



**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & HERITAGE MANAGEMENT**

**A HISTORY OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN DAMBI DOLLO TOWN  
AND ITS ENVIRONS 1903 TO 1980s**

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FEBRUARY, 2020  
JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

**Jimma University**

**A History of the Greece Community in Dambi Dollo Town and Its Environs 1903 To 1974s**

**A Master Thesis Submitted to Jimma University the School of Graduate  
Studies College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of History and  
Heritage Management**

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**February, 2020.**

**Jimma, Ethiopia.**

**JIMMA UNIVERSITY**  
**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT**

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**1903 To 1980s**

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## ***Abstract***

*The focus of this thesis is to trace a history of Greek community in Dembi Dollo town and its environs from about 1903-1980s. This community started to live in Dembi Dollo and its environs since 1903. The study is organized both chronologically and thematically and includes chapters on the early Greek immigrants and their participation in the trade activity of the region, their role as merchants in the brokers and in the trade activity generally, and traces the origins and development of their national institutions such as the communities, churches, schools, etc. The basic sources used were the written documents about the region in general and specifically which organized on Greek community, some documents located in the Greek communities, personal reminiscences and oral sources. The basic findings of the thesis point to the fact that trade and cultural interactions of Greeks with the local community were the major issue shaping the trade activity of the Greek immigrants in Dembi Dollo town during the period examined.*

## Acknowledgements

In preparing this thesis, I am indebted to a number of individuals and institutions who have contributed to the successful completion of this research. Several colleagues have read parts or the whole of the thesis and made various suggestions from which I have profited greatly. I am genuinely indebted to all of them. For the sake of space let me cite some of them below. First of all, I am deeply grateful to Ato Yonas Seifu for the commitment and devotion in giving me constructive and scholarly feedbacks from the early selection of the research topic all through the drafts of the thesis. I am also deeply indebted to *Ato* Temesgen Lemmesa for he has supplied me with detailed comments throughout the pages raising a number of questions that enabled me to improve the research considerably. *Ato* Biruk W/Micheal has also offered scholarly, constructive and technical guidance in this research work.

I extend my gratitude to Jimma University History Department in general. I wish to acknowledge the help of John F Kennedy library staff. My special thanks also goes to Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) and also Woldemesqel archive center, Dembi Dollo town Cultural and Tourism and Communication offices staff for their cooperation. My sincerest thanks go to the chairpersons of the Hellenic communities of Dembi Dollo and Ghidami Kana Gaso, John Napoleon, Aikaterini Kalogivatou and Yannis Mario for their invaluable help and encouragement. Without their help my task would have been impossible to complete. At last my heartfelt gratitude goes to my wife *W/ro* Amsale Mekonnen, whose love, advice and care helped me to overcome all the challenges throughout the years of my graduate studies. Above all, I am grateful to take pride my informants, whose name appended in thesis, for giving me valuable information dedicating their time and energy.

## Preface

The aim of this thesis is to reconstruct a history of Greek community in Dembi Dollo Ca. 1903-1970s. In dealing with this study, I have attempted to utilize available archival materials, published and unpublished works as well as informants. However, I faced difficulty while collecting and reading the archival sources, as they were not easily accessible and also lack of archival sources on Greek community.

The study on history of Greek community of Dembi Dollo town in general by Admasu Etefa Tucho, who has studied the Greeks economic system and trade activity in the town. However, he studied focusing on the arrival of Greek migrants to Dembi Dollo following the opening of Gambella trade route in 1904 and their trade activity in the town.

Therefore, there were not comprehensive and lack of sufficient information about the Greek community social history in Dembi Dollo town. Thus, many unanswered questions remain, such as what is the role and contribution of Greek community in Dembi Dollo town? What makes that the town became more significant in region? When was Greek migrants arrived and their major development in the town? What are the bases for the settlement of Greek Community in the region generally and in the town particularly? This study has attempted to answer these basic questions.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter treats the general background of the Greeks migrants and theories on the migration process of the community, Greeks in Africa: A Synoptic History and The Greeks of Horn of Africa in general and western Ethiopia in particular. Under chapter one it consists of the geographical setting as well as the historical setting of the Greek community in the town. The second chapter of the thesis deals with The Greeks in Dembi Dollo, The beginning of Greek community settlement in Qellem Wollaga and Ethnic Solidarity, Ideological Considerations on indigenous people. The third chapter discussed about The Greeks Socio-Economic activity in Western Wollaga in general and in Dembi Dollo town in particular and Greeks school and office of Consular Agency and Greeks during the Italian Period and the role of Greek on the side of the patriotic resistance. Chapter four deals with Post-Italian occupation of the Greek community in Dembi Dollo town and their adoption of the local culture

and their interaction in the local community. In this chapter the socio-economic and cultural interaction of Greek community in Dembi Dollo town is discussed well.

Finally, I would like to state that, I make no claim to have carried out a comprehensive research of the issue but, I hope that, my modest contribution will be of great interest and importance to others, who want to conduct further research on the issue. Throughout this paper, I have used the conventional history translation system.

## TRANSLITERATION

The seven sounds in Amharic and *Afaan Oromoo* are represented as follow.

| Amharic           | <i>Afaan Oromoo</i> | Transliteration |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> በ | ba                  | bä              |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> ቡ | bu/buu              | bu/bû           |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> ቢ | bii                 | bi              |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> ባ | baa                 | ba              |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> ቤ | be/bee              | be/bê           |
| 6 <sup>th</sup> ብ | bi                  | bi              |
| 7 <sup>th</sup> ቦ | bo/boo              | bo/bô           |

**Palatal Sounds are represented as follow**

| Amharic | <i>Afaan Oromoo</i> | Transliteration |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ሸ       | sh                  | šha             |
| ሪ       | ca                  | čh              |
| ኘ       | ny                  | gn              |
| ሻ       | —                   | zh              |
| ጃ       | ja                  | je              |

**Glottal Sounds**

| Amharic | <i>Afaan Oromoo</i> | Transliteration |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ቀ       | qa                  | qä              |
| ከ       | ka                  | kä              |

**Dental Sounds**

| Amharic | <i>Afaan Oromoo</i> | Transliteration |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ጠ       | xa                  | xä              |
| ጸ       | tša                 | tsä             |
| ደ       | dha                 | dä              |

**Labial Sounds**

| Amharic | <i>Afaan Oromoo</i> | Transliteration |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ጠ       | ma                  | mä              |
| ጸ       | Pha                 | phä             |



**NB.** All words of *Afaan* Oromo origin are spelled according to the writing and reading system in *Afaan* Oromo alphabet, *Qubee*, to ease the problem of reading some words. *Afaan* Oromo has basically ten vowels, five short and five long.

| Short Vowels | Long Vowels |
|--------------|-------------|
| a            | aa          |
| e            | ee          |
| i            | ii          |
| o            | oo          |
| u            | uu          |

Length in vowels result in meaning changes

Example: Lafa – Land

Laafaa - Soft

Sequence of more than two vowels is possible only if separated by glottal ( ‘ ).

Example: fe’ee

*Afaan* Oromo consonant (phonemes) are geminated or stressed by doubling the similar phonemes, and clustered by devoicing two different consonants.

For example, 'b' in ***gabbara*** 'bride wealth' is geminated.

There are five phonemes used in the thesis which are represented by paired alphabets.

These are ch, dh, ny, ph and sh.

✚ ch - palatal, affricate, voiceless, example in garbicha 'slave'

✚ dh - alveolar, implosive, example in ***dhadhaa*** 'butter'.

✚ ny - palatal, nasal, example in ***nyaata*** 'food'.

✚ ph - bilabial, voiceless, ejective, example in ***hirphuu*** ' pay damages’.

✚ sh - palatal fricative voiceless, example in ***shan*** 'five' The consonantal phonemes of *Afaan* Oromo include the following ejectives in addition to ph:

✚ c - Palatal, voiceless, affricate example in ***Čawwaa*** ' name of minority group.

✚ q - velar, voiceless, example in ***qabata*** 'handing'.

✚ x - Alveolar, voiceless, example in ***xaddacha*** ' court.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1. GREEKS IN AFRICA: A SYNOPTIC HISTORY

#### 1.1. Some Marginal Notes On Push-Factors For Emigration And The Emigrants Of Greeks In Africa

Migration and globalization are historical processes which make people enter, willingly (pull) or involuntarily (push), in new contexts of social relations. Why do Greeks travel? Why do they emigrate? These questions can be answered in many ways. Some Greek historians think that “travelling”, “exploring” emigrating is “part of Greek nature”, and their writings and conclusions has been echoed by some prominent historians of other nationalities. The historical parallels between the exploration of the ancient world by the Athenians and the creation of colonies, as well as the conquests of Alexander the Great and the contemporary Greek “explorations” and ‘emigrations”, are inaccurate as they fail to take into account the different historical periods and conditions under which those explorations took place.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of emigration does not constitute an isolated national social phenomenon of countries such as Greece, Italy, or Poland. Emigration is the direct result of underdevelopment, a phenomenon which can be properly understood only after an analysis of the political and economic structures of the countries faced with this problem, which is directly related to the historical dependence of these countries on others, and their place within the international division of labor. Greek emigration to America and Africa was not the result of an innate desire to travel or emigrate as some historians and sociologists would desperately try to convince us, but the result of the socio-economic structures predominating in Greece at specific periods of its history.<sup>2</sup>

Within any cultural group or community, individual views and values are shaped by many factors, including our age, gender, income, religion, sexuality, profession, education and political views, not to mention personal experiences. Individuals from the same culture do not all think alike or share the same value systems and opinions. Likewise, cultural values and attitudes can

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<sup>1</sup>Marios Papakyriacou, *Formulation and definitions of the Greek national ideology in Colonial Egypt (1856-1919)*. (Berlin: Freie Universität, 2014). pp. 63–64

<sup>2</sup>Weber M., *Economy and Society. Vol.1, Chapter 5*. (New York: Bedminster Press, 19680),p. 28

change over time and are never the same thing to everyone. For the Greek community, shifting cultural values can become more apparent through the migration experience and there can be great differences between the views and values of two generations within the same family. For older generation migrants in particular, some traditional views and attitudes may have been preserved despite changing attitudes and practices in Greece. In this sense, despite close ties with Greece, Greek culture as it exists in some part of the world can not necessarily be generalized from contemporary Greek culture or with Greek communities living in another part of the world. Nevertheless, certain beliefs can have more influence or resonance with a cultural group and can be recognized as commonly shared or understood within a community. Individuals from that group do not need to personally agree with those values to recognize their cultural importance.<sup>3</sup>

These immigrants were not only pushed by economic and political circumstances in Europe they were also pulled. The Wali of Egypt and Sudan, Mohammed Ali Pasha, and his successor, Khedive Ismael Pasha, saw the Greeks as important intermediaries through whom Egypt could be introduced to Western technology. They instituted dramatic reforms in the military, economic, and cultural spheres in which the Greek could play a role. In Ethiopia and Eritrea Greeks also played a role, highly valued by indigenous rulers, as intermediates, still very modest process of nineteenth century modernization and globalization. They operated as traders and merchants in the still limited foreign trade, and they were involved in railroad building, organized by the Italians. A Greek named George Rigos made a fortune by supplying the Ethiopian army with Belgium guns, invested it in ships, but lost everything during the Greek-Turkish war of 1921-22, and return to Ethiopia. Major pull factors for Greeks arrival to Ethiopia were the as an intermediate and trade of the region and also they pulled due to the political instability and the transformation of rulers in the region were major pull factors such as a rebellion in Sudan and the socialist state in Ethiopia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship (Victoria) (2013). *Victorian Community Profiles: 2011 Census Greece-Born*. internet Accessed 16 June 2018)

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Robinson, "The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820–1824." *Journal of the Royal African Society* v. 25, no. 97 (Cairo, 1925): pp. 47–58.

## 1.2. Greek Pioneers in Africa

The development of the growth of economic benefits of European states and the growth of the early trade activity in Europe and the grown significances of Africa trade led most European to fell an economical love with Africa. This was stated by Blainey “Africa is a woman born to be loved more than any woman in the world”, wrote one of the most prolific writers on the subject of Greek emigration to Asia and Africa, "and her best lovers are the Persians, the Romans, the Greeks, the Jews, everyone".<sup>5</sup>

Greeks seem to be the first to have fallen in love with this woman and the adventures of Macedonian armies through some of her countries were followed by the explorations and expansion of the Byzantine Emperors in their search for new colonies. These historical facts, the myth-like stories of the Greek Orthodox Church and Ethiopia, the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church in India was goes back to 1812 constitute a few examples of the fascinating adventures of early Greek travelers.<sup>6</sup>

The migration process which followed the historical circumstances in Greece already described was of a different pattern, however. The Greek emigrants finding their way to Africa were not only adventurers searching for virgin landscapes or exotic countries. They came to Africa as diamond diggers, railway workers, small traders, agriculturalists and artisans. The vast majority started working for meager wages or salaries, digging the mines or the mow1.tains; they sweated blood, and a large number left their bodies unburied in different parts of their lover-land, without fulfilling their dreams of becoming rich or going back to the loving motherland. Many rose to prominence through a continuous accumulation of wealth, while others climbed the social ladder of their adopted country and became landowners or politicians. For many, the dreams of acquiring wealth became an obsessive ideology, while the dreams of dying on an Aegean or

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<sup>5</sup> G. Blainey, “Lost causes of the Jameson Raid”, in *Economic History Review* v. 18 (1965), pp 356-378. Orlando Patterson, *Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse* Stein and Day, 1977, p. 100 Evangelos Anastasios Ma. Ntzaris, “Class And Ethnicity: The Politics And Ideologies Of The Greek Community In South Africa, Circa 1890-1924,” (PhD. Dissertation Cape town University, Department of Sociology, 1982) P.26-27

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid*, Nicolaides, op cit, page 441;

Ionian island or upon the mountain-slopes of Peloponnesus, and were left locked at the bottom of the hand-made chest, lying in a dark corner of their warehouse.<sup>7</sup>

The first Greek mass emigration took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. While 'from 1821 to 1890, Greeks had emigrated the vast majority were to the United States of America and to horn of Africa a large number were migrated to Sudan, from 1891 to 1900 the numbers increased by large proportions. Most of these also immigrated to the United States.<sup>8</sup> The numbers reached their highest proportions during the period 1900-1920. Until 1920 the major countries of reception were the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil and South Africa. Ninety per cent of the emigrants were males and classified in the 15 to 45 age group.<sup>9</sup> At that time Greece was passing through a process of transition: an underdeveloped pre-capitalist society accelerating towards an "unwanted industrial revolution",<sup>10</sup> facing problems such as the Balkan Wars, the First World War and its disastrous effects on her national unity, revolutions and counter-revolutions. While in the countryside the feudal-type agricultural settlement was the dominant form of production, and hundreds of villages still belonged to influential landowners,<sup>11</sup> shipping capital tripled its shares in the market, having a net profit of a numbers of golden drachmas in 1909.<sup>12</sup> Merchant capitals also increased its shares and foreign ("metropolitan") bank capital was becoming the major force in the market by introducing "new techniques" of dominating the Greek economy by creating subsidiaries or buying existing ones.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Makris, Gerasimos and Stiansen, Endre, "Anglo Capato: A Greek Trader in Sudan". *Sudan Studies - Official Newsletter of the Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom*, 1998), Pp.10–18.

<sup>8</sup>National Statistics Service Of Greece, "Evolution Of Greek Immigration 1890-1940", (Athens, 1968),p. 11

<sup>9</sup> Mantzaris, op cit, page 16.

