያ፡ ሃሳይ፡አብነት የተወሰዘበት፡ ለርሃዊ፡ ፋገሪ

በጥሬ ገንዘብ 107=25

በቴክ ቁጥር

ለሂሳብ ክፍል ብቻ		
የሂሳብ መለያ	ደብት	ክሬዲት
5	107=25	5
5	5	5
5	5	5
5	5	5

ገንዘብ ያዥ የሂሳብ ክፍል ኃላፊ

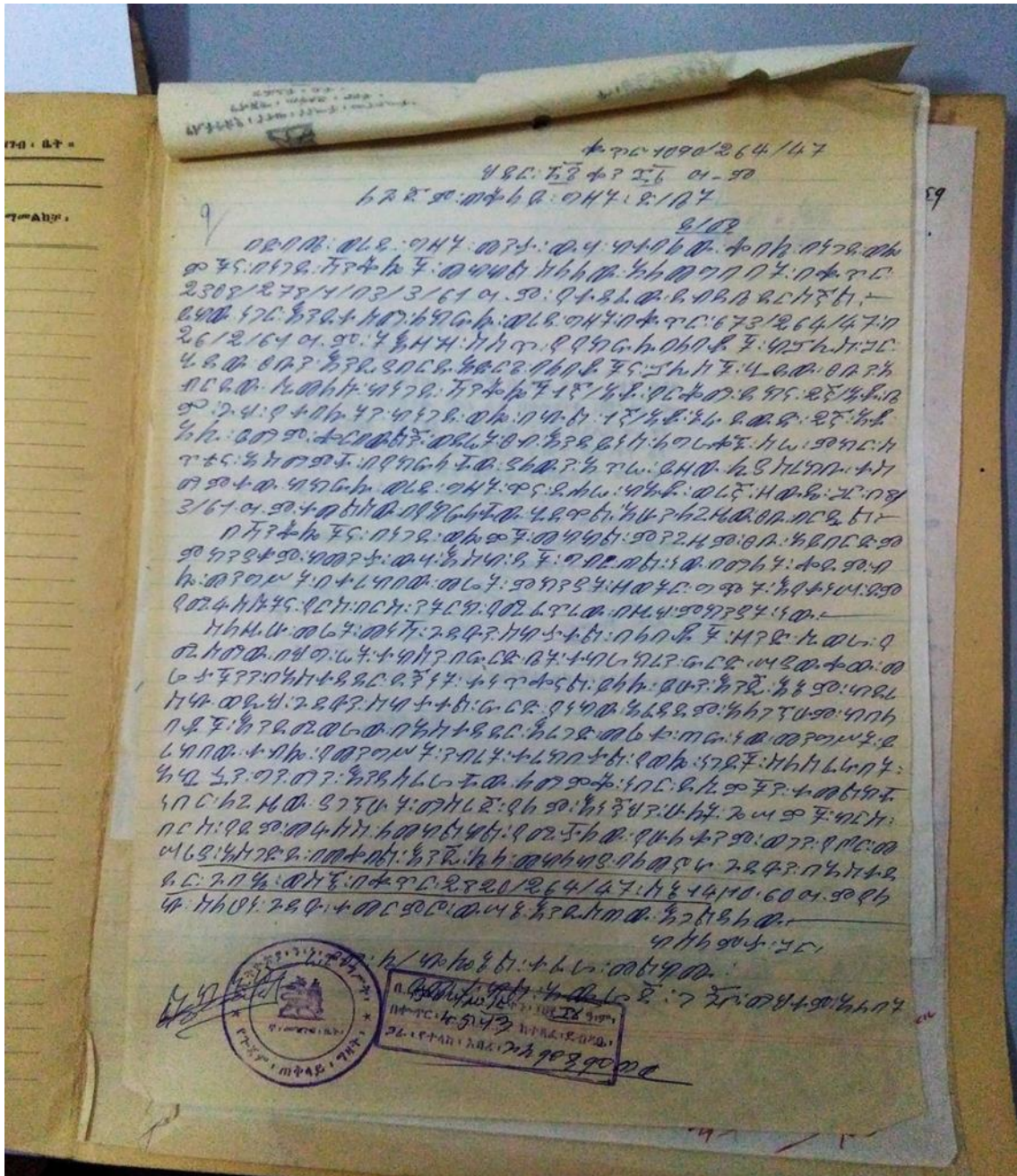
በም አብነት ሃሳይ በም ደርክ

ፊርማ ፊርማ

ሃጽ ለክፍይ
ሰማያዊ ሂሳብ ክፍል
ርዝ ለአውራጃ አካወማ ኮ/ጽ/ቤት
ቁጥር ጥራዝ

Appendix-XIII

The letter, which illuminate the cause of conflict in Mätäkäl and the way that designed to end inter-conflict.