<sup>10</sup> Nikos Mouzelis, *Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, Second edition. (Exandas Publications, Athens, 1978), Pp 34-35; Nikos G. Svoronos, *History of Modern Greece*. (Athens, Themelio, 1976),p. 18; Constantine Tsoukalas, *The Greek Tragedy*, 3<sup>rd</sup>ed, (Olkos, Athens,1974). p. 82

<sup>11</sup>See Mantzaris, op cit, page 16

<sup>12</sup>Costis Moschoff, *History of the Greek Labor Movement*. (Salonika,Athens, 1982), pp 142-143.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid*

Migration from Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth century can be divided into several phases and periods. The early nineteenth century trend in the migration of the Greek can be described as sporadic. It was influenced by the aftermath of the eight-year war of independence (1821-1829). The countryside was impoverished by war, a first influx of people from Constantinople and Asia Minor, and imposed taxes to pay for the war, creating preconditions for emigration. The destination of this first modern Greek migration flow was mainly the area with old Hellenic ties, like the Black Sea area, the eastern Mediterranean area, and Egypt. Where Egypt is concerned, they settled in Alexandria and Cairo, where already small communities of Greek merchant families existed, and to a lesser degree in other places, like El Mansurah, Port Siad, Tanta, Zagazig and Minia. In 1907 ca. 63.000 Greek were living in Egypt.<sup>14</sup> These communities developed their strong Greek identity during the process of nation building in metropolitan Greece in the course of the nineteenth century. From Egypt some Greek pushed their way further south, into parts of Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Because most of them were individuals no large Greek community was established in any single environment. Although small in numbers, they made an important contribution to Ethiopia by bringing skills like that of silversmith, instructor in the use of firearms, mason, builder, merchant and trader.<sup>15</sup>

The traditional middle classes who were represented politically by the moderate government of Prime Minister Venizelos after the 1909 Goudi military coup started pressing for new and more progressive measures leading to an improvement of the civil service, more progressive taxation, and other steps leading to a further liberalization of Greek society Venizelos was actually the politician who, by introducing new faces into his 1910 government, tried to turn Greece into a modern western democracy with the help of a clique of progressive liberal intellectuals. The revision of the 1864 constitution, redistribution of alienated land to landless peasants, establishment of the first agricultural co-operatives and recognition of the first nucleus

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<sup>14</sup>Daly, Martin. *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898–1934*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).p,43 Panagiotopoulos, Vasilis, Leonidas Kallivretakis, Dimitris Dimitropoulos, Michael Kokolakis, and Eudokia Olympitou. “Population and Settlements of the Greek area: Historical essays,” (Athens: Institute of Modern Hellenic Research, 2003). p18

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid*; Natsoulas, Theodore. “The Hellenic Presence in Ethiopia: A Study of a European Minority in Africa (1730–1946).” *Abba Salama VIII*,(Oxford University,1977): pp. 28.



of trade unions, were some of the immediate steps taken. While it seemed that Greece was heading for a rosy future, two dramatic events occurred to delay the rapid "modernization" process, thus:

- a. The First World War, followed by the disagreement between Venizelos and King Constantine, created not only the political problem known as "Dichasmos" (literally "division"), but also caused serious economic problems for the country because of the Allied Forces' embargo on Greece; and
- b. The 1922 Asia Minor destruction following the disastrous 1921-1922 war against the Turks.<sup>16</sup>

Following the 1922 destruction, more than a million refugees had to be absorbed in the Greek economy. Many of these were semi-skilled workers and skilled artisans who joined the small indigenous working-class populations in the industrial centers. A series of workers' actions during the years 1919-1924, the early industrialization periods, led to an increase in workers' wages. These increases sometimes amounted to 100 per cent, but in actual terms galloping inflation resulted in a real decrease of wages, i.e. the daily wage of a mineworker in 1922 was equal to 40 per cent of his salary in 1914.<sup>17</sup>

While unemployment of the existing labor force was seasonal for some workers and permanent for others,<sup>18</sup> the 1922 stream of refugees created new problems relating to their absorption within the existing industrial infrastructure, housing, job opportunities, etc. At the same time while the state had redistributed large parts of the land to small peasants, it did not try to help them in any way with loans or by teaching them new methods and techniques of cultivation, or by introducing new organizational methods.<sup>19</sup> The result of this inaction was twofold, it caused small-scale agriculturalists or peasants to emigrate, and it accelerated the industrialization

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<sup>16</sup>Costis Moschoff, (198), P.44

<sup>17</sup>George Leontaritis, "Greek labor movement and the State 1910-1920", *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, Vol IV, No 4, (New-York, 1978), p.72; Thanos Veremis and Dimitra kopoulos: (ed.), *Studies of Venizelos and his Period*. (Philippotis Publishers, Athens, 1980), p.41; Dimitris Livieratos, *The Greek Labour Movement 1918-1920*. (Athens, 1976), p.31

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>19</sup>N Psiroukis, *The Asia Minor Destruction (in Greek)*. (Epikerotita, Athens, 1966),p.48

process.<sup>20</sup> From the above it is easy to understand what were the social strata of the Greek population constituting the major sources for emigration to Africa the small-scale agriculturalists/peasants and certain sections of the refugee and indigenous working classes.<sup>21</sup>

### 1.3. The Greeks of Horn of Africa

In the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth century many people of different background and with different goals came to East-Africa. These European were started their colonial enterprises, like shops, hotels, settler farms and plantations in the region. There were also “others”, like Africans of different ethnic background, Indians, Arabs, Greek and Greek-Cypriot, Swiss, Dutch, Pools, Italians, Volga and Palestine and Germans etc. who became part of the colonial society. They created a more complex, multi-cultural colonial and postcolonial society. According to Mills and Gerth, there is a need for understanding this more complex layered archive in which versions of modernity are negotiated in an ever-shifting set of idioms around ‘tradition’.<sup>22</sup> A first remark I would like to make is that in analyzing the experiences of Greek emigrants to East Africa, and the way their history and their African experiences influenced their sense of communal, ethnic identity, we can make use of several concepts connected to migration and immigrants, like push and pull, chain migrations, sojourners, diasporas, (ethnic and economic) minorities, transnational communities, etc. The point I would like to make is that not one concept or theory, but different concepts can be used to analyze specific phases and different aspects of the groups involved.

The history of one of these groups of people who “choose” to forge their lives in the pioneering colonies of foreign nations will be highlighted in this paper. Interesting is that in other parts of the world most Greeks in Diasporas made their career in trade, and in the hotel and restaurant business.<sup>23</sup> But in eastern part of Africa a majority became railway constructors, and later

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<sup>20</sup>C. Vergopoulos, *The Agricultural Problem in Greece. Exandas*, (Athens, 1975), p 149.

<sup>21</sup>S Prokopiou, *Greeks in Asia and Africa: Pioneers of Civilization*. (Greek: Athens, 1930), p.11.

<sup>22</sup>C. W. Mills and H. Gerth, *Character and Social Structure*. (New York, 1964), p.216-17

<sup>23</sup>“Greek Cultural Profile”, 2006; MIC, “Greek Cultural Profile”, 2010; Greek Care, “Greek Culture and Tradition”. [www.greekcare.org.au/advice-andinformation/greek-culture-and-tradition](http://www.greekcare.org.au/advice-andinformation/greek-culture-and-tradition) accessed on 2 September 2018

plantation managers and plantations owners in the sisal sector, latter started coffee plantations and mixed farming, or grew tobacco. These Greeks claim their own position within the colonial society by exploiting the fluidity and ambiguity of colonial hierarchies, playing up different claims of being Europeans, being Greeks, or being people who are more able to understand and work together with Africans than Germans, British and Indians, because of their lack of racial discrimination and their understanding of extended family life.<sup>24</sup>

The origins of Greek immigration to Horn of Africa was dated back to the first half of the 19th century and are directly linked to Mohamed Ali's campaign, which began in 1821 and aimed to conquer the region beyond Upper Egypt.<sup>25</sup> We should note that the expedition of Mohamed Ali included several Greeks such as Arvanites mercenaries.<sup>26</sup> Apart from them, there would also add the number of Greeks who followed Ismail Pasha as officers, interpreters, suppliers, and doctors.<sup>27</sup> Wolver, when the Greek merchants came into contact with the people of East Africa, they discovered that the coast was already extensively occupied by the Arab traders, who had intermarried with the local inhabitants and produced the local people and a creolized form of Arabic.<sup>28</sup>

In 1821, during the campaign to conquer Sennar, Mohammed Ali created the first residential installations in Khartoum in order that part of the military force could remain for longer periods in the city. Subsequently, soldiers, Egyptian and Greek merchants and indigenous peasants, mainly from the area of the Blue Nile, began to settle in Khartoum. In the following years, a number of qualified personnel like shipbuilders, sailors, craftsmen, gunsmiths, and bakers settled

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<sup>24</sup>Politis, Athanasios. *Greeks and modern Egypt, The history of Greeks of Egypt, 1798–1927*. (Alexandria & Athens: Grammata, 1928–1930). pp. 177–78; Kramer, Lobban and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Scarecrow Press, 2013).p. 192; Baker, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa, Ismailia: A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade*. (London: MacMillan & Co, 1874), 2vols., p. 146.

<sup>25</sup>Nikolaos Evangelides, *Hellenism in Sudan*. (Alexandria: Egypt, 1924), pp. 104–5

<sup>26</sup>Robinson, Arthur. "The Conquest of the Sudan by the Wali of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, 1820–1824." *Journal of the Royal African Society* 25, no. 97 (1925): pp. 47–58.

<sup>27</sup> Baker, Samuel. *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia, and the Sword Hunters of the Hamran Arabs*. (London: MacMillan, 1886), p. 51 Myers, Arthur. *Life with the Hamran Arabs*. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1876).pp. 9–10

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid*

in Khartoum, while Greeks opened the first and only pharmacy in town. From 1830 onwards, as Sudan was a kind of hinterland for those who lived and operated business in Egypt, few Greeks settled in the region trading ivory, leather, and ostrich feathers.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, since the Greeks were the first Europeans residing in the area from the mid-19th century, they often guided expeditions south of the River Nile.<sup>30</sup> The first migrations were either in Omdurman or in the port of Suakin on the Red Sea. Actually, when the construction of the Suez Canal was completed in 1869 the number of ships that crossed the Red Sea and stopped for refueling in various ports grew rapidly. As a result of this, the Greek migration flow intensified and led to the establishment of several Greeks in Suakin.<sup>31</sup> As mentioned above, the campaign carried out by Mohammed Ali in 1821 triggered the Greek settlement south of Egypt. During the 1840s, the Greek commercial activity increased.<sup>32</sup>

One of the Greek captives succeeded in producing gunpowder for the Mahdi and started construction of a luxury home, but was killed along with another Greek when the powder keg exploded in 1891.<sup>33</sup> Another one, Nicolas Papadam, wrote down his memoir after the end of the Mahdist rule, painting an extraordinarily humanizing portrait of the Mahdi, the Khalifa and the Mahdist movement, especially in contrast to “*the arrogant, tyrannical and hated Turkish rule.*” Makris concludes:

“The Mahdi's label of the Greeks as 'men of trade' with no responsibility for political and social developments summarizes the way the Sudanese have always seen the Greek settlers. Naturally, this conception has been warmly embraced by

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<sup>29</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>30</sup>Alexandros Pahtikos, *Illustrated Africa*. vol.2 (Alexandria, 1933); George Melly, *Khartoum, and the Blue and White Niles*. v.2, (London: Colburn & Co., 1851), p. 146.

<sup>31</sup>Athanasios Photopoulos, “Greeks in Sudan in the 19th century”. *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (2004): pp. 347–60

<sup>32</sup>Wilhelm Junker, *Travels in Africa 1875–1878*. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971), p. 144.; Niblock, Tim. *Class and Power in Sudan: The Dynamics of Sudanese Politics 1898–1985*. (New York: Sunny Press), 1987, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup>Antonis Chaldeos, *The Greek community in Sudan in 19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> century*, (Athens. 2017), pp. 48-49

the Greeks themselves although, strictly speaking, it has never corresponded to reality.”<sup>34</sup>

In 1898 Kitchener’s forces conquered Omdurman and Sudan became *de jure* a Condominium of Great Britain and Egypt.<sup>35</sup> While the British consolidated their domination throughout the country, the Greeks began gradually to move beyond their initial settlements that were established by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Actually, the internal dispersion of the Greeks was impressive. They settled, in every province of Sudan, even in the most remote and even when very few other Europeans had arrived yet. The Greeks were mainly inspired by the possibilities and prospects of trade and moved in every direction settling in many cities and townships of the vast African country. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek community in Sudan, which numbered more than 5,000 members, entered a period of prosperity and unprecedented progress.<sup>36</sup> They controlled substantial parts of the Sudanese economy and they influenced a very important period of contemporary Sudanese history, especially between 1956 and 1971.<sup>37</sup>

Eight months later, shortly after the death of the Mahdi, Mahdist commander Osman Digna had two Greeks executed in Kassala.<sup>38</sup> The other Greeks, who had lived in that city, had earlier been evacuated to Abyssinia by forces of the Ethiopian Emperor Yohannes IV upon the request of the Greek Consul in this nucleus of the Greek community was immediately enlarged by

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<sup>34</sup>Gerasimos Makris, “A Prisoner of the Mahdi- Nicolas From Samson” *Sudan Studies Official Newsletter of the Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom*. V.36 (London, 2007), P17

<sup>35</sup>Muddathir Abdalrahim, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 40; Harold McMichael, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), p. 65.

<sup>36</sup>George Kamitsis, *Sudan and Hellenism*. (Athens, 1967).p. 37; Pasha, Yacoub Artin. *England in the Sudan*. Translated by George Robb. (London: MacMillan and Co, 1911), p. 170; Athanasius Politis. *Greeks and modern Egypt. The history of Greeks of Egypt, 1798–1927*. (Alexandria & Athens: Grammata, 1928–1930).p. 353.

<sup>37</sup>Alexandros Tsakos, “The Agarik in Modern Sudan: A Narration Dedicated to Niania-Pa and Mahmoud Salih.” In *Connecting South and North, Sudan Studies from Bergen in Honour of Mahmoud Salih*, edited by Henriette Hafsaas-Tsakos & Alexandros Tsakos. (Bergen: Unifob Global & Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 2009): p. 116.

<sup>38</sup>F. R. Wingate, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp 1882-1892. Chaldeos, Antoni, The Greek community in Sudan (19th-21st cen.)*. (Greek: Athens, 2017). pp. 48–49

interpreters<sup>39</sup> and merchants who entered the Sudan with the invading army, either from the Red Sea or along the Nile. The latter specialized as contractors in supplying logistics to the military and the newly established government. Some Greeks also officially served in the Anglo-Egyptian administration, particularly in the Railway and Steamers Department, as clerical and technical staff.<sup>40</sup>

The Greek presence in Horn region, and foremost the range of the entrepreneurial activity of the Greeks, influenced also the toponomastics of the Region. Four place names derived, which until today give important insight into the history of the Greeks in Sudan during that period. The four Sudanese place names related to the Greek entrepreneurial activity are the microtoponym *Aburoof*, located in Omdurman, the toponym *Kosti* in White Nile province and two street names in Khartoum, *Katarina St.* and *Cunt Mukhlis St.* Below we will analyze their origin as well as the reasons they remained in use in Sudanese geography and language.<sup>41</sup>

We could go on and with details concerning Greek pioneers in Africa, but this exercise would mean that the main aim, a socio-historical exploration of Eastern African Hellenism, would be pushed into the background. Nevertheless a comparison of the Greeks of eastern Africa with those of other African countries will always be a help towards understanding the process of their immigration, background, adaptation and absorption into their new environment.<sup>42</sup>

#### **1.4. Greeks in Western Ethiopia**

The process of migration was one of human nature due to pull and push factors due to natural and manmade problems, it is global issues which make people enter willingly or involuntarily. In new contexts of social relations migration is a process of the interaction of people throughout the world. The Greece migration in the nineteenth and twentieth century were one of these

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<sup>39</sup>Marios Papakyriacou, *Formulation and definitions of the Greek national ideology in colonial Egypt (1856-1919)*. (Berlin, Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften,2014).. pp. 63–64); Robert Kramer; Richard Lobban; Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn (2013). *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 4<sup>th</sup>ed. Lanham / Toronto / Plymouth (UK): The Scarecrow Press. pp. 191–192.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>Robert, *etal.*...p.93

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

implications.<sup>43</sup> The Greeks who immigrated to the horn of Africa were not only pushed by economic and political circumstances in Europe; they were also pulled by some economic significance in Red Sea area. The Wali traders of Egypt and Sudan under Mohammed Ali Pasha, and his successor, Khedive Ismael Pasha, give up their willingness for the Greeks arrival instead of them were important intermediaries and introduced to Western technology to their empire.<sup>44</sup> In Ethiopia and Eritrea Greeks arrival was supported by indigenous rulers, as intermediates in the modest process of nineteenth century modernization and globalization. They operated as traders and merchants in the still limited foreign trade, and they were involved in railroad building, organized by the Italians.<sup>45</sup>

Ethiopia was one of the latter African countries to receive Greek emigrants during the early period of their emigration, as will be shown below in detail, but it was not the only one. Sudan, for example, an African country which had been one of the primary targets for ancient Greek explorers many centuries before Christ, received her first large numbers of Greek immigrants' around 1853.<sup>46</sup> They fought in all the wars of Gordon and Kitchener against the rebellious "natives", many losing their lives, while the survivors formed the nucleus of affluent merchant classes in the period 1900-1910.<sup>47</sup> Streams of Greek immigrant workers and artisans flocked into that country during the period 1905-1915, working as stevedores in the docks of Port Sudan or as contracted workers in the manufacturing plants or on the railways.<sup>48</sup> According to other historians the first Greeks in Sudan arrived during the eighteenth century as adventurers and tailors, trying to find the route to new lands.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Panagiotopoulos, Vasilis, Leonidas Kallivretakis, Dimitris Dimitropoulos, Michael Kokolakis, and Eudokia Olympitou. Population and Settlements of the Greek area: Historical essays. Research Notebooks 18. (Athens: Institute of Modern Hellenic Research, 2003)p,54

<sup>44</sup>Vasilis, *etal.*2003; Photopoulos, Athanasius. "Greeks in Sudan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century". *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (2004): p354; Politis, (1930),PP.32

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid*; Theodore. (1977): pp. 87

<sup>46</sup>Natsoulas, (1977), p48; Athanasius. (2004): pp. 357-58

<sup>47</sup>Nicholas Evangelides, *History of the Greeks in Sudan*. (Alexandria, Egypt, 1925), pp 53-54; G Kamitzis, *Sudan and its Hellenism*, (Athens, 1967)., p.62

<sup>48</sup>Evangelides,(1925) p55,

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid*

As early as 1900, Greek workers and artisans were to be found in Ethiopia as railway workers,<sup>50</sup> in Eastern Africa Greeks artisans were the major force behind the success of the railway around 1890. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century most of Greek workers were constituted the major element on trading activity in Ethiopia. Their "golden age" the years (1905-1914), after which most of them turned their talents to farming and commerce.<sup>51</sup>

In 1894, about 178 Greeks lived in Eritrea. Most of them resided in Keren and Masawa. That year they founded the first organised community in Eritrea, that of Keren. During the late 19th century, Britain's presence in Kenya was marked by dispossession and violence. British troops carried out atrocities against the native population who resisted. A Greek merchant from Lesbos, Coutlis, who had settled in Kenya a decade earlier, provided the Kenyans with arms and gunpowder. In 1905, the British organised a campaign to kill Coutlis.<sup>52</sup>

In western Ethiopia, Indians and Armenians had a less visible position. The Greeks and Yemeni were more important due to they were highly involved in trade also adopted the local culture and begun to live together with the local community. Ethiopian traders became prominent only in the post-Italian period. According to Baharu the Greeks in western Wallaga were tended come to the region in a spirit of adventure, without any capital, but gradually started business of one kind or another. Some Greeks who came to collect rubber for Ydlibi one of the known merchants and who involved on coffee export, in 1904 eventually embarked on coffee trade.<sup>53</sup> Other Greeks had a more auspicious beginning. Gerolimato, who also had the position of British vice-consul in Harar, was given a great deal of official favor. After a report on *Ras Tassamma's* province compiled by Timoleon at Gerolimato's expense, Sudan government circles, with prodding from Harrington, the British Minister in Addis Ababa, were thinking in terms of leasing part of the enclave to him and even giving him a monopoly on Gambella trade for a start. Gerolima to obtain neither the lease nor the monopoly, but his firm, under the management of Timoleon,

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<sup>50</sup> M Papamichael, *The Hellenic Pan-African Directory: From Cape to Cairo*. (Athens, 1951, p, 254.