Personal receipt obtained during interview, paid for motherland call.

Model 30 Serial A/9
No 56574

የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝባዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ኢትዮጵያ
የፋይናንስ ሚኒስቴር
THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY OF FINANCE

« የልማት ሀገር አንድነትና ደኅንነት መኖሩን መረጋገጥና ደረሰኝ »
Contribution for the Unity & Territorial Integrity of the Motherland

ፖስታ ቁጥር 71000/02
መሥሪያ ሠጥ
Department
ወረዳው (District)
የድቃ ስም
Mother's Name
ተበሌው (Commune)

አወራጃው Province
የተቀባይ ስም Payer's Name
የቤት ስም Father's Name
እኩል ስም Residence
ገንዘብ ልክ በፊደል Amount in words
ገንዘብ ልክ በቁጥር Purpose of payment
የገቢው አርእስት Revenue
የገንዘብ ልክ በቁጥር Amount in Figures
ቀን / ሰዓት / ዓ.ም.
Date 19

የሥራ ቤት ስም ሪሶርስ
Chief Treasurer's Sig.
የገንዘብ ተቀባይ ሪሶርስ
Cashier's Sig.
የሐሳብ ስም ሪሶርስ
Chief Accountant's Sig.

NOTE - This will be prepared on identical forms by means of rubber stamp and the original will be detached and given to the payer. The second foil will be attached to Model 16 and be filed for appropriate inspection. The third copy will be filed in the same bound book.

Appendix-XV

A personal receipt obtained during field work from Ambäla which show the contribution of the Agäw people for drought affected people

የፌዴራል ገቢ
Model 30
ሰ/ 0/ 87
Serial A/ 1

የግብርና ቢሮ ሪፖርት
የግብርና ሪፖርት
የግብርና ሪፖርት

THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
DETAILED REVENUE RECEIPT

የግብርና ቢሮ ሪፖርት
Depo
ወረዳ (District)
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Mother's Name
ተባብሮ (Commune)

የግብርና ቢሮ ሪፖርት
Province
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Payer's Name
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Father's Name
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Residence
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Amount in words
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Purpose of Payment
Revenue
የግብርና ሪፖርት
Amount in Figures
Date

የግብርና ቢሮ ሪፖርት
Chief Treasurer's Sig.
የግብርና ቢሮ ሪፖርት
Cashier's Sig.
የግብርና ቢሮ ሪፖርት
Chief Accountant's Sig.