<sup>51</sup> E A Mantzaris, "Greek rural settlement in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930". *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, v. VII, No 1, 1980.

<sup>52</sup> Natsoulas, (1977), p98

<sup>53</sup> Bahru Zewde, "Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian Frontier 1898-1935", (PhD. Dissertation On Philosophy, University Of London, 1976), p.270



grew to be one of the two most important trading houses in the area. It had agents in Bure, Gore and Gambella, in addition to offices in Harar and Addis Ababa.<sup>54</sup>

In April 1913, Gerolimato was elected to the executive committee of the Sudan Chamber of Commerce, along with Gellatly Hankey & Co., later to play an important role in western Ethiopian trade, and the Kordofan Trading Company, who had by then departed from the western Ethiopian scene. J Timoleon was so successful in ingratiating himself with Ethiopian official sin Gore that Walker, who resented the undermining of his own influence that this involved, bewailed "the lack of independence of the local authorities and how easily they can be influenced by a capitalist in his own interests."<sup>55</sup>

Gerolimato's rivals in western Ethiopia were John Nicholas & Co., whose general agent was Majid Abud. In 1912, the firm had a capital of about £E100,000. Like its rival, it was very much a family business, four of its proprietors being brothers-in-law of Ydlibi, who himself was the guiding spirit behind the whole enterprise. Another trading concern, the Kordofan Trading Company, had a brief career and its fate is examined in greater detail below in connection with the rubber trade. Among the pioneer traders in Sayyoo and Gambella was Angelo Capato, a Greek, whose name is still vivid in the memory of the people of Sayyoo (now known as Dambi Dollo). He had agents at Sayyoo, Gore, Bure and Gidami.<sup>56</sup> By 1914, however, his entire business had run into serious difficulties and sympathizers were expressing anxiety about his being thrown "penniless out in the street." His agent, Cacourato, eventually began trading in his own right. In 1912, he was thought to have a capital of £E10, 000. Latecomers to the scene but equally significant were Seferian & Co and Messrs. J. & S. Tabet, The latter were described by one observer as having, "with intensely serious faces, turned the drama of trade into light comedy. Their commercial contortions remind one of the references to the mountain being delivered of a mouse."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*; Garretson, (1979), pp. 165, 274; Pankhurst (1968), pp. 398-99. Birhanu, (1970)p.63

<sup>55</sup>Garretson, (1979),p 274

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid*; Amasu, p14

<sup>57</sup>Bahiru Zewde, "Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian

The rivalry between Majid Abud and Timoleon was said to have attained such vindictive proportions in 1912 that the price of coffee doubled and that of wax was up by over their animosity might have been exacerbated by their differing national origins: one was a Syrian, the other a Greek. But Greek informants claimed that the Greek themselves competed more than they co-operated a fact which he explained by reference to Greek individualisms'. The prevailing picture, however, was one of secret agreements between the merchants at the expense both of Ethiopian sellers of such exportable commodities as coffee and of newcomers to the commercial scene, particularly European traders.<sup>58</sup> According to Zerai, graphically described the manner in which Greek traders in Sayo conspired to depress the price of coffee and to inflate that of salt and *abujed* and the pathetic plight of the Ethiopian seller who trekked from one purchaser to another in vain search of a fair price for his commodity. Zerai also indicated that a number of foreign firms not only placed the Ethiopians the Greeks were secure the best returns for their native products and any new firms contemplating this field with competitors that might be the standpoint of the best business for them. Such scoffing at the commercial standards of the Greek, Syrian, Armenian, and Indian merchants who dominated Ethiopian foreign trade at this time was quite common among Corporation, whose exit from the Ethiopian commercial scene followed fast on the heels of its debut, described them as the most unfortunate representatives of the white race which it would be possible to imagine from the point of view of impressing the native mind.<sup>59</sup> He deplored their "code of morals and a standard of living which is no higher than that of the natives" and was greatly worried that "the Abyssinian proletariat who rub shoulders with these folk, and do not come so much into contact with the fewer decent and more recently arrived Europeans, lump all Westerners together and judge them all from those they know, thus producing a misleading and disastrous idea of European standards and mentality."<sup>60</sup>

It was precisely this adaptability of the Greek and Syrian merchants, their capacity to operate in an Ethiopian milieu with amazing dexterity, which ensured success for their businesses. They

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Frontier 1898-1935", (PhD. Dissertation On Philosophy, University Of London. 1976). pp.272-73

<sup>58</sup> Informants: Yerasino, Dmitry; Zerai Bocurezion.. "*Qannazmach* Majid's: The Legal Settlement of Western Ethiopian Boundary (Gambella)". (BA. Thesis Addis Ababa University History, 1971),p. 12

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid*

mixed with the indigenous population, spoke their languages, and actively participated in such communal enterprises as school and road building.<sup>61</sup>

Gondare settlers preferred Greek traders to the bank when it came to depositing their money. The traders hold over provincial governors was sometimes over powering. One Greek trader in Sayo, Paulos K. Beriuniwos, had ingratiated himself with *Dajach* Birru so much that he had exempted himself from the jurisdiction of *Nagadras* Bashah, who was normally responsible for adjudicating on cases involving traders, and was answerable only to the *Dajazmach*. In response to an article by the trader accusing the *Nagadras* in the execution of his administrative duties, the latter wrote a long, well-reasoned and well-documented essay on the offences of the trader under the governors personal protection, and the latter's interference in legal and administrative spheres which strictly belonged to the *Nagadras* while neglecting his own prescribed task of maintaining order and guaranteeing security in the province as a whole. The dispute between *Nagadras* and governor, between rational administration and personal patronage, is probably of much more enduring interest than the mutual recriminations of *Nagadras* and trader.<sup>62</sup>

The Greek traders also distinguished themselves in card-playing. In 1926, there were reported him twenty-four professional gamblers in Sayo, which had the largest concentration of Greeks in western Ethiopia. In 1924, Cacourato, the pioneer of Gambella trade, was chained in Sayo for debts of some Maria Theresa dollars. He had squandered the money in drinking and gambling. Distilling spirits locally was another Greek specialty. A Greek bricklayer in Sayo was even alleged to have tried his hand at sorcery. 'Walker was so exasperated by the activities of the Greeks that he contemplated ceasing the unofficial protection that he as British consul was extending to Hellenic subjects. He argued that "if the Greeks take advantage of the lawless state of Ethiopia, the only course is to treat them as natives and class them as such."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Bahru, (1976), p. 275; Martin. *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898–1934*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). 292.

<sup>62</sup>Bahru, (1976), pp.275-76; (1970), P.23

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid*

### 1.5. Geographical Setting of the Study Area

Dambi Dollo town extends from the western headwaters of the Birbir River in the south west, in southeast to the Garre and Sakko River in the west and south. In the north it reaches the southern head waters of the Dabus River. In addition, to the west of the town the Anfillo forest where the Mao and the Busase people were lived, mainly along the Goddarree River.<sup>64</sup> The climate condition of Dambi Dollo is high land terrain area

The area is located between 8°10' and 9°30' north latitude and between 34°20' east longitude although is situated within the tropically zone its average temperature is fairly moderate because of considerable altitude of whole area. The Dambi Dollo divides the year into four seasons. *Arfasa, Ganna, Birraa* and *Bona*. Dambi Dollo area is characterized by the prevailing of three climatic zones:-*Gammojii* is the zone between beneath 1.400m. This is very hot and climatically unhealthy where the middle and lower courses of rivers eroded deep gorges and valley. Badda:- (high lands) Badda Daree is colder zone located between 200m and 3000m. This is favorable for lives stock rising. Badda (Moderate Zone) Badda (Moderate zone or sub- tropical zone.) This zone located between 300 to 3000m it is very favorable for human settlement and livestock rising.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Negaso Gidada, The history of Sayyoo Oromo of Southwestern Wollaga, Ethiopia from about 1730- 1886(Frankfurt: Germany,1984, p3

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid*.p.14

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. The Greek Community in Western Wollaga

#### 2.1. The Beginning of Greek community settlement in Qellem Wollaga

The arrival of Greek community to western Ethiopia was reclined with the arrival of Greek community in western Ethiopia. Around 1900, a group of Greek merchants came to settle in southern Sudan through Egypt. The origins of this group of merchants were probably from the Island in the Mediterranean Sea and some from the main land of Greece. After they arrived to the region many of them involved in different vocational activities while the rest of them were left unemployment at their early period.<sup>66</sup> The major pull and push factors for Greece merchants to arrive in western Ethiopia were, the pull factor was that of the political instability and good trade route which connected with the red sea trade route through Sudan and push factor was following the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Greece there were lack of political instability and also after 1920s Allied Forces' embargo on Greece and also 1922 Asia Minor destruction following the disastrous 1921-1922 war against the Turks.<sup>67</sup>

The Oromo of western Wollaga (Qellem Wollaga) had established trading link in lucrative items with foreign merchants, particularly with Greeks merchants prior to the opening of Gambella port. According to Fite Birr, the Greece communities settled in Dambi Dollo and area of south west Wollega such as Asossa Yubdoo, Begi, Garjeda and Gidami. The strategic position of the region to the periphery of Sudan being located between the River Birbir and the natural resources coverage area of the region particularly Anfilo was the most preferable trade center and attracted foreign merchants specially the Greeks who dominated the commercial activity in the region.<sup>68</sup> Greeks communities were settled in the region under the leadership Jaro Bilowho who gave them settlement area without any delay then after the Greeks started their way of life in the area.<sup>69</sup>

According to some source the arrival of Greeks in to the Leqa Qellam state was terraced back to the defeat of the Mahdist movement of Sudan in 1898. Through Kassala a large numbers of

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<sup>66</sup>Admasu, (2008), p.4

<sup>67</sup> Evangelos, 1982, p.32

<sup>68</sup>Birhanu, (1973)41

<sup>69</sup>Fite Biri, *History and Culture of Oromo*.(Finfine, 2013). p35

Greeks were entered into Beggi which Beggi was a buffer zone between Khojele and *Dajjazmach* Jote Tulu of Qellam.<sup>70</sup> Khojele was the regional lord of Asosa, carried on raiding and trading for slaves, coffee and ivory. His soldiers raided the Mao of Beggi and Khoma to the west. Taking advantage of Khojele's imprisonment in Addis Ababa in 1903, Jote Tulu and his Oromo soldiers moved on Beggi and defeated Kutu Golja, the Mao chief, at the battle of Gitten. The Mao and their western neighbors', the Khoma, were decimated; Kutu Golja was forced to flee to Illubabor; and many of the remaining Mao was taken captive. Beggi remained under Oromo rule until Khojele was released in 1908.<sup>71</sup> After the death of the Mahdist commander Osman Digna had two Greeks carry out in Kassala.<sup>72</sup> However, other Greeks who had lived there earlier welcomed to Ethiopia by the army of Emperor Yohannes IV which led the request of the Greek Consul in Ethiopia.<sup>73</sup>

The arrival of Greek community to western Wollaga particularly the Leqa Qellem region was also coincide with the period of the so called *jabanakiray*(era of hire) when a large section of the society employed as a porter of foreign merchants to carry load to and from Leqa region. The local people of the region carried coffee and other exportable goods from Dembi Dollo and came back with salt and other important items from the port. At this time a large section of the population of the Leqa state participate on the activity. The local rich individuals usually rented their pack animals either to the Greeks or to the people whom they trusted.<sup>74</sup>

One of the missionary of the period Dr. Lambie stated that about the items of trade which was bought by the Greeks and Arab merchants from the local markets and finally exported to Khartoum via the Gambella port. In accordance, a large area of western and southern Ethiopia produced an enormous quantity of coffee and hides. These export items were bought by Greeks,

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<sup>70</sup>Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of South-west Ethiopia and Its Borderland* (London, 1956), Pp.17-18

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup>F. R. Wingate, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp 1882-1892*. (London, 1948) p,127

<sup>73</sup>Marios Papakyriacou, *Formulation and definitions of the Greek national ideology in colonial Egypt (1856-1919)*. (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften20140. pp. 31

<sup>74</sup> Informants: RagasaTura, Hika Berkessa

Arabs and Ethiopian traders at Sayyoo and Gore. They were transported by steamer during the rainy season to Khartoum via Gambella trade route. The loads were transported by mule, donkey and men.<sup>75</sup> The trade system of the region was controlled by foreigner merchants and none of the native took part in except serving the foreigner traders as porter and employee.<sup>76</sup> However, there were a few local merchants coming to Dembi Dollo from Gurage land, Gojjam, Jimma, and Shoa to receive goods from foreign merchants.<sup>77</sup> According to Atlaye during the period of *jabana Kiray* women were involved to carry the load were supported her husband by caring load up to the place called Burqa Badddesa; which is small village in Sayyoo district which is about 3hr walk on foot from Dembi Dollo. At Burqa Beddesa, those women gave the load to their husband and came back at home.<sup>78</sup> The early Greeks settlement in Qelem wollaga was at a smallest villge of the time which later became the center of Sayyoo district, from there opened other branches of settlement areas at Mugi and Gidami, both were the sub-district of Qellem.<sup>79</sup>

Dambi Dollo town served as local trade centre before the creation of Gambella port. Later due to good geographical setting it became the center of foreigners' traders. By the time commercial activity of the area was monopolized by the Greeks.<sup>80</sup> The well known by sources of lucrative long distance items such as ivory, gold slaves etc....<sup>81</sup> The opening of the port of Gambella in 1902 lead to influx of foreigner traders in to southwest Wollega area particularly in Dambi Dollo from where they bought local exported items and sold their important items. A number of

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<sup>75</sup> Thomas Lambie, *A Doctor without A country*, (John Hopkinson University, 1974),p.125

<sup>76</sup> Birhanu,( 1973), p.9

<sup>77</sup> Atlaye, (1983)p.9

<sup>78</sup> Atlaye, (1983),Pp.30-31 Nega Abdisa, “A History of Sayyoo District Ca. 1980s-1991”,(MA. Thesis Jimma University, 2018),p.54

<sup>79</sup> T. Natsoul, “ The Greeks in Ethiopia Economic, Political and Social Life ca. 1736-1940”, PhD Desertation , Syracuses University,1975) p.308

<sup>80</sup> Workineh Shifaraw. 2013 “ A History of Leeqa Qellema ca. 1840s-1941”. M.A Thesis in History Jimma University. p, 12

<sup>81</sup> Guluma Gamada. “Gomma and Limu: The Process of State Formation among the Oromo in Gibe Region,” (M.A. Thesis, History, AAU, 1984).p 149, Richard Pankhurst. *“The trade of southern and western Ethiopia and the Indian ocean ports in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries”*. (Berlin University 1965); Birhanu Dibaba. “A Historical study in northern In Wollega. Ca 1900-1935. ” (MA Thesis in history Addis Ababa University, 1976)p.16

Greece merchants, Armenians and Arab came and settle in the region. According to tradition, Greece merchants who arrived in Dambi Dollo, they were brought for local market for selling some of the imported items include, Glass, Bottles Cups, Abjudi silk, Breads, Spear heads, Salt and they were also buy local commodities from the local markets to export through Sudan.<sup>82</sup> The strategic position of Dambi Dollo made it the most preferred trade centre for foreign merchants specially for the Greeks.<sup>83</sup> In addition Greeks control trade and trade route of the area. The Greeks also participated in various economics benefits particularly agricultural activities. The tradition remarks that a Greece named Pandalis Nittis was famous one agriculturalist actively in local area by introducing fruit called apricots. The Greeks communities were involved in addition to agricultural activity. They involved in the field of construction such as bricks, small bridges, big bricks construction sites between Dambi Dollo town and Dulli.<sup>84</sup>

According to Bahiru, intially a group of seventy to eighty Greeks were arrived, and they were redistributed to different part of the region. What was difficult to accept in Ghanotakis was the date they arrived at Sayyoo which he claimed to be 1902.<sup>85</sup> The fact that not be denied was that the alleged company had came after the Anglo-Ethiopian treaty of 1902 was signed, even Gambella, where the Company's head office was there, started its services as inland port in 1904. Therefore in no way these Greeks laborers came to Sayyoo earlier than 1904. Moreover, this information has not come across any oral informants who dated their arrival prior to the emergence of Gambella as a trading center. So their arrival in the alleged area should be either the year 1904, or the following few years within the first decades of the century. The Company employees in Qellem were given areas of land to settle on by *Dajjazmach* Jote Tullu(1855-1918), the governor of the district with his seat at Ghidami. The first settlers of Sayyoo were Mr. Heracles Pytherus, Mr. Pandelio Nittis, Mr. A. Harmannes, Mr. Dalaportus, Mr. Kyriaku, and Mr. T. Davis. Soon after, however, other Greeks kept following into Qellem following the

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<sup>82</sup>Workneh.( 2013), p.13

<sup>83</sup> Altaye Tadase. 1999. "A History of Dambi Dollo town" ca1850-19900. M.A. Thesis in History Addis Abeba University History, p.8