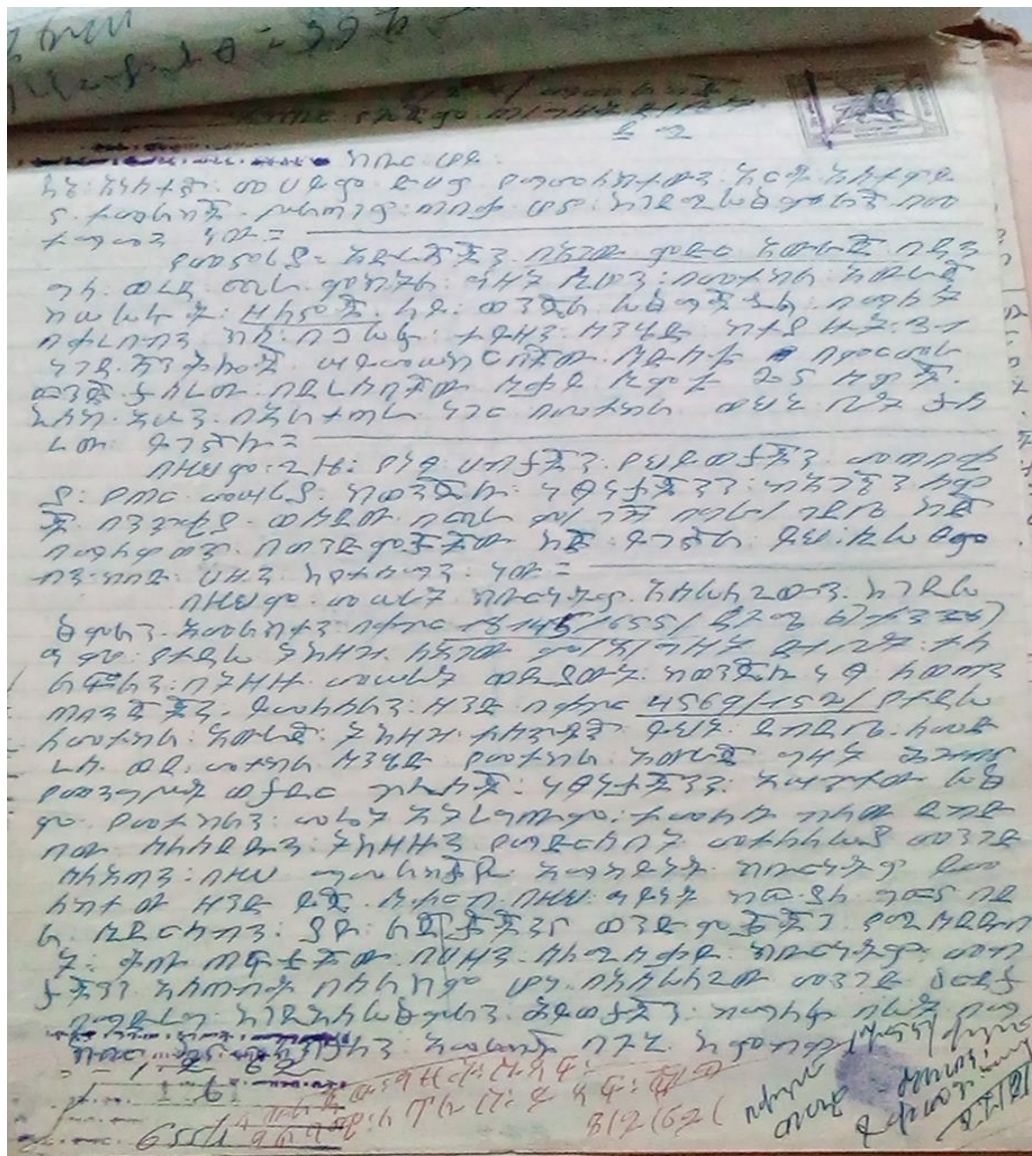
NOTE:— This will be prepared on identical forms in triplicate by means of carbon, and the original will be detached and given to the payer. The second foil will be attached to the monthly return (Model 16) and transmitted within the prescribed time to the Central Accounting (statistics) Department Addis Ababa, through the Treasury above. The third copy will remain undetached the same bound book.

The Gumuz –re-settlers combat in 1970s and the attempt of Gumuz people to invade Mänta-wua, which was the center of re-settlers and the police station.



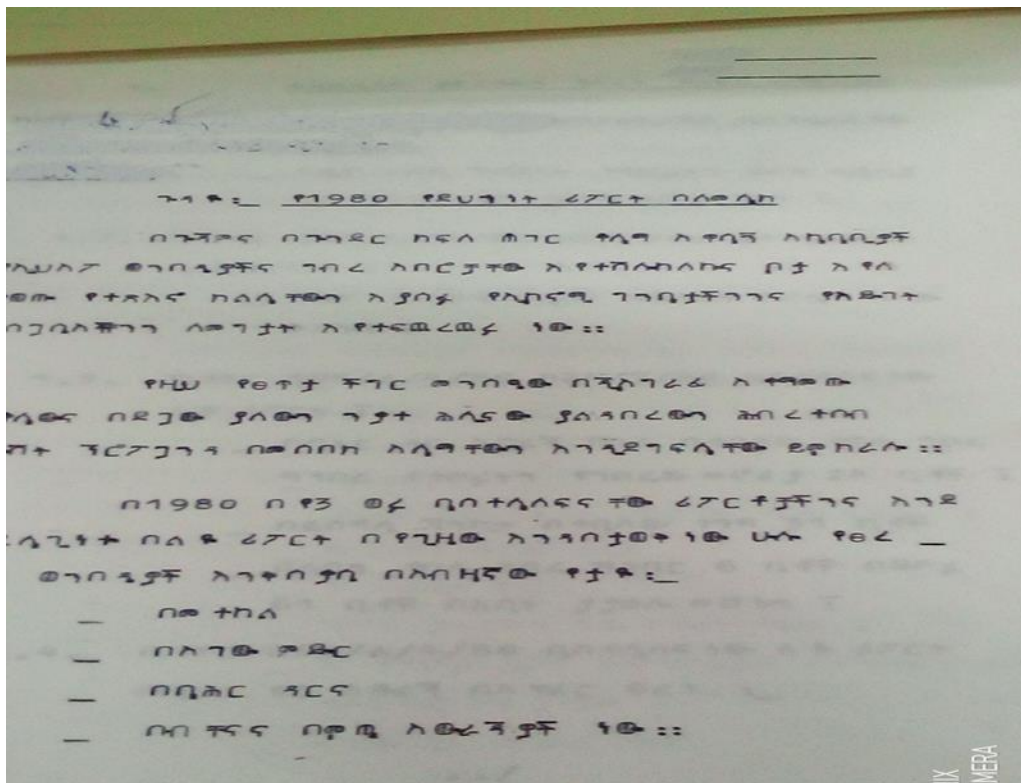
Appendix-XVII

Personal apply of Baguni Embäwa to Gojjam Ṭäqelay Gezat to release from detain that they were detained in the suspect of the attack of Zälan in Mätäkäl, And also the applies to regain their gun what was taken during the campaign.



Appendix-XVIII

The movement of insurgent group during the last day of the Därg regime



The land holding system of Gojjam and the shortage of land for agricultural system in different part of province and the need for the sort of change in its tenure system.



Land usurpers in Mätäkäl



Report sent to the Minister of interior about the land measurement of Gojjam Ṭāqelay Gezat



Measured land of Gojjam/Mätäkäl based on its fertility läm, läm-ṭäf and ṭäf and ownership
Yämängest Märét and Yäbétä-Kehent by using qumälé