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>85</sup> Bahiru,(1976), 187; Dereje Feyissa, Power and its *Discontents in Ethiopia's* Western Periphery *Anywaa's* Reactions to the Consolidation of the Ethiopian State in the Gambella Region (1941 – 1991) (Addis Ababa University, College of Law and Governance, 2008),p,6



footsteps of their predecessors. Almost all of the Greek settle of this village-town were originally from Cyprus Island.<sup>86</sup>

Indeed, the company work had also attracted many natives whom they joined their production of raw rubber first, the natives were using primitive methods. However, the Greeks foremen thought them how a rubber tree which had its later once extracted could be used again. The natives were selling the raw products to the company for cash.<sup>87</sup> The company' major problem remained the means of transporting the raw rubber production to the port of Gambella. Later on, however, it was solved when the company begun using natives as porter. The porters would carry the products up to the port. From there it was to be sent out to Europe on the river Baro through Sudan. On their way back the natives would carry pieces of bar-salt and other European commodities and deliver them to the respective agents. The process of going to and coming back from Gambella is commonly known among the natives as “*kira*”, which means “wedge labor”.<sup>88</sup> Because of Sayyos location on the main route to the way of Gambella, porters from Ghidami stopped there for rest and the continued their journey. Sometimes, they stored products at the company's store house there. As a result, Sayyoo strategic location helped beer grow into a town. Moreover, the emergence of coffee as a cash crop which eventually attracted several foreign companies to the area had also contributed to the growth of the town. Money relatively modern houses were built flowing arrival of companies and entrepreneurs.<sup>89</sup>

In the district of Qellem or in the region of Wollaga itself, the history of coffee as a cash crop had started with the coming of the Greek merchants. before, them it was used neither for drinking nor for exchange as a commodity the only thing known among the native Oromo people of the region coffee is used for the traditional ceremonial food called “Buna Qalla”<sup>90</sup> after some years on operating, due to the failure of rubber products to compete with coffee at the world markets. Finally, the company of Yedilbi was left the country by leaving almost all of the

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*; Ghanotakis, A.J. “The Greeks in Ethiopia, 1889-1970.” PhD Dissertation (Bosten University, 1979), p.39

<sup>87</sup> Admasu, (2008),p 5; Informant: Fayissa Rufo, Gamada, Tefara

<sup>88</sup> Informants: Feyisa, Gamada, George N. Plethedics

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>90</sup> Birhanu (1973), p 8; Daneal yan 1986, p6; Admasu, (2008), p7

laborers behind. The majority of them soon begun running their own business and agricultural lives.<sup>91</sup>

## **2.2. The Socio- political and Economic Impacts of the Settlers on the Indigenous People**

After they got settled it did not take the first Greeks settlers of Qellem long to adjust themselves to the new environment and new society. Since some of them married to Oromo women for instance Mister Michael Pondeli Nitis was married with an Oromo women named Edile Daba and also the mother of Mister Michael Pondeli was from the Oromo of Dambi Dolo here name was Tirfe Korsaa.<sup>92</sup> This is what an American doctor; Lambie witnessed when he arrived in 1919, about thirty Greek traders had settled in or near Sayyoo. Most of them have native wives or concubines.<sup>93</sup>

This marriage relationship brought them closely to the local inhabitants. They became part of the society's socio-economic and political system. they begun to consume what the native consumed practicing cultural or traditional practices like parent's arranged marriage, settling disagreements through selected elders, ...etc. the local people, on the other hand gave up some of their traditional ways of life and accepted the Greek ones. They begun wearing clothes made of cotton instead of their previous ones which were involved into the services of the Greeks paid workers. Many others were also begun to build their houses on the model of the houses built by the Greeks.<sup>94</sup>

There were other cultural interactions, between the two communities. The majority of these settlers who got marriage to the local Oromo women did carry out the wedding ceremony according to the traditional Oromo culture. Heracles Pytherus was one of those prominent Greeks whom he had very much adopted to the native cultures. Speaking fluently the Oromo language only, but also his active role in the society as an elder made him popular and famous

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, p.7; Archives marriage Certificate

<sup>93</sup> TA. Lambie A doctor without, p.38

<sup>94</sup> Admasu, (2008), p.7; Informants: Gamada, Fayyisa, Kassahun

person in the whole region.<sup>95</sup> The Greeks were often known for their stands against slavery and free labor. Since most of the Greek settlers were involved in export-import business. They used to import luxury goods and quality European clothes, so sometimes these Greeks traders had to give some of the imported items in the forms of a bribe or as a free gift to the local chiefs or rulers in order to get warranty of protection over their proportions and for the safe operation of their business in the area.<sup>96</sup>

In the meantime, as a reaction to the gift from the Greeks businessmen, the chiefs often gave them young maids or what they called "slave" to serve in the houses. In addition, they were being offered such gifts take gold, ivory, cows with calves, horses, mules, sheep and goats. So during this period give and take ceremony, something odd happened especially to the chief. It was the tradition of the Greeks not to receive any of them freely. He should respond by paying money for the things, or give a piece of cloth to each individual who gave the gift in accordance with the value of the awarded gift. if the gift is happened to be a "slave", the receiving, Greeks used to pay wage for the labor performed.<sup>97</sup> The other fascinating story regarding the give-take ceremony was told by one of the informants Dmitri was to be given a male by unknown chief. When the chief came up with the mule and asked Mr. Pytherus for his willingness to accept his offer, Mr. Pytherus in the same way repaid by giving some amount of money.<sup>98</sup>

Politically the significances of Greek in the district, especially, before the Fascist Italian occupation was scarcely known. However, there was a time when the Greeks resided in Ghidami served in the court of *Dajjazmach* Jote Tullu as judiciary, beside their trading companies. The most important of this Greek community were Nicholas Plethedis, christoveras, Angelo, Kakuratus and Costa Papeconstantinou again all of them were Greek Cyprus.<sup>99</sup>

What happened at one occasion was that a border clash took place between the local people of Leqa Qellam and Leqa Neqemte under the leadership of *Dajjazmach* Jote Tulu and of Qellem

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<sup>95</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>96</sup> Informants; Birri, Agami, assafa

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>98</sup> Informant: Dmitri, John, Yohannes

<sup>99</sup> Informants: Assaffaa, Dirriba, Galana

and *Dajjazmach* Kumsa Morada of Naqamte, another direct of Wollaga, near the village of Mana Sibui, in today's Gimbi district. Two men were died due to the clash from the Jote's side. As soon as the news was heard in the court of Jote, he declared war on his adversary. The Greek business men whom most of them were involved in gun trade were also asked to come up with their guns to help his people in the war. Though, they agreed with the governor's request, these Greeks, however, made a suggestion to the governor that they be would like to mediate the two comforting parties. Thus, through the mediation of the Greeks governors of the two districts parties the problems were solved. Thus through the mediation of the Greeks, governors of the two districts came together settled confrontation peacefully without further bloodshed.<sup>100</sup>

Concerning economy, like politics, we lack complete pictures of the Greeks activities in the area. Although, the next chapter is developed to discuss the economic role of the given community in the society, however, at this moment I want to say that no account of economic entrepreneurs of the Qellem districts would be quite without referring to the Greek traders. As George N. Plethied put it "... without a mention of the Greeks, anyone can hardly speak about the development of Dembi Dollo as a town because it emerged as a modern town, as a result of commercial activities of the Greeks".<sup>101</sup> They were the Greeks who introduced foreign commodities in a larger quantity to the district, they were also by the Greeks of Qelem that for the first time several small establishments like alcohol industry, soap making industry, Saw mill industry, four mills, oil squeezing industry, cheese producing, bakery houses, coffee clearing mills, and brick making industry were established in village and towns throughout the district.<sup>102</sup> Besides, the Greeks were also farmers and modern techniques of coffee plantation were introduced to the district by them. Different kinds of fruits which had never been known before in the area were also introduced by the Greek farer. These include guava, pawpaw, banana, orange, peaches, apricot and many others.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>*Ibid*; Admasu, (2008), p.12

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid*.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid*.

<sup>103</sup> Informants Fayisa, George L. Plethedis

### 2.3. The Greeks in Dembi Dollo

The opening of the port of Gambella in 1904 led to influx of foreigner traders in to Western Wollega area particularly in Dambi Dollo town who engaged on trade.<sup>104</sup> According, informant the Greeks came to Dambi Dollo for economic reason. The Greeks entered to the town of Dambi Dollo town at the early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>105</sup> During the time of Gambella served as inland port because Baro River used for navigation from Gambella to Khartoum then to the Mediterranean Sea. The Greeks started their journey from Mediterranean Sea area then to Sudan through Sudan to Gambella inland port. Then by navigating on Baro river of Gambella they reached to Dambi Dollo town by using of their barefoot.<sup>106</sup> The first Greeks settler in Dembi Dolo town were engaged initially in commercial activities but latter they were entered in different economic activities like agriculture and making a bricks, which was a new innovation to the local community of the area. The early settlement of Greece in Dembi Dollo town was goes back to 1912 it a period of when Greeks were opened shops and some tea houses.<sup>107</sup> During their arrival the region was ruled by the local chiefs called Abba Qoroo Jaarraa Billo. The, he was provided a resident for the Greek communities in Dembi Dolo town at Kebele 03. After they got the residential area in the town, they started a commercial activity with the local community. Among them were Yani, Nikola, Rakile and Seletona were some of the Greeks who settled in Dembi Dolo during this period.<sup>108</sup> According to Bekama the first Greek societies arrived to Dambi Dollo town were: Sofokili, Karajorjadis (Abbaa Baacaa), George Mordaan, Erakile Kiriyaaku, Aleko Armanes, Costhipapacoltantinos, Aleko Makredis, Nayonyo papa coltatinos Yanis Hisanis, Nikhola Racti, George Maraleyonis, Dimitri Marendis, Varasino Kamoyerator, Chnisto versa, Ayi Keranis (Abbaa Booraa), Dimitri Esarkos, George helmis, Dinisiyos Velentis and Rakilipitras Rakile (Abbaa Caalii).<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>*Ibid*, p.33, Girma Mangistu.. “The Busase of Anfillo, Qellem Wallaga Historical Study”. BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1973), p.40

<sup>105</sup> Informants: Assaffaa and Dirribaa Galana

<sup>106</sup> Admasu (2008), p.4; Informants:, Assaffaa, Dirribaa, Galana

<sup>107</sup> Fite, p.34

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, p.35

<sup>109</sup> Bekama Kaba. 2007. p.2; Informant :Khoorii, Kana, Assafa, Fite

According to the local tradition the Greeks from Sudan begun to mobilize to the eastern of Sudan, talks were circulating, and often exaggerate about the natural wealth and prosperity of the western part of Ethiopia already inhabited by the Oromo people.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, this foreign communities begun to dream of moving in to mentioned an oral informants, Aikaterini Kalogiratou, who himself got the information from his father, Mr. Heraclus Pytherus, told him the same story about the resource of indicated portion of the country in general, and that of Wollaga region in particular. Aikaterini Kalogiratou which he gain the information from his mother madam Athula, also told the history that her father told her thus, “Ethiopia is the most beautiful and attractive country. Above all the western region of the country, mainly Benishangul and its surroundings area are blessed in natural resources. Gold and other minerals are plentiful. Therefore, anyone can shovel up as much as gold as he/she needs from the area: no one will prohibit hi/her from doing so”.<sup>111</sup>

A number of Greece merchants and others like Armenians and Arab come to settle the region. Greece involved in addition to trade and agricultural activity they involved in the field of construction such as bricks, small bridges, big bricks construction sites between Dambi Dollo town and Dulli. In addition like Dimitri Maredis was well remembered he was for the first time brought the machine of Mil (*baabura midhaanii*) and founded in Yangi *kebele* around Metti River. In addition they were well known making of local alcohol (Arake) made from honey and other cereals they traded it to the local community. Starting from this time onward local peoples called the local alcohol as the alcoholic drink of the white or Araqee Maarrajji. Among the Greek citizens the known in producing of Arake were Kiristo Vera and George Marangozaki. Kiristo Vera goes to Gidami through Garjeda and by settling there he started to produce arake to the local community.<sup>112</sup>

Their way to reach Dambi Dollo was through the route of Arab merchants. According to oral tradition the first foreigners to reach Dambi Dollo town were the Yemen merchants in 1903. Among the then time Yemenites merchants Ali was the one. His father name was not well Kown.

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<sup>110</sup>Admasu (2008), p.4; Informants; Assaffaa, Dirribaa, Galana

<sup>111</sup> Informants, John, Aikatri, Yahnnis

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

The rest were Husen and Walabi. The relation between Husen and Walabi was they were father and son. Then the above mentioned Arabs are the merchants in Dambi Dollo prior to Greeks.<sup>113</sup>

The place where the Arab merchants conducted their trade activity from Dambi Dollo at *kebele* 03 particularly at the foundation place of Dambi Dollo town was first settled by Greeks. Ali opened his shop at the surrounding of Fanta and traded different kinds of incense (*Ixaana*) and Qumbi and other trade items.<sup>114</sup>The Yemenites and Greeks reached Dambi Dollo after great difficulty. The difficulty was the absence of normal road between Gambella to Dambi Dollo. The only way from Dambi Dollo to Gambella was the small road paved by the elephant hunter through the Jungle and ever green and luxury forest of Garjeda.<sup>115</sup>The merchants never brought heavy trade items rather the above mentioned trade items due to lack of transportation. The hunters are present throughout Qellem and paved similar small road. By using this small road the Arabs and Greek arrived to Dambi Dollo.<sup>116</sup>Birhanu stated the domination of trade activities in Dembi Dollo town by the Greeks merchants “... the hole trade of the region was controlled by the foreign merchants and none of the natives took part in except serving the foreigner traders as porters and employee.”<sup>117</sup>

#### **2.4. Population and Division of Labor**

There are characteristic differences in the division of labor of the economically active Greeks in Western Wollag which Dambi Dollo its particle and in different districts, the main reason for this being the economic and social fluctuations of the provinces at that time. As we will see later, it was mainly unemployment that forced unskilled Greeks to seek skilled jobs at the expense of English and Jewish artisans and workers and, in some instances, it was the mere fact of higher wages in a particular occupation that attracted Greeks, for example, to work on the mines. In the Aqdoli, Comosh and Yubudo for instance, although the vast majority of Greeks in 1920s were general dealers and fruiterers, wood seller and café’ owners and hoteliers, there were

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<sup>113</sup> Bekama Kaba. 2007. p.3

<sup>114</sup> Qellem Wallaga Turism and Cultural Office

<sup>115</sup> Informant. Birhanu, Kasahun, Assafa

<sup>116</sup> Informant Birhanu Legese; Bekama Kaba. (2007)p.2.; Admasu (2008), p6

<sup>117</sup> Birhanu,(1973) 41

approximately carpenters and engineers, who will be dealt with in the chapter on the Greek working class.<sup>118</sup>

In the Dembi Dollo after the period of the liberation of the country in 1941, the great majority of Greeks were small shopkeepers, shop assistants and miners. There were several general dealers and fritterers, café' and restaurant owners, shop assistants miners. In Yubdo, in 1920s and 30s Greeks were involved in small shop business, the majority of Greeks in Gimbi and Gidami. During the period 1912-1920s, there was a move of Greeks from the Sudanese Province to the Dambi Dollo, as we have pointed out earlier.<sup>119</sup> In the town the Greeks were concentrated in small-business occupations. Unfortunately, no division of labor of the Greeks in the Dembi Dollo and Gidami could be drawn because of the non-existence of professional directories for those provinces or the period under examination. In Dambi Dollo, however, as will be shown, a large number of Greeks were working on contract labor in the mines.

In addition to the above mentioned activities the Greek merchants and their family embarked on other activities such as George Mordan produced soap. The soap was sold by the wife of George Mordan in her own shop and other goods station. The soap factory was founded around Gara Ma'o Mountain. The soap was named by local people called "*Saamunaa Katee*". 'Katee' was the name of the wife of George Mordan. Later from this trading of soap George Mordan also opened tea room at 'Kottee baarii'. Kottee baarii means the trader payed tax before reaching to Gambella in Dambi Dollo.<sup>120</sup> According to tradition Erakile Kiriyaku /Rakilen/also a physician of eye, he has his own clinic and treated the local community around Dambi Dollo.<sup>121</sup> The local community of Dambi Dollo they gave nick name for different Greek merchants and their family. Their name and nick name was as follows: *Sofokili Karajorjadis as Abbaa Baacaa, Ayi karamis as Abbaa Booraa, and Rakilipitras as Abbaa Caalii*.<sup>122</sup> The reason why they gave this nickname was their parts in the community. Among these the well known Greek born driver whose name was Mario Sisay was serving for Italian as *autanti* (the assistance driver) by monthly salary of 15 Birr. He was serving at Italian garage at Addis Ababa and Maqale and also travelled with Italian

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<sup>118</sup> Admasu, p,9; Natsoulas, (1977): pp. 5–218. Birhanu, p18

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*; Informant, Asafa, Kasahun, Agamti

<sup>120</sup> Admasu, p,9; Natsoulas, (1977): pp. 5–218. Birhanu, p18; Informant, Aseffa, Birhanu,

<sup>121</sup> Informant, Aseffa, Birhanu, Legese, Assafa.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*



to Maqdisho, Sudan and Kumruk, Malakai and Gambella until he let acquired a Tirnta Quatro lorry from the Italian one of the known locomotive of the period.<sup>123</sup>

**Figure 1 Marios car ruins at Dambi Dollo**



source: Photo taken by the researcher, 23/4/2019

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<sup>123</sup> Alemu Shumi, 2007, p.87, Informants, Assafa, Legesse

**Figure 2** The trenta Quatro autobus passenger car loading the goods and passenger at Dembi Dollo around 1960 the autobus according the local community called *Wollo Färäs*



Source: Taken from albums of informants.