INFINIX
AI CAMERA

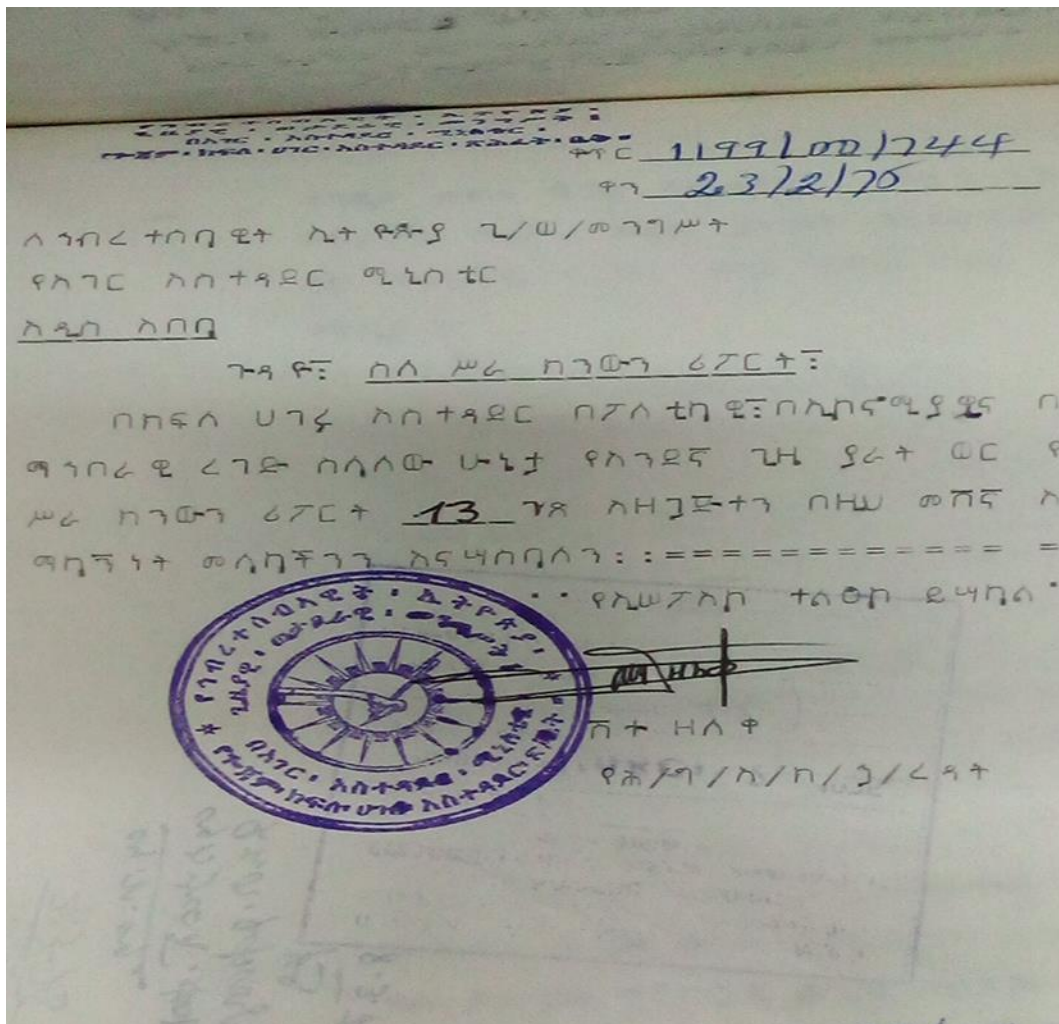
Appendix-XXII

Personal receipt, which was paid to REPA

መ. አ. ገ. ግ. _____ N^o 4006067
 የገቢ፡ ያረገ፡ መስከረም 1 ጥቅምት 74 ዓ.ም
 የገቢ፡ ስም፡ አብነት ወልደሰ
 ክፍል፡ ሀገር፡ ጊግ አውራጃ፡ ወተካሪ ወረዳ፡ 272
 ቀበሌ፡ ህገረፍ፡ በአንድ
 የገቢዎች፡ ምክር ቤት፡ የመ. አ. ገ. ግ. አውራጃ፡ መግቢያ፡
 የገንዘብ፡ ልክ፡ በአንድ፡ ሀገር፡ 1 ገሪ ብቻ
 » » በፊደል፡ አንድ፡ ብር፡ ብቻ፡ 578 ገሪ ብቻ
 የቀበሌ፡ ገበሬ፡ ማኅበር፡
 ይህ፡ ፈርማ፡
 የቀበሌ፡ ገበሬ፡ ማኅበር፡
 ገንዘብ፡ ተቀባይ፡ ፈርማ፡
ህገረፍ
 ማሳሰቢያ፡ ነጻ፡ ነጻ፡ (በፊደል) አከፋይ፡ ይሰጣል፡
 ቀደም ሲለ፡ በገ/ሀገር፡ ገ/ማኅበር፡ ጽ/ቤት፡ ይቀራል፡
 (ቀሪው አገልግሎት፡ ይሰጣል፡ በገ/ሀገር፡ ገ/ማኅበር፡ ጽ/ቤት፡ ይቀራል፡)

Appendix –XXIII-A

1975 EC PC and SC Report



Number of Producers cooperative and Service cooperative in Mätäkäl

148

Personal tax receipt obtained during fieldwork

149

The presence of different wild animal in Mätākāl and continuation of illegal hunting which forced them to immigrate to Sudan



The split of Wild Life Management board from agricultural minister and to notify each apply related to wild life to this board