Many Greek small-shop-owners and restaurants, in both Dembi Dolo and Gidami town, had been driven to bankruptcy and unemployment due to weak trade in the region. Many found trading and whole seller begun to grow up the period after 1912.<sup>124</sup> The division of labor within the production process was simple, yet well-organized to the advantage of the manufacturers. There were grain mills, cigarette packers, foremen and engineers, cigarette cutters and two or three apprentices (boys). Local alcohol carpenters processing, shop keepers. The Greek Alcohol-makers were working mainly in Dembi Dolo and Yubudo.<sup>125</sup>

Most recent socio-historical and historical works on stratification theory tend to be primarily descriptive and classificatory rather than explanatory of social differences. The "intermediate" (or "middle") classes treated as "formal" social classes without internal differences and contradictions. "Middle" classes are seen as a unified stratum of people situated between the two "main" classes (the capitalist class and the working class), without being analyzed as a group

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<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*; Natsoul, (1975), p 125;

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*

consisting of various strata defined by their function within a historically defined system of production.<sup>126</sup>

The Greek “middle class” in Dembi Dollo social formation during the period under examination will be analyzed as a group situated economically, and ideologically between the workers on the one side and the capitalists on the other. There are two distinct categories (or strata) within the Greek “intermediate” class these were:

(a) The small shopkeepers, restaurant and cafe owners, and the shop assistants. Their different positions within the circulation process makes this distinction necessary, as the former were self-employed while the latter were wage-earners. The difference is of vital importance to this analysis as it determined to a large extent the political and ideological attitudes of the respective strata towards the two “main” classes, and between themselves. Both strata were of a transitional nature and their numerical increase or decrease was a direct result of the prevailing economic and political conditions.

(b) The Shopkeepers

The first stratum of the intermediate class to be considered will be that of the small propertied producers and traders, as contrasted to that of the salaried as we have already shown in our discussion on the division of labor of Greeks in Dembi Dollo during this period, the main occupations of Greeks involved in trading were the following: Merchants, i.e. wholesale buyers and sellers of various commodities; Produce shops or fruit shops, i.e. shops for the sale and purchase of agricultural products, but also sweets and sometimes cigarettes; family grocers, i.e. retail grocers which were mainly attached to bottle stores which sold factory product beers which brought from Khartoum and Addis Ababa as well as they sold the local *Arake* by measuring by bottles; and café's / or restaurants or “eating houses”, mainly restaurants for local people, and shops for selling tea, and coffee.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Robert H Davies, *Capital, State and White Labor in South Africa 1900-1960*: (The Harvester Press, 1979).p.47

<sup>127</sup>Admasu, (2008), p.9 R.Davies, “The political economy of white labor in South Africa: Some preliminary notes”. In T Adler, (ed) *Perspectives on South Africa*. (African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1977).p89

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. GREEKS SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN WOLLAGA

#### 3.1. The Greeks Socio-Economic activity in Western Wollaga

The Greek presence in western Ethiopia, and foremost the range of the entrepreneurial activity of the Greeks, influenced also the toponomastics of the country. Some place names derived, which until today give important insight into the history of the Greeks in Ethiopia during that period. This Ethiopian place names related to the Greek entrepreneurial activity. Below we will analyze their origin as well as the reasons they remained in use in Ethiopian geography and language.<sup>128</sup> However, not all of the Greeks who came to Sudan were stereotypically only merchants and shopkeepers, but there were many other professions as well, including teachers, physicians, pharmacists, scientists, and engineers. The Greek traders effectively dominated the market for more than two decades. Already during the first months, Greek speculators purchased land “for trifling sums” in the Dambi Dollo area, so that “much of the most valuable land in the new town passed thus at once into the hands of a few wealthy persons”.<sup>129</sup>

In the previous chapter tried to address the coming and settlement of Greeks in Qellem Wollaga Western Ethiopia and their becoming part of the economic life of the districts. As the trade activity of the area became more intensified, different foreign firms and private entrepreneurs, mainly Greeks began to find their way to the districts. This almost all of them set up their agents in Sayyoo. Most of these businessmen were engaged primarily in the export-import sectors of local products and foreign goods respectively. There were important of these was that of P. Nittis commercial firm founded in 1913. After a few years of the operation, however, the company left the area for unknown reasons.<sup>130</sup>

Before early 20<sup>th</sup> century Greeks in East Africa were already begun to live and involved on local trade In Ethiopia trading over long distances, these Greek had become quite capable to adopted

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<sup>128</sup>Admasu, (2008) p.32

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid*; Gerasimos Makris, O'Mahony, Anthony, ed. *The Greek Orthodox Church in the Sudan. Eastern Christianity: Studies in Modern History, Religion and Politics.* (Melisende: Fox Communications & Publications 2004). pp. 296–337; Martin Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003). Pp. 161-62

<sup>130</sup> A.J. Ganotakis, (1979) P 50

the local culture. Some were involved on skills services by organizing and in recruiting laborers for the construction in Ethiopia.<sup>131</sup>

The first company which started its firm in Sayyoo was Yedilby later on some other companies owned and operated by Greeks in other parts of the country had also extended their branches to the western part of the country. Gerolimato's company was one of those that extended their branches from the eastern region of Harar to the west *Ras* Tessema Nadew, governor of the other western region of Illu Abba Bor, joined Gerolimato's company and set up a branch office in Sayyoo with Sub-branches at Gore, Bure and Gambella. The Company's role was production and export of coffee and all the offices were operated by Greek officers and businessmen.<sup>132</sup>

After Yedilby's to start its operation in Sayyoo was the firm of a leading Greek entrepreneur G.A. Zervos, established its agents offices as Sayyoo in 1911, with branch offices in the port town of Gambella and city of Khartoum. The Papaonstantinou and Co. also opened its Franchise in the town of Gore, Bure and Gambella. Others Greek owned companies like the Kordofan Trading Company and C.P. Moradietis from their headquarters in Khartoum. Sudan opened up their franchised branches in Dambi Dollo. Gambella, and Gore Coffee was their main export.<sup>133</sup> There were important of these was that of P. Nittis commercial firm was founded. The national and worker consciousness of the Greek mineworkers and shop assistants, as well as the nationalist ideology as manifested during the period 1912 to 1930s, has already been studied in great detail, and it is the intention now to complete this picture by examining Greek participation in economic activity in western Ethiopia during the same period.<sup>134</sup>

Other non-Greek owned companies but represented by Greek businessmen had also established their agent at Dambi Dollo. The most significant were the Belgian owned Societe du Haut Ulele du Nil (S.H.U.N.) Company, represented by Pytherus and N. Protopheris, and the B.C. the

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<sup>131</sup>Chaldeos, (2017). pp. 18–20

<sup>132</sup>Nathoulas, (1975), p308

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid*; Pp.308-310; AGanotakis, (1979) Pp.54-55

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid*

American company, by H. Pytherus, the later firm expanded their branch offices to the coffee producing town of Muggi, in the sub-district of Anfillo.<sup>135</sup>

Gradually, some of the agents started their own business where they were able to establish their own firms in the region with branch offices in Khartoum. The earliest successful trader was A.H. Capateo was established himself at Ghidami with branch offices at Sayyoo, Gore, Bure and Khartoum. M Sasson, S. Carageoriadis, and M. Christodoulin were also other Ethiopian offices at Sayyoo, Gore and also in Khartoum. All were engaged in the export of coffee and other local products like hides.<sup>136</sup> Meanwhile, during the late 1920s with the shift of political power from Ghidami to Sayyoo, Greeks businessmen who lived for a long period at Ghidami moved to Sayyoo. The main reason was to seek the protection for their commercial activities in the region. While some of these businessmen had moved in to Sayyoo with their same firms used to run in Ghidami. However, others were left behind their previous businesses and joined services of others. This event further increased the number of Greeks population in Sayyoo.<sup>137</sup>

The following table shows some Greeks owned or operated entrepreneurs and major commercial houses in Sayyoo until Italian occupation.<sup>138</sup> In addition as already mentioned earlier, H. Pytherus and N. Protopheris were agents S.H.U.N Company. Mr. Hetoun was agent of Seferian and Co.ltd. and G. Maragoudakis agent of C.P. Mordaitis all located at Sayyoo with main offices at Gore.<sup>139</sup>

| Name of the entrepreneurs | Activities of the entrepreneurs            | Date of establishment |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| G.A. Zarvos               | Coffee and wax export                      | 1911                  |
| P. Nittiis                | Mining cones session and coffee plantation | 1913                  |
| C. Papaconistantino       | Species and coffee exporting               | 1913                  |
| Theo Davis                | Alcohol distillery                         | 1915                  |

<sup>135</sup> Birhanu (9173), p.37; Informants: Aikaterini, Gnogno, Yohannes, Assafa

<sup>136</sup> Admasu,(2008) p.15; Richards, (1965), p.70; Informants: Aikaterini, Gnogno, Yohannes, Assafa

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*; Birhanu (1973), p.37

<sup>139</sup> Birhanu 38; Informants: Aikaterini, Gnogno, Yohannes, Assafa

|                 |   |      |
|-----------------|---|------|
| S. Michailidis  | Coffee export   | 1920 |
| M. Manoles      | Coffee export, species cultivation and grocery store                            | 1921 |
| P. Cramvis      | Coffee export and restaurant owner  | 1921 |
| G. helmes       | Soap manufacturing  | 1922 |
| A.Makredis      | Coffee export   | 1923 |
| D. Valendis     | Flour mill. coffee export soap manufactured Oil squeezing and coffee plantation | 1923 |
| H. Kryakou      | Coffee and wax export   | 1924 |
| M. Megeloyennis | Coffee export   | 1931 |
| Z. Mikelis      | Coffee broker   | 1933 |

Some Greeks were also serving as a broker between the merchants and the local community,<sup>140</sup> they serving between the local community and the merchants. They were small shopkeepers, restaurant and cafe owners, and shop assistants.<sup>141</sup>



Greeks residential area at Dembi Dolla around 1950 and 60s photo by the researcher May 6/2019

<sup>140</sup> Evangelos,(1982), p.96

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*; Admasu(2008), p31

### 3.2. The Greeks socio-Economic activity in Dembi Dollo

Most of the Greeks who were come to Dambi Dollo were individuals no large Greek community was established in any single locale. Although small in numbers, they made an important contribution to Ethiopia by bringing in skills like that of silversmith, instructor in the use of firearms, mason, builder, merchant and trader. They operated as traders and merchants in the still limited foreign trade, and they were involved in road building, organized by the Italians after Italian occupation.<sup>142</sup>

Other individual Greeks remained traders, merchants, shopkeepers and hoteliers in little less adventurous conditions. In Dembi Dolo town in 1920s there was the Smith Mackenzie trading post, which was run by a Greek named Trefusis, supplying the small Greek community there. And, in Ghidami, the place were “Greeks settlers to be” arrived from Sudan, were two Greek hotel-keepers, the Albanian-Greek brothers Philip and Michalis Fillios, who owned the Hotel Cecil. Next to these Greek hoteliers there were also four Greek contractors. In the long run, most of the Greek would settle there. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century some Greek immigrants established Maduka (Kisw. plu. small shops) and hotels in Ghidami. One of them became very important in the process of Greek community building at local level, especially in the period before the establishment of official Greek clubs, Greek churches and Greek schools.<sup>143</sup>

Talking about cultural care of the Greeks in Dembi Dollo can be difficult for people from all cultures and communities. Although in the Greek community there was no specific taboo around talking about death, many Greek people may be reluctant to speak about their personal experiences with illness and dying. Palliative care can produced negative feelings because of its association with illness, death and dying. These negative feelings can trigger difficult memories. When delivering information to participants about palliative care, it is important to be respectful of their feelings and their right to privacy. Greeks has sought to preserve their own cultural heritage. They have established churches, schools, media outlets, cultural associations and welfare and residential care services.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Natsoulas, (1977),p157

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*; Admasu, p.33

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*; Evangelia Georgitsoyanni, “Greeks Masons in Africa. The Case of Karpathian



For the Greek community, shifting cultural values can become more apparent through the migration experience and there can be great differences between the views and values of two generations within the same family. For older generation migrants in particular, some traditional views and attitudes may have been preserved despite changing attitudes and practices in Greece. In this sense, despite close ties with Greece, Greek culture as it exists in Australia can not necessarily be generalized from contemporary Greek culture or with Greek communities living in other parts of the world.<sup>145</sup>

Many Greek values were based on the individual in relation to the family, the local community and the wider society. The values which stem from this understanding of the individual revolve around the ways in which a person behaves and presents to others.<sup>146</sup> The majority of Greeks belong to the Greek Orthodox Christian Church. Greek people in Dembi Dollo identify as being Greek Orthodox. Most Greek celebrations and customs have their foundations in Greek Orthodoxy. Religion is a stronger influence with older Greeks than with the younger generation. Respecting the Greek belief system and spirituality is considered important in developing a good relationship. Family relationships were very important to the Greek population. The family has a strong role in decision-making regarding the care of elderly people. A patriarchal social structure is the norm, where Greek fathers are the protector, provider and authority in the family and Greek mothers are expected to take care of their children and honor their husband.<sup>147</sup>

Traditionally, the children and family members care for the elderly at home where possible. However it was no longer customary for Greek families in Dembi Dollo to live together as an extended family unit and many elderly people live alone. There are some taboos around residential care which can be seen as degrading to the care recipient. However this was changing as Greek-specific aged care services had been developed that are culturally responsive and sensitive. Women usually take on the role of caring for older Greek people and this can lead to isolation as they were willing to sacrifice their own needs to be a carer. Considering that elderly Greeks still rely heavily on the family for assistance, there is still some reluctance to use external

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Masins of the Sudan". *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*.29.1 (Athens 2003), Pp. 115–117

<sup>145</sup>Evangelis,(2003), P.116

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>147</sup>*Ibid*

services. This was especially the case with services provided by mainstream organizations. However, there were growing acceptances of community services that enable the person to stay at home for as long as possible. Greek-speaking workers were preferred but non-Greek speaking workers were also accepted. As dependency increases, it is usually the spouse who provides the care.<sup>148</sup>

### 3.2.1. Trade

There were also other members of the community who set up their own business in the village throughout the district of Sayyoo. This includes M. Christdoulos coffee broker in Sadi sub-district with agent offices at Sayyoo and Kartoum. M. Sasson exporter in the sub district of Anffilo N. Naptis and L. Alexanderous, both warehouse owners in Sayyoo, and Krybanhassen, a merchant in sub-district of Qaqe.<sup>149</sup>

Similarly, there was such Greeks business menas M. Karakalernis who owned cheese processing and broker house installed on Metti River near Sayyoo. M. Stamatopolou was also the other Greek business men who established himself on the business of bricks making on the river Borta, approximately six kilometer west of Dembi dollo. Most of the small industries outputs were so on, in the first place to the people of Qelem, and to consumers in the surrounding districts including district in Kaffa and Illu Abba Bor region.<sup>150</sup>

Regarding coffee production, at a district of Anfillo in abundance the district coffee plants were grown wild in the forest of Anfillo in boundaries by which almost large area of the land was covered by coffee plantation. Ghidami and Sayyoo area were the other coffee production in a larger quantity.<sup>151</sup> After coffee emerged as the solely cash crop product, and the indigenous people found out it as a backbone to their economic growth, they begun taking special care for coffee plantations. Different educational lesson on how to produced quality coffee products had also been given to the natives by Greeks businessmen and other coffee brokers at different occasion.<sup>152</sup> Richards Pankhurst estimated to export coffee beans in the 1930s only out of

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<sup>148</sup>Evangelides, Nikolaos. Hellenism in Sudan. (Alexandria, 1924),p131; Informants

<sup>149</sup>Birhanu(1973), p37; Informant: Aikaterini,Kana, Yohannis, Mamo

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup>Informants: Mulnesh, Aikaterini,Kana, Yohannis

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid.*

Sayyoo as much as 500,000 kilograms per annum to the Sudan, and obviously to European markets.<sup>153</sup>

After the government learned the coffee is the best cash crop. It imported a heavy burden of taxation on the producer. As a result, every coffee producer was to pay on Birr, or about \$0.53 cents, on each ten coffee tree. The responses from the people were much more destructive. Thinking that it was coffee plantation that brought to them un expected heavy taxes, they started cutting down coffee tree even from their back yards. The immediate consequence was the dramatic fall in coffee production. Since many businessmen from the inside as well as out of the country had already established their life on the money that comes from coffee sale, they soon get involved in the matter. A committee of representative from different parts of western regions was formed to approach the concerned government official on the issue; persons who were in charge of this burden of taxation were governor of Wollaga. *Dajjazmach*(later *Ras*) Birru Wolde Gabrealhe was resided in Sayyoo and Ras Nadew governor of Illu Abba Bor. Both of them non-natives governors appointed from the ruling Amhara tribe from the north following the 1880s invasion and conquest of the Oromo lands by Menelike II.<sup>154</sup> Therefore, the appointed committee set down with governor and settled the cast at the expense of the producer. Accordingly, it was agreed the Greek businessmen of the two regions would take responsibility of collecting tax directly from the coffee producers' lower price for their coffee beans. As part of the negotiation, the government would collect a total of 80,000 Birr every year no doubt, directly or indirectly from the farming community.<sup>155</sup>

On the other hand, there were also misbehavior and cheating by the Greeks themselves on the indigenous peoples. Majority of them the natives did not have any knowledge of selling and buying by using scale or balance at the mean time, the only device the society used to measure its products was a cup made up of tin or from grounds. Estimation has also been another means. But after the Greek gamblers introduced scale or balance measurement producers of any local products were subjected to sell their products on scale by which the Greeks merchants benefited

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<sup>153</sup>Rechars , (1967), P450; Bahiru,(1976), p.372

<sup>154</sup>Admasu p.34; Informants: Gamada Ashudo, George N. Plethedis, and Spiro

Dalaportue

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid.*

a lot from the system. In most case, actual producer were paid unfairly. The porters have also been paid lower wage when compared with the luggage they transport.<sup>156</sup>not only this the Greek merchants were used the local wage labor as cheap means of transport for the merchants of the period in the plains thus remained human porter age. The porters were either Oromo or Anyuak and were known on the plateau as kukurse. The load varied from 1-*farasula* (about 17kg or 37lbs.) to 2 *farasula*(34kg or 74 lbs.).it was that the charges were cheaper on the Sayyo route 1 dollar per load as compared to about 2 dollars on the Bure route because the distance was shorter to reached Gambella trade route. Rates varied seasonally and could go up to2 dollars on the Sayyoo and 4 on the Bure routes during the rainy season, i.e. between June and September.<sup>157</sup>

While the porter, as Bahiru's suggested, may have occasionally benefited from the competition of the merchants, there were many more cases of the Greek merchants robbing the porters of their rightful earnings. A porter would carry high weighted load and when he reached the destination, the merchant would complain that it was some pounds short of what the porter had been given initially and deprive him of practically all his earning. The notoriety of the Greek traders was such that Sudan government authorities at one time considered threatening them with loss of their trading licenses if they continued their nefarious practices.<sup>158</sup> Of much more serious concern to Khartoum than the well-being of the porters was the feeling that the conduct of the merchants was damaging to British prestige, as "the Abyssinians do not draw any distinction between different kinds of Europeans, but count British or Greeks as all the same". What gave porter age special significance in the economic life of western Ethiopia was that, short of engaging in trade it was the means of getting cash.<sup>159</sup>

As it was indicated by Bahiru in 1911 Newcombe after his visit to the trading post and the surrounding areas, complained that the porter age charges were too high, as the average local wage for a worker, he claimed, was 2 to 5 dollars a month.<sup>160</sup>He was also dismayed by the merchants whose competition inflated the rates. According to a 1922 report;"By the end of June nearly all transport animals - mules, donkeys' and camels, are dead - the porters go sick and are

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<sup>156</sup>Informants: Disasa, Balcha, John

<sup>157</sup>Bahiru(1976) Pp.343-344

<sup>158</sup>*Ibid*, P. 345

<sup>159</sup>*Ibid*, Pp. 345-346

<sup>160</sup>*Ibid*

not at all keen to make the journey to Gambella. The roads during the rains are the natural water courses - the porters are wet through day after day, without of course any change of clothing, and it is little wonder that many go sick, and that the rate of mortality is high."<sup>161</sup>

Meanwhile, the spread of small industries and commercial firms in the area gave way to the emergence of working class. Several indigenous people left their farming area from urban. Some joined the Greeks services while others begun their own business or both. Although, some Greeks were did not like to see indigenous merchants as competent to them in the trade system. In late 1920s and 30s, however, there were some natives who emerged as successful businessmen. The first native merchants to meet with such success were a man called Dinasa Ali. Often known among the native by the name "Abba Sori" He had established his own commercial houses in Sayyoo with an agent in Kahrtoum. He was export of coffee and hides. Another successful businessmen was who happened to my informant Mr. Gammada Ashudo, according to him, he joined the business world beginning late 1920s. Before that he joined the profession of mailman for the Greek merchants' mailman from Sayyoo to Gambella and vices versa. For his services he was being paid only one Birr for each round trip he made. In the meantime, he had begun taking some local products in small scale for his own purpose. On his way back from Gamella, he was also bringing in some fouriegn custems and items. after a few years of mail services his master pay for his job and started his own bussiness. first he begun with small area a salta nd bread. however, latteron he beginning processing and exporting coffe and became walthy and involved on the Sayyoo- Gambella trade. on his way to Sayyo he imported several processed productes from Kahrtoum. thus, he became one of the compitats of the Greek merchants among the local trades.<sup>162</sup> Instead, the communication system of the telephone installed I sayyoo and Gore. forther more the radio communication between Sayyoo- Gambella and Sayyoo-Kartoum and Gambella- Kartoum had been opened. particularly these bussinessmen and companies actives in exporting coffee products together up-to-dated information from agents in Kahhrtoum on the current coffee price at world market.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup>*Ibid*, p.345; Informants: Aikaterini,Kana, Yohannis

<sup>162</sup>Informants: Aikaterini,Kana, Yohannis

<sup>163</sup>*Ibid*.

In addition, the most circulation and available money in the area was the Australian Maria Theresa. Besides, the Sudan Gresh and Menelik's *Temuni* a coin with the picture of the contemporary Emperor of Ethiopia were also widely in use. In order to stop the circulation of foreign money, that is Maria Theresa and Gresh in the area in 1912, Bank of Abyssinia had opened its branch offices at Gore with sub-branches at Sayyoo and Gambella.<sup>164</sup>

Although it seemed quite successful there still remained serious obstacles to the normal flow of trade activities in the transportation problem. The road connecting Sayyoo with Gambella was still incomplete. The Ethiopian Motor Transport Company with its head office at Bure had been granted a contract to construct paved roads from Bure to the neighbouring business districts of Gore and Mattu, and then to Gambella and Sayyoo. The two Greek nationals, namely Paul Danalis and M. Zervos were concessionaire and general manager, respectively, unfortunately because of the death of Danalis due to malaria case the Gambella-Sayyoo road remained incomplete.<sup>165</sup>

In the process of road construction by *Ras* Teferi Makonnen the then regent of Empress Tayitu and who later became the chief head of a political leader of the time was agreed to construct road from Sayyoo to Gambella. Sometime after he contracted away the Gore-Gambella section of his concession to Danalis and Zervos, Tafari sold to *Dajach* Makonnen, governor of Sayyoo, for 30,000 dollars the Sayyoo-Gambella section, which Tafari again presumably claimed was included in the concession he had obtained from the empress. In partnership with a certain Dr. Strumer, Makonnen used forced labor to build about 10 miles of the road in a matter of a year.<sup>166</sup> Bure-Gambella road, the Sayyoo-Gambella road fared better. The main problem here was the Sakko River, and the bridges that Jote had built rarely lasted more than a year. In 1926, his successor, *Dajach* Birru, was reputed to have had a more solid structure of cement built across the river. He also had a new road cleared, at the same time proclaiming an edict threatening merchants who preferred to use the old route with confiscation of their goods. Birru's new road scarcely diminished the ordeal of the porters, and the need for a motor road was pointed out in

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<sup>164</sup>Pankhurst (1968), p.497; Bahiru (1976), P 362

<sup>165</sup>T. Natsolas pp 313-314; E.J. Bartel, In the Land of Sheba (Bernningham, Canish Brother, 1934, p.140

<sup>166</sup>T. Natsolas pp 313-314; Bahiru, Pp.36-369

some quarters for this and other reasons. Sometime after he contracted away the Gore-Gambella section of his concession to Danalis and Zervos, Tafari sold to *Dajach* Makonnin, governor of Sayoyo, for 30,000 dollars the Sayyoo-Gambella section, which Tafari again presumably claimed was included in the concession he had obtained from the empress. In partnership with a certain Dr. Strumer, Makonnin used forced labor to build about 10 miles of the road in a matter of a year. A dispute soon arose between Makonnin and EMTC Ltd, who claimed that their contract gave them a monopoly over all road construction from Gambella, The issue was settled rather amicably, the governor surrendering the road to the company, possibly after some payment. Subsequently, the Birbir Mines Ltd, a British company that had acquired part of the prasso mining concession, utilized the road construction rights granted by the concession to build a rough motor track between Gambella and Yubdo, passing about 5 miles southeast of Sayo. The first motor lorry arrived in Sayyoo from Gambella early in 1935.<sup>167</sup>

Figure 3 Marajii one of traditional tools which used by Musse Kiritos to produced the local alcohol called *Aräké*



Source: By researcher May 6/2018

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<sup>167</sup>*Ibid*

### 3.2.2. Agriculture

According to the local tradition stated that one of Greek residential in the town whose name was Netties, left Egypt for the sake of adventure, where he became employed in one of the British industries as a mechanic. But in 1904, his parents were moved to Ethiopia with other Greeks to work for the company managed by Yedilbi.<sup>168</sup> Thus his parents were one of the first Greek settlers in Qellem. Netties did not bring her along with him, so soon after his settlement at Sayyoo, he got married to the local Oromo women called Dirribe Dingel.<sup>169</sup>

Nitties work in mining had been less effect for which he devoted much of his time on agriculture work until his death in 1969. The only thing known about his mining performance was that he used to mine gold in a small amount from Birbissa river which located 20 Km east of Dambi Dolo there he mining by using traditional method.<sup>170</sup> There were also other Greeks were involved on agricultural farm in a secondary pursuit they were cultivated about 5-7 gasha of land, these were Heracles Pytherus and Dmitry Valanis were other who those owned coffee plantation besides their main occupation of trade and running tight industries. M. Manoles was also another Greek who cultivated different spices along with coffee plantations in small scale. in general, all Greeks regardless of their occupation had varieties of fruits trees in their garden.<sup>171</sup>

### 3.3. Community life and Institution

Following Herbert Kitchener's forces defeated the Mahdist army in 1898, a large number of Greeks community and non-Greek some of them were Dmitri Kokorembas and Nicolas Papadam, were remain in the British-dominated Sudan.<sup>172</sup> This was resulted a number of Greek community including merchants were immediately entered to Ethiopian with the British army in western part.<sup>173</sup> They were involved on contractors in carpenters supplying, merchants in the

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<sup>168</sup> Informants: Kana, John, Gelta; Admas. (2008), p.27

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>172</sup> Kramer, Robert; Lobban, Richard; Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn. *Historical Dictionary of Sudan (4th ed.)*. (Lanham / Toronto / Plymouth (UK): The Scarecrow Press, 2013). p 191

<sup>173</sup> Papakyriacou, Marios . *Formulation and definitions of the Greek national ideology in colonial Egypt (1856-1919)*. (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften 2014). pp.63–64



region. Some Greeks were also come to western Ethiopia from Sudan where they were officially served in the Anglo-Egyptian administration, as clerical and technical staff.<sup>174</sup>

It was possible to identify a broad pattern of Greek immigration into Qellem that applies also to the Greek Diasporas in other parts of Africa, as soon as a Greek, like Nitties, had established his business; he would bring in younger compatriots from Greece or Egypt, preferably from his family network.<sup>175</sup>The newly arrived would often work as employees for the first years and then open their own businesses. In this way it came about that many of the Greeks in Sudan at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century originated from the islands of Karpathos, Lesbos came to work as builders, carpenters, masons, and other craftsmen, and also from Cephalonia, and Cyprus.<sup>176</sup>

As it was mentioned earlier the Greeks interaction with the local community in the region the widespread of Greeks involvement in marriage with local Oromo women became resulted in the emergence of a large number of colored communities. This new generation in its turn multiplied through marriage with each other as well as with other Oromo women of the area. as a result during Italian invasion the Greeks population in Qellem, including the half castes was estimated up to two hundred.<sup>177</sup>

After the *Naftanna* occupation of the region, many Oromo were forced to give up their traditional beliefs and converted to Orthodox Christianity, however, many of the Greeks settlers who were followers of the Greek Orthodox Christianity.<sup>178</sup> On the other hands, although the Greeks of Qellem seemed part of the natives people. However, they and their offspring kept maintaining their Hellenistic identity and all children were given Greeks name. The other odd thing which came across during the research conducted was that in the history of Greeks of the Qellem, no Greeks women who later migrated to the area had ever been married to a local Oromo man which remained mystery to the public until today. The Greeks also built beautiful

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<sup>174</sup>Robert (2013), , p.196

<sup>175</sup>Papakyriacou, (2014)p,64;Gerasimos etal. 1998, p.17

<sup>176</sup>Papakyriacou, Marios (2014)p,64;Chaldaios, p. 117, 196.; Antonis Chaldeos, John Cuts rides, *The Pioneers of the Greek Community in Suadan*. Aeolian Chronicles. (Mytilene, 2014).XVI .Informants: John, Kana, Dmitri

<sup>177</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>178</sup>T. Natsoulas,(1975)p.228

houses and established different recreation projects like bars, restaurants, grocery stores...etc, that made many enjoyed places and luxury life. In addition to their social, political and economic roles in the society the Greeks of Qellem were also known for two things, their wealth's and their extravagance. They were rich because almost all of them were engaged in a profitable business of coffee trade. Most of them were also extravagance because many of them were seen spending more than their economy would allow. In fact, Lambie did put in his other work about the community's extravagant nature. For instance he mentioned Pandalis Nitties as a known gambler.<sup>179</sup> In the same way, Ghanotakis also tried to show how much the Greeks of Qellem were wasteful in their life by saying that each family was killing ten to fifteen chicken for a day to prepare soup.<sup>180</sup>

### **3.3.1. The Greek community school and office of the consular agency**

After the forced displacement of the Greeks from Asian Minor and the 1923 Population exchange between Greece and Turkey, many of the Greek new comers to Qellem originated from Constantinople and Smyrna, escaping from poverty. By 1929 the Greek businessmen built the first school in Dambi Dollo.<sup>181</sup> The number of Greeks in Dambi Dollo had risen to 50. The total number in all of Sudan at that time was at around 250 in 1930s.<sup>182</sup>

One of the best achievements of the Greeks of Qellem was their ability to establish school of their own for their children. It was first founded by interested individual called Payanotris Skouriatis who begun to teach in a separate room of his house. His primary objective was to teach Greek kids the history of their homeland and culture in Greek language. Although, its motto was to give services for Greek offspring, however, the school kept its door opened for local children whose parent were employed by Greek or who lived in neighborhood. There were many of children of the local community who attended the school and later on most of the students who attended at the school became the fluent speakers of Greek language in the period

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<sup>179</sup>T.A. Lambie, *Boot and Saddle in Africa* (New York Fleming H. Revel company, 1954),Pp.34-35

<sup>180</sup>A. J. Ghanotakis, (1979)p.40

<sup>181</sup> Natsoulas,(1975),p.230; Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* von. (University of California Press, 2003).p. 58.

<sup>182</sup>Admasu,(2008) p.22; Antonios, (2016)p,127

within a short period of time. The fame of the school spread to the surrounding areas. as a result a large number of Greeks children from other small towns of the district had begun to flow into the school. Besides reading and writing in Greeks, Skourialis used to teach also arithmetic mathematics, history especially about the ancient Greece and religion. Later on Amharic was begun to be offered as a subject of study. all lesson except Amharic were given for Greek Students were told some nostalgic stories about Greece they sing a Greek songs and were also encourage to act accordance with Greek tradition and culture.<sup>183</sup>

Latter on with the increase of number of Greeks settlement in Dambi Dolo, the need for bigger and independent school was felt. As a result the construction of the New Greek school was started finalized in 1912. Mr. Ekateria Sasou and Mr. Zirrakes were the first two formally hired teachers in the school. Despite this the school never obtained recognition from the government until after the end of the Second World War. Besides, the schools there were giving services as a church and meeting place for the community.<sup>184</sup> Regarding the consular offices it was officially opened at Sayyoo in 1931 before the Italian occupation with Dr. Herasmos Zarvos as the first consular agents.<sup>185</sup>

According Natsoulas explanation about Greeks aspiration in western Wollaga stated as follows:

“A small number of Greek merchants climbed up the social ladder and became founders of a 'high class' who held decisive influence over a 'middle class' or what could perhaps more aptly be called the 'salarial'. With the exception of P. Nitties, all members of the Greek 'high class' were well-off merchants and shopkeepers, but no more than that. Always mindful of developments in the political arena, Nitties cultivated his relations with the Government and the Palace, while at the same time supporting community leaders with nationalist aspirations. Like Pytherus, he served as president of the Greek community for long periods of time, but had much more impact than the former - founding churches, schools and other

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<sup>183</sup> Admasu,(2008)P. 42; Informants:

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>185</sup> T. Natsolu (1975),p.266;Admasu(2008),p.28; Informants:

community buildings and offering large sums of money to assist in the establishment of smaller communities in the provinces.”<sup>186</sup>

As early as 1920s the Greek of Qellem had already created their community organization, most likely following the official establishment of Greco-Ethiopian diplomatic relation in 1918. Heracleon Pytherus was the community representative at the time.<sup>187</sup> the duty of the consular agent in Qellem before the Greek Embassy in the capital Addis Ababa including arrangement of passport and visa process for those who wanted to leave the country or for the new comers and to defend the community’s right in the area.<sup>188</sup>

### **3.4. Greeks during Italian Period**

In western Ethiopia and specifically in Dambi Dolo, there is a place called *03kebele*. This area was a Greek pioneer who introduced viticulture in the region in the 1920s and established the first distillery factory. It is obvious that the above mentioned micro toponyms, like the ones that exist in Sudan, are related to the Greek entrepreneurial activity and recorded for the first time during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They resulted from the crucial role of few people who influenced the local communities with their economic activities.<sup>189</sup>

Up to the First World War there was a deep-rooted belief among policy makers that Greece should rely on its primary resources and develop its trade relations. This resulted in a retarded industrialization. The main economic activity was and stayed agriculture, a sector involving the largest portion of the Greek population. In Dambi Dolo most of them were merchants, importing luxury goods, mostly for local rich community. There were also some Greeks, working as civil servants, clerks or storekeepers, in the forts along the Gambella trade route; established during the Italian expansion into the Western Ethiopia. These small number of individual Greeks living in Dambi Dollo, Gimbi and Ghidami felt themselves more closely associated to local community in the area than to white Europeans; the British in Sudan and the Italians in Eritrea.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Natsoulas, (1977): pp. 98-100.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, p.266; Informants:

<sup>188</sup> Admasu, (2008)p.30 ;Informants: Yeranos, Dimitri, Assafa

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*, p.36

<sup>190</sup> Melly, George. *Khartoum, and the Blue and White Niles*. V.2,(London: Colburn & Co.,

The invading force of the Fascist Italian force reaching to western Ethiopia the despotic emperor was passed Gore after on his way to Sudan, because of this the region became the focal area by the invaders. Even though, the staying of the emperor to Gore the large numbers of patriots were left at the bush of Wollaga to resist the invaders. As a result just before the Italian invading force reached to Qellem, the Italian air force had dispersed its propaganda pamphlets over Dambi Dollo and its surrounding areas. Generally, the content of the pamphlet was a mixture of warning and demands, warning not to attempt any form of resistance and demanding submission. In fact, there was no as such official resistance to the invaders so the occupation was accomplished with less difficulty.<sup>191</sup>

#### **3.4.1. The Roles of Greeks in the resistance movements**

Regarding their role in the resistance movements still we lack adequate information, particularly on those Greeks living out of the town of Dambi Dollo, the information we have does deal only with Greeks in Dambi Dollo. Immediately after the controlling of Dambi Dollo town and the surrounding area, the Italians wanted to win the Greek community over to their sides. According to the local tradition the reason why the Italian preferred the Greeks to stand to their sides because of the number of Greeks high in number in the region than the rest of foreigners', and due to the sack of the sociable life of the Greeks with the local community. Unfortunately, the Italian did not get what they expect from the Greeks. As a matter of fact the Greeks found the Italian invasions obstacle for their normal trade activity.<sup>192</sup>

According to informants, George N.Plethedies, a few weeks after occupation in Sayyoo, an evening dance party was arranged by the Italian officers, although, not inviting many Greeks young boys went to the party. One of the informants was stated that among the youngsters of the period were his elder brother and some other youngsters in the village were participate he also stated that, he was at a child hood age thus parents not allowed to participate on the party.<sup>193</sup> However, they all chased by the party organizers, because, The Italians had already realized how much the Greece were anti-Italian feeling was stronger. a few days after this event, the Greeks

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1951),p,142

<sup>191</sup> Informants: Assafa, Kasahun, John

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>193</sup> Informants: Assafa, Kasahun, John

families living nearby the Italian camps were driven away to the other part of the town. As a result all evicted families were made to settled at a place called *Kotte-Barri*.<sup>194</sup> Therefore, the community became very furious by the intolerable Italian action. There is no doubt that it was in reaction to this incidents that in underground resistance movement made up of the local patriots and indignant Greeks became emerged against the invaders. the first local community to join the patriots like Kororsa Yambo, Tura Bultuma, Kebede Meshesha, and Mengistu Ashebir joined the front. The leading Greeks in the resistance force were Tewdros N. Plethedies, Goerge N. Plethedies and Andria's Harmannes. Besides, there were also other self initiated individuals who joined the resistance movements during in the following days. The movement soon designated tactics and strategic that would begin to struggle for freedom. The inelegance service that would feed the patriots and captured information on day to day activities of the enemy was assigned to stay at Dambi Dollo town. Therefore the Greeks volunteers were participating on this duty the remaining were moved and fortified at a place called Ghimbi. It is a strategic and suitable tertian for Guerrilla war fare located twenty eight kilometer west of Dambidollo.<sup>195</sup>

The guerrilla attack was intensified on the enemy camps and bombing were begun the remaining Greeks community were supporting both in moral and material strongly, they also transported the security officials from place to place as needed, they also supported the patriots with fire arms bought from black market and also they purchased foods for the army imported from Europe commercial purposes.<sup>196</sup>

In 1938, just after they return to the town following a few days stays while the movement leader, the group of intelligence services were captured and put to jail by the Italian colonial officer in Sayyoo. They were caught after reporting as the leaders of the movements by other Ethiopian collaborators possibly who were those came to the region with the Italian army from the north and central part of the country. Even though, they were intelligence and banged by the Italian officials, three of them were released after they giving information for the enemy force about

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<sup>194</sup>*Ibid*; Admasup.32

<sup>195</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>196</sup> Informants: Assafa, Kasahun, John

the patriots organizers and actions that they were actually working for the resistance movements and then released on probation.<sup>197</sup>

In the mean time Karoraa Yamboo was also captured with he was on duty to recruit fighters. The enemy expected a lot to get enough information from Karoraa on the operation of the movements which they could not get from the Greek men. They tortured the captives to the extreme but still no concrete information came out from him too. Although all suspected prisoners were sentenced to death by the local colonial office. Later on, however, the decision was reversed to imprisonment by the commander-in-chief of the Italian army for the western region. As a result, the prisons were kept in separate dark rooms for the next ten months without light or communication with families. After ten months, the three Greek men were released while Karoraa Yambo was still he held behind.<sup>198</sup>

Despite this, attacks on the invaders and their collaboration was intensified throughout Wollaga region as it was also true for the rest of the country. As a result, particularly, in early years of 1940s.the Italian bombardment and killing on suspected guerilla bases and civilians had also increased. Since the Italians had already targeted the Greek community living in and around Sayyoo as primary suspected for organizing the resistance movements. One day all the community members in Dambi Dollo were called for emergency meeting. The aim was to determine the clear-cut position the community to take in such a crisis. Lastly, when the enemy found out that the Greeks were still supporting the movement all community members were kept in concentration camp. Although women and children were allowed to leave the camp the leading Greek businessmen and elders had been held behind and the interrogation continued. In reaction to this, surprise attack against the Italians and their Ethiopian collaborator were frequent.<sup>199</sup>

On the other hand, the Italian policy of killing of all suspected Ethiopian not Greeks was intensely applied. They did not kill Greek suspects perhaps because of their origin or skin color. In addition the enemy still hoped that someday the Greek might change their minds and turn to its side due to the anti-British colonial movement going in Cyprus at the time. However, this did

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<sup>197</sup>*Ibid*; Admasup34

<sup>198</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>199</sup> Informants, Assafa, Kasahun, John

not change the Greeks firm stand against the Italian.<sup>200</sup> Eventually when situations in the area seemed out of hand, and when its attempt to convince the Greek found impossible the Italian colonial office decided to send all suspected Greek businessmen and elders out to the other western region of Kaffa for further imprisonment. the three underground intelligence were also among them. The names of the deportees including Heracles Pytherus, Theodros N. Piethedis, Dmitry VAlandis, P. Harmanenes, George N. Plethedhis, Andirias Harmannes, D. Papa constanitos, M. Harmannes, Sasso and Agamenon. with them Karoora Yambo was also deported after their arrival there, the prisoners were grouped in to two camps Pure Greeks on one side and the half castes on the other. Those who original Greeks were kept in a place called Abalti near to the present day of Jimma town about 140 km distances while the colored ones were in the village of Dayuu, near the village of Jiren, Karoorsa Yambo was also added to the second group.<sup>201</sup>

After five more months stay in their respective prison, and following the liberation of the country, all the prisons were set free. Soon, however, those colored prisoners were recruited into the British army. They were given a title called “special Police” and deployed in Jimma to enforce law and order in the area. But all prisoners were allowed to return back to Dembi Dollo.<sup>202</sup> Lastly, following the first Anglo-Ethiopian agreement of January 1942 the remaining Greeks of Dambi Doll that were kept behind by the British were also permitted to go back to their own town. As a result in summer of 1942 all of them came home. Some of them continued working in their own business, while others joined family business. Despite, the suffering the restored imperial government of Ethiopia under Emperor HaileSillasia had forgotten all patriots in Qellem and the surrounding regions. Rewarded were mostly those who retreated from the country with the Emperor during the invasion and patriots from the ruling elites.<sup>203</sup>

### **3.4.2. The end of Italian occupation and its aftermaths**

It was after the liberation of the country the Greeks of Qelem entered their “Golden Era”, particularly in economic growth. Above all the years between the liberation of Ethiopia and independence of the republic of Sudan (1941 and 1956) respectively were the most spectacular

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<sup>200</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>201</sup>*Ibid*; Admasu,(2008) p.36

<sup>202</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>203</sup>*Ibid*



years in the community's history.<sup>204</sup> During these years the trade with the Sudan reached its highest peak a certain problems such as transportation and custom duties which remained obstacle to the normal flow of trade in the area became minimized or completely removed. Those foreign firms which indeed left the country during the invasion made their way back and re-established themselves in Dembi Dollo.<sup>205</sup> Actually, many members of the Italian army who created families after margining to the local Oromo women did stay behind even after their colleagues left the country whom most of them were involved in trade activities and mechanical profession. Many more Greeks, mainly from the mainland Greece also began arriving. Some other merchants from Yemen, Sudan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia had also opened their stores in the town. There were also many foreign missionaries, particularly from Holland and America who were running schools, health centers and church leaders. Therefore, Dembi Dollo became center for color people. From all foreign nationals in the area the most successful and dominant people were actually the Greeks.<sup>206</sup>

In the mean time the demand for coffee had increased more than ever before. As a result, the economic fortune of the trade grew largely. According to the February 1955 report of the British trading mission to Egypt the Sudan and Ethiopia in the year 1938 only 74,000 pound sterling worth of Coffee was exported to Sudan, most probably through inland port of Gambella, and this figure has rose to 1, 164,00 pound Sterling in 1951.<sup>207</sup>

On the other hand soon after the Second World War come to an end the Greeks of Qellem re-registered as one of foreign community organizations at the national level. At the same time their school also got recognition from the Greek government and teachers begun to be assigned directly from mainland Greece until it was stopped its services in 1974 following the outbreak of the Socialist revolution in the country.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Michael B. Lentakis, *Ethiopia: A View from Within*. (Janus Publishing Company Lim 2005). p. 164.; Admasu, p38

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*; Brihanina Selam 18<sup>th</sup> year (July 1942)

<sup>207</sup> Bahiru, p,323 Birhanu, p27; 'Report of the United Kingdom Mission to Egypt the Sudan Ethiopia (London, Her Majesty Stationary office 1955)p.154

<sup>208</sup> Nitsolas, p.245

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. The Greeks Post Italian Occupation

#### 4.1. The Greeks Post Italian occupation in Dembidollo

It is surprising that Gambella did not draw an even larger proportion of Ethiopia's foreign trade. This cheapness of the Gambella route - as well as rumors of British plans to deepen the Baro to enable year-round navigation - was indeed one of the few things that occasionally one of French consular officials and observers from their smug confidence in the pre-eminence of Djibouti. But other more important factors were working against Gambella's posing a serious challenge to Djibouti. Over and above the daunting physical problems that the trading post encountered from its inception, Minilik and his successors saw their political power inevitably tied up with the concentration of trade in the capital.<sup>209</sup> The provincial governors with whom the British sought to strike a profitable partnership and thereby realize the enormous potential of Gambella, only *Ras Nadaw* could be said to have been an exception to the general rule of apathy or opposition. Even *Nadaw's* interest was rarely exceeded a singular enthusiasm for road-building, however. Nevertheless, despite its failure to supplant Djibouti as the major port of Ethiopia's foreign trade, the Gambella trading post remained the most important commercial outpost in western Ethiopia.<sup>210</sup> In July 1927 *Danalis* was granted, in partnership with T. Zervos, cousin of the Greek consul-general in Addis Ababa, the much coveted concession to build the Bure-Gambella road. He saw a ray of hope in 1927 when *Fitawrari Dasta Damtaw*, son-in-law of *Ras Tafari*, was sent "by the latter to Gore apparently in response to *Nadaw's* repeated requests for financial assistance."<sup>211</sup>

A large number of Greeks migrations to the horn of Africa took place after the formation of a Greek state. This was spurred by the international economic depression of the late nineteenth century (1873-1897). In the advent of this crisis some developments in the country side took

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<sup>209</sup>Bahiru 1976, p. 385

<sup>210</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>211</sup>*Ibid*, p352

place which made the Greek agricultural economy more vulnerable to international demand and price fluctuations.<sup>212</sup>

Following the liberation of the country from Italian occupation the Greeks of Dembi Dollo were actively participate in trade activity as well as major economic system in the region generally and in Dembi Dollo particularly, this was due to the return back of the deposed emperor to his power and initiated the Greeks to actively participate in economic system as well as the rise in number of Greek migrants came to the country from different parts of the world with different economic background which motivated Greeks to involve in different economic system, firms as well as repairing of car and mill grain with engine was introduced which were not seen earlier. And also the Greek were introduced family business in the region.<sup>213</sup> Post Italian period it was a number of Greek migrants in the region was increased they were also involved in different business as well as crafts, Masonry and carpenter, because of this period was a political instability in their mother country.<sup>214</sup> The existence of the military dictatorship (1967-1974) which a number of Greek citizens were dislikes their country due to political and economical instability which rose up Greek migration throughout the world including Dembi Dollo.<sup>215</sup>

#### **4.2. Greek Community and their economic activity post liberation period**

While the Greeks in Dembi Dollo seem to have continued to prosper in the first few years after their arrival to the region after the national political and economic instability in Greece, a sign of increasing in number was occurred in 1960s, when many of them gave refuge to Greeks who fled the Congo crisis.<sup>216</sup> It should be accepted that in order to sustain and enhance the considerable contribution of family business to national economic growth in general, a family business is

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<sup>212</sup>Vasilis, (2003). p.28

<sup>213</sup>Antonios J.A. Sudanese toponomy related to Greek entrepreneurial activity”, *Journal of Nubian Studies*. 4: Art.v. 1. Dotawo, Athens2017),21; Informants: Assafa, Kasahun, John

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*. Polymeris Voglis and Ioannis Nioutsikos, “The Greek Historiography of the 1940s” *The Second World War in Historiography and in Public Debate, A Reassessment no. 2* (Athens, Südosteuropa 2017), , pp. 317-18; William H. McNeill, *The Greek Dilemma, War and Aftermath*, (London, 1947). Christopher Woodhouse, *Apple of Discord. A Survey of Recent Greek Politics in their International Setting*, (London 1948), p.84

<sup>215</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>216</sup>Chaldeos,(2017), pp.111-116

fundamentally different from the other forms of private economic organizations. The key difference is that the affairs of a family business are closely and intricately intertwined with the personal financial affairs of the family and also with the power relationships, blood ties, emotional bonds and inheritance issues within that family.<sup>217</sup>

Moreover, the Greeks of Dembi Dollo were many of whom had married locals Oromo, and involved on trading of Ivory, hides, wax, coffee and skin of lion and tigers for the foreign market to export as far as middle east. The Greek merchants were collected these medium of exchanges from the local community. However, collecting the hides and the leaser of these animals were forbidden by the state law as well as it was illegal.<sup>218</sup> According to informants a number of Ivory, antler of Buffalo were taken off by the Greek merchants when they transfer to the Sudan markets, however, Greeks merchants involvement on this illegal trade begun to weak due to the state law and it was begun to controlled by the government..<sup>219</sup>

The Greek merchants also traded of cattle from western Wollga to Sudan as far as the Middle East through Sudan.<sup>220</sup> The Greek of Sudan came under pressure from both warring sides: while the accusations from Khartoum continued,<sup>221</sup> Southern opposition forces accused Greek monopolists of keeping the prices of animals "as low as possible to their own advantage" for export to the Middle East.<sup>222</sup> Thus, the Greek community in the Dembi Dollo further diminished during the 1960s,<sup>223</sup> after its numbers had already decreased in the years before 1956.<sup>224</sup> thus Greeks migration and their economic involvement became diminished due to political instability in Sudan and the way which they communicate with Greeek of Sudan and also they exported goods abroad was bang this was resulted the economic activity and also some of them begun to

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<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>218</sup> Informants: Assafa, Kasahun, John

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid*; Archive no. 17/356/4145; Archive no.2098/2/44) A large amount of ivory and alter of Buffalo were taken to state treasury office in the period of 1950s

<sup>220</sup> Nadin, Alex. "Greek Merchant's\_shop, Georgia". *Journal of the southern Sudan study* (Oxford university press, 2018),p.314

<sup>221</sup> *Mansour (2003). p. 113*

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>223</sup> *Chaldeos, (2017). P,211*

<sup>224</sup> Santandrea, Stefan, *A Popular History of Wau, (Bahr el-Ghazal- Sudan) from its Foundation to about 1940.* (Rome, 1977), Pp. 46-71.

closed their shop transfer to the local community their business, this was made to weak Greeks involvement in trade system and the other was the arrival of Yemeni traders and they became competent to Greeks and also the Yemenis were dominated on shop and tea rooms in Dembi Dillo town. In Sayyoo, many Greeks left from smaller towns and moved to the town of Dembi Dollo with its established community premises.<sup>225</sup>

After the state took serious measure on trade activity and begun to confiscate Greeks contraband in west Ethiopia, made the Greeks to minimize cross-border trade of the time. and also after 1950s the importance of Gambella trade route begun to decline which affected the over all trade activity in western part of the country.<sup>226</sup>

**Figure 4** Some of Greeks owned buildings in Dembi Dollo town know day serving the government offices



**Source:** Photo by the researcher May 23/2019

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<sup>225</sup> *Ibid*; Informants, Tesfaye, John, Aikatri,

<sup>226</sup> Informants, Dimitri, Ngongo, Kana

### 4.3. The Greeks adoption of the local culture and their interaction

The Greeks in Dembi Dollo again increased to live were after Second World War, a period when of great hardship and civil took in Greece. In 1950s migration of Greeks to Western Ethiopia through Sudan increased when the Sudanese Government provided assisted passage to tens of thousands of Greeks in the region.<sup>227</sup> Within any cultural group or community, individual views and values are shaped by many factors, including our age, gender, income, religion, sexuality, profession, education and political views, not to mention personal experiences. Individuals from the same culture do not all think alike or share the same value systems and opinions. Likewise, cultural values and attitudes can change over time and are never the same thing to everyone.<sup>228</sup>

Greek culture emphasizes the communal and public rather than the private sphere. For many Greek immigrants, especially the elderly, their identity was closely tied to their behavior within the communal and public spheres. The values which stem from this understanding of the individual revolve around the ways in which a person behaves and presents to others.<sup>229</sup> Family relationships were very important to the Greek population. The family has a strong role in decision-making regarding the care of elderly people. According to Greeks informants stated that social structure was the norm, where Greek fathers are the protector, provider and authority in the family and Greek mothers were expected to take care of their children and honor their husband.<sup>230</sup> Greeks community who stayed in western Ethiopia were adopted several cultures of the community including a marriage relation. It was obviously known as a number of the Greeks in the Dembi Dollo had married local Oromo women, thus it may be argued that the descendants of bi-cultural couples were more rooted in Dembi Dollo.<sup>231</sup>

However, the Norwegian-Greek historian Alexandros Tsakos concludes that the relationship between the “class” of “pure” Greeks and those of “mixed blood”, “who sarcastically call themselves bazramit “the half-castes”, has historically not just been "fruitful", but also difficult.

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<sup>227</sup> Natsoulas, (1977), 27; Migrant Information Centre (Eastern Melbourne), “Greek Cultural Profile”, 2010

<sup>228</sup> Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship (Victoria) (2013).

<sup>229</sup> M Papamichael, *The Hellenic Pan-African Directory: From Cape to Cairo*. (Athens, 1951), p. 254; Informants: Tesfaye, John, Aikatri,

<sup>230</sup> Informants: Dimitry, John, Aikatri

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*; Natsoulas, (1977), 27

Even Micheal Pandeli was born in Dembi Dollo to a Greek father and a W/ro Tirfi Korsa mother from the Oromo women in 1960. He spent most of his life in Dembi Dollo, for him and the descendants of other intermarriages “the main issue is to be recognized as Greek.” Micheal also married with the Oromo women named Edile Daba.<sup>232</sup> The impact and influence of Greek family interests in Dambi Doll town were often underestimated, because they were not very vocal or prominent and often deliberately avoid the public interest. In fact, it can be concluded that the profitability and growth of Greek family businesses have a substantial impact on the economy a region as a whole. Yet these family firms were strongly influenced by their cultural norms.<sup>233</sup>

The Greek culture in Dembi Dollo areas were on the other hand, as transplanted by the earlier immigrants, they change much of their culture due to their long stay in the region. In the preservation of the original culture, there was an assertion of nationality and Greekness by the earlier immigrants. Especially for the older generations in Ethiopia, any concession to progress, any concession to change, however, the younger due to adoption of local culture a deviation from their cultural patterns handed down by tradition would be a concession to “Oromization”. However, some elders Greeks keeping their element, by retain aspects of their culture, such as family organization, which have even changed in Greece itself.<sup>234</sup>

According to Greeks tradition, the children and family members care for the elderly at home where possible. However it was no longer customary for Greek families in Dembi Dolo to live together as an extended family unit and many elderly people live alone. There are some taboos around residential care which can be seen as degrading to the care recipient. However this was changing as Greek-specific aged care services have been developed that were culturally

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<sup>232</sup>Archive no. 2238/09/97/ Marriage certificate of Micheal Nittie and Edile Daba; Mahmoud Salih.Connecting South and North.Sudan Studies from Bergen in Honour of Mahmoud Salih. Bergen: BRIC - Unifob Global & Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Bergen. pp. 115–129

<sup>233</sup>*Ibid*; Adendorff, C. & Boshoff, C., ‘The management of good governance in Greek family businesses in South Africa’. Paper presented at the International Business School Conference, (Zanzibaar,2009.),p.3

<sup>234</sup> Natsoulas, (1977): pp. 21-22.

responsive and sensitive. Women usually take on the role of caring for older Greek people and this can lead to isolation as they were willing to sacrifice their own needs to be a care.<sup>235</sup>

Despite many influences that could have reduced their cultural effect, were of the opinion that the family has remained the strongest institution among Greeks of Dembi Dollo. It was not only the main agent of socialization, but is also the chief educational preserver of Greek ideals and the Greek way of life. In Dembi Dollo the Greek family provides the opportunity to view more closely the molding of the personality of its younger members, the transmission of the Greek culture, and the changing behavioral patterns through the generations.<sup>236</sup> There were some Greeks saying “The first generation makes the money, the second generation spends it and the third generation loses it”,<sup>237</sup>

#### **4.4. The Returned Back Greek community**

The economy of Greeks in Dembi Dollo after 1960s were begun to weaken due to the close of Gambella trade route in the region and the main export system of the country directed to dominate in the east route rather than the west direction. The major reason was a conflict between Anywak and Nuwere tribes in the Gambella area. According to Article IV of the subsequent 1902 Anglo-Ethiopian Boundary Agreement, the British were allowed to establish a trading post on the Baro River, in the western part of Gambella town, which came to be known as the Gambella enclave. The political economy of the enclave was one of the defining features of Anywak’s response to the advent and expansion of the Ethiopian state.<sup>238</sup> On the basis of the agreement, Gambella town emerged as an important economic center in the first three decades of the twentieth century, handling seventy percent of Ethiopian foreign trade with and via the Sudan.<sup>239</sup>

In 1914, following *Qenyazmach* Majid Abud was sent to force the Anywak into submission in the service of the imperial Ethiopian government. In 1916, *Qenyazmach* Majid launched a major

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<sup>235</sup> M Papamichael, (1951), p. 254; Informants: Tesfaye, John, Aikatri

<sup>236</sup> Informants, Tesfaye, John, Aikatri, Admasu, p18

<sup>237</sup> Informants: Dimitry, John; Panagiotopoulos, Vasilis(2003), p18;Mantzaris, E. A.. (1978), p23

<sup>238</sup> Bahru (1987), Pp. 80–81

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77



military offensive against the Anywak in what came to be known as the Battle of Itang. The Anywak put up strong resistance but ultimately succumbed to the forces of *Qenyazmach* Majid they lost five hundred and thirty-two men, and five hundred men were castrated.<sup>240</sup> Since the period of resistance against the power of *Qenyazmach* Majid the Anywak were armed with modern rifles which they bought from Greek merchants.<sup>241</sup> Bahiru noted that, ‘about 1911, the total number of rifles in Anywak possession was estimated at between 10,000 and 25,000’.<sup>242</sup>

British sovereignty over the enclave was conditional on their rule over the Sudan, and thus ended in 1956 when the Sudan became independent. For the preceding half century though, Gambella, with a parceled sovereignty, occupied a unique status as somewhat of a political irregularity in the context of independent Ethiopia. In addition to British attentions, the enclave was highly favored by Menilik as an inlet for salt and cloth imported from Port Sudan and an outlet for coffee, hides and beeswax from the newly conquered western highlands.<sup>243</sup> The 1902 Boundary Agreement also defined the national identities of the Anywak and the Nuer, two of the major ethnic groups in Gambella region. Except for a section of the Jikany Nuer, the majority of the Nuer was placed within the Sudan and except for the Adongo and Akobo Anywak, the majority of the Anywak were placed within Ethiopia. This cross border settlement was one of the defining features of the trans-national dimension of state formation in western periphery; for Anywak’s resistance against the exclusionary practices of the Ethiopian state in the 1950s and 1960s was partly made possible by the cross-border political mobilization. The Anywak interacted with the Ethiopian state earlier than their neighbors such as the Nuer because of their proximity to the highlands and their new nationality as ‘Ethiopians’. The Anywak village states were initially better connected with the local representatives of the Ethiopian state. The Nyiye and Kwaari responded to the new political opportunities, which above all ensured them earlier access to firearms than the Nuer, a new form of dominance changed the balance of power in Anywak-Nuer.<sup>244</sup> This instability was tackled Greek cross boundary merchants trading system.

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<sup>240</sup>Zerai Bocurezion. "Qannazmach Majid’s The Legal Settlement of Western Ethiopian Boundary (Gambella)". (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1971),p. 26

<sup>241</sup> Bahru (1976),p. 111

<sup>242</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>243</sup>Bahru (1987),p. 82–83

<sup>244</sup>*Ibid*, (1976), p.113

The other major root causes were the reason for the exodus movement in Sudan was apparently the escalation of the Anyanya-rebellion in Southern Sudan and the brutal counter-insurgency of Sudanese governments. Still in 1960, the community in the South had given refuge to Greeks, who fled the turmoil in neighboring Congo.<sup>245</sup> Moreover, the Greek Merchants who traded between Ethiopia and Sudan, many of them had married locals, came under pressure from South Sudan rebellion, while the accusations from Khartoum continued, Southern opposition forces accused Greek monopolists of keeping the prices of animals “as low as possible to their own advantage” for export to the Middle East.<sup>246</sup> Thus, the Greek community in the South further diminished, after its numbers had already decreased before 1956, that the Greek in Dembi Dollo and its surroundings began to return back to their homeland.<sup>247</sup> Just a few years later the Greeks of Sudan came under pressure, as the Anyanya -insurgency escalated across the Southern Sudanese region from 1963 on: after a rebel assault on Wau in early 1964, the military regime of Ibrahim Abboud reportedly “announced that foreign traders would only be allowed to reside in provincial or district capitals in the South, where they could be kept under surveillance, and not in villages. This restriction was aimed at Syrian and Greek traders, who were suspected of helping the rebels.”<sup>248</sup>

Great tension which rose for more Greek merchants who were traded by crossing the Ethio-Sudan border through Gambella trade route was begun following the death of two grandsons of Dimitri Yaloris in 1967, his formerly based in south Sudan, and his Dinka wife, were killed in Bahr El Ghazal after being accused of supporting the Anyanya rebels.<sup>249</sup> According to *Chaldeos*, they were targeted by the army in a special operation, since they had indeed supplied arms to the insurgents through their enterprise.<sup>250</sup> The big exodus of the Greeks from Northern Sudan started in 1969 after the May revolution of a military regime under Gaafar Nimeiry, which in its early

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<sup>245</sup> *Chaldeos*, (2017), Pp.233-34

<sup>246</sup> *Mansour Khalid, War and Peace in Sudan: A Tale of Two Countries.* (Routledge,2003). p. 113.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid*; Informants, Kana, Assafa, Garamo

<sup>248</sup> Edgar O'Balance, *Sudan, Civil War and Terrorism, 1956-99.* (Springer. 2000)p. 21.

<sup>249</sup> *Chaldeo* (2017). pp. 138–140

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

phase pursued a policy of nationalization Big companies like Contomichalos and Tsakiroglou Greek owned company were hard hit and most of the disowned entrepreneurs emigrated.<sup>251</sup>

#### **4.5. The Greek Community During *Derg* Regime**

The worldwide economic tensions and the instability in the region most Greek business men were became out of the business activity in the region and also they were further failed by economic decline in the 1960s and 1970s due to the challenges on the red sea area specifically the Suez Canal closed in 1967 and the 1973 oil crisis; these contributed to the loss of competitiveness of the Greece in the region as well as increasing prices, the political instability in the region motivated the Greece back to their home land( Gilkes (1975)

In Ethiopia the revolution of 1974 ultimately resulted in removal of the emperor from power. It was evident that the first reason behind broke out the Ethiopian Revolution was the land tenure and taxation system that prevailed during the imperial times. A number of laws were issued after the revolution that radically altering the landscape of land tenure and tax system of the country. After 1974 the economy had been changed dramatically from market oriented to centralized economy, during this period all private owned activities are nationalized by *Derg* government. While most foreign traders including the Greeks firms were nationalized by the declaration passed by the *Derg* government, so many Greeks merchants lose their firms and some of them were lose their extra home at national level due to the *Derg* national proclamation particularly during 1976-79.

In this period, two basic changes in the revenue base occurred following the nationalization of land and other productive resources. The changes in the ownership pattern of productive sectors like industrial, agricultural, commercial and financial enterprises and their subsequent expansion under government ownership created additional the foreign investors including Greeks. On the other hand because of the imposing high marginal tax rates on income both individuals and private businesses became reluctant to increase their income since the return of increasing income for them was very small. Finally this leads to decline in economic growth (Giulia, 2013).

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<sup>251</sup>Chaldeos, (2017), p.143; Tim Niblock, *Class and Power in Sudan: The Dynamics of Sudanese Politics, 1898-1985*. (SUNY Press,1987). pp. 182–186, 243.)

## Conclusion

The thesis attempted to examine the Greek Community settlement in Ethiopia generally and in particular their settlement in Dembi Dollo since the first decades of 20<sup>th</sup> Century to the end of imperial regime. The history of Greek Community was part of the trade and economic significant of the after the opening of Gambella port in 1902. They were in competition with the French, who had forged close diplomatic and economic ties with Emperor Menilik, evident in the construction of the railway that connected Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, with the French colony of Djibouti. In order to undermine the growing French political and economic influence in Ethiopia, the British negotiated with the Ethiopian government to establish a trading station in Gambella on the Baro River, the only navigable river in Ethiopia. According to Article IV of the subsequent 1902 Anglo-Ethiopian Boundary Agreement, the British were allowed to establish a trading post on the Baro River, in the western part of Gambella town, which came to be known as the Gambella enclave. The region was became the main economic center in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as early 20<sup>th</sup> century with the opening of Gambella trade route.

Until the development of the Gambella trade route the Greek merchants' occasionally arrived to the region to buy some goods from local markets from their base of Sudan. However, according to some local sources the Greeks begun to settle in the region in the last decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following territorial conquest of Menilik's force the Shawan rulers dominate the main trade system of the region and its importance was increased after the second decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1902 a new trade route of Gambella was opened this was paved the way for the arrival of Greek merchants who were occasionally arrived and also for the establishment of new market centers and trade system was introduced to the region.

Moreover, after the opening of the Gambella trade route in the region introduced a new taxation system with organized power. Although the central government passed an order to collect taxes from the goods which imported and exported through this trade route, as the result a number of post (*kella*) were established and also begun to collect in *kotee*. Trade taxes varied according to the different districts. The Greek merchants imported several foreign good including cloths like Abujedi the main item of foreign good of the period and exported local goods like cattle to the middle east and also Ivory, Hides, leathers of different animals, wax of bees , coffee and antler of Buffalo from the local market of Dembi Dollo and its vicinity. The Greeks were used a bartering

system also used the medium of exchange mostly Martheressa dollars and Temuni a local money and also a salt bar (*Amole*). .

Subsequently, the significance of the western Wollaga trade system enhancing following the grow of coffee trade and the significance of Gambella trade route was developed by the central government, the important of the region prominence following the rise of coffee trade in world market. The main route went down from Gidami through the coffee-rich district of Anfillo, west of Sayo by using Gambella port. This was pave the way for the Greek merchants to navigate from Gambella to Khartoum then to the Mediterranean Sea. The ambitions of the imperial government by *Ras* Teferi were mainly for economically important since the second decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century and key political positions in the district were dominated by non-natives, this period also have an historic events for Greek merchants, because, a number of Greeks were lost their life on their ways from Gambella to Sayyoo or Vice versa due to malaria and others similar diseases. This period was commonly known as “*Bara Kira*” or literally meaning “wage Period”.

Subsquently, for the development of the region the Greeks were played significant roles on road construction which connecting Dembi Dollo with Gambella. by the two Greeks namely Paul Danalis and M. Zervos were known on construction of the road from Gambella to Sayyoo. However, the road was continued to construct later by Danalis until his death due to malaria case, but the road reminded incopleted. Eventhough, the Ethiopian motor transport company was begun to construct from Bure to Gore and mattu, and then to Gambella and Sayyoo. In addition the Greeks were also opened the first Greek school by the known businessmen named Payanotris Skouriatis in 1929 at Dambi Dollo, Mr. Ekateria Sasou and Mr. Zirrakes were the first two formally hired teachers in the school.

The Greeks of Dembi Dollo during Fascist Italian invasion they were working as civil servants, clerks or storekeepers, in the forts along the Gambella trade route. These small numbers of Greeks living in Dambi Dollo, Gimbi and Ghidami felt themselves more closely associated to local community. The main reason for Greeks to stand with the local community was as a matter of fact the Greeks found the Italian invasions obstacle for their normal trade activity. It was after the liberation of the country the Greeks of Qelem entered their “Golden Era”, particularly in economic growth. Above all in the period from 1941-1956 the trade with the Sudan reached its highest peak a certain problems such as transportation and custom duties which remained

obstacle to the normal flow of trade in the area which later became minimized or completely removed. Post Italian period it was a number of Greek migrants to Dembi Dollo was increased they were also involved in different business as well as crafts because of this period. While the Greeks in Dembi Dollo seem to have continued to prosper in the first few years after their arrival to the region after the national political and economic instability in Greek, a sign of increasing in number was occurred in 1960s. Greeks community who stayed in western Ethiopia were adopted several cultures of the community including a mirage relation. It was obviously known as a number of the Greeks in the Dembi Dollo were married locals Oromo.

The Greeks of Dembi Dollo after 1960s were begun to weak due to the close of Gambella port in the region due to the shift of main trading port from west to east most of them were begun to return to their mother land, in addition to this major cause for the withdrawal of Greeks from the region was internal conflict between Anyuak and Nuwere tribes in the Gambella area which block their way to Khartoum also a few years later the Greeks of Sudan were came under pressure, as the Anyanya -insurgency escalated across the Southern Sudan in 1963.

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## Glossory

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Abba funyo</i>   | father of the cord   |
| <i>Abba Shanes</i>  | chiefs of at least five household  |
| <i>Ato</i>          | A civil title given to ordinary people, equivalent to Mr.  |
| <i>Abba</i>         | Father, a title given in <i>Maccaa</i> Oromo for elders and particularly at Ethiopian Orthodox Church