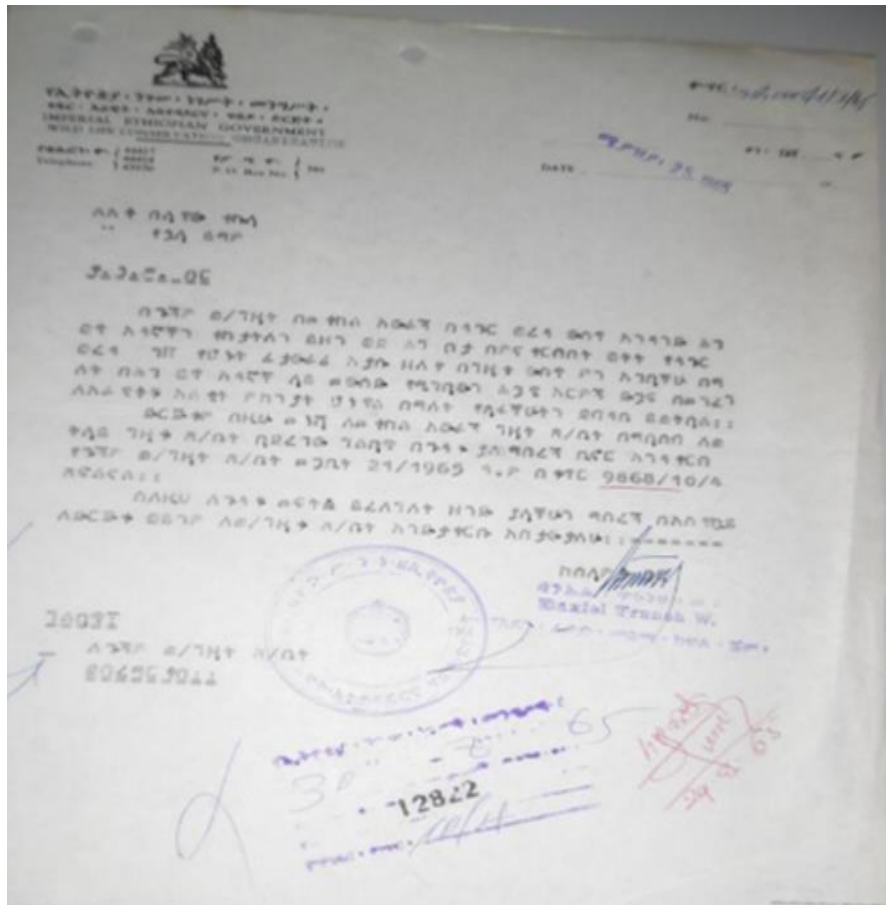


Illegal hunter and expected law enforcement

152

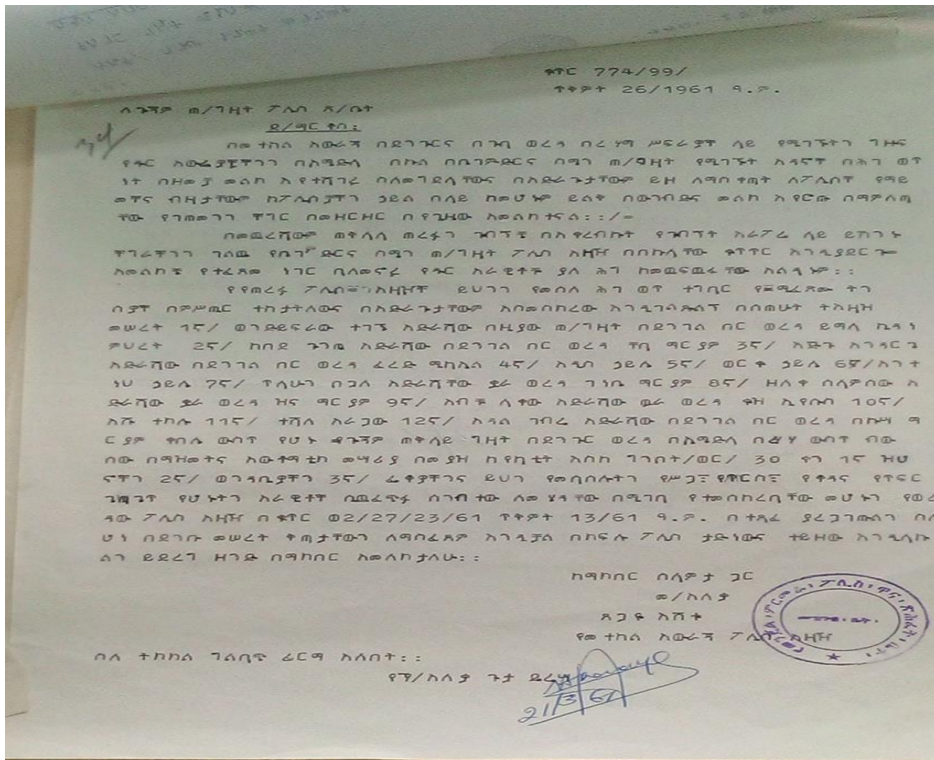
Appendix-XXVIII

The charge to take Iyasu Zäläqä, hence he was considered as the collaborator of illegal-hunter in Mätäkäl



Appendix-XXIX

Illegal hunters in Mätäkäl and drawbacks to enforce law on them.



Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented at any university. All sources used here have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Gizachew Semaneh

Signature_____

Date_____

Confirmed by _____

Signature_____

Date_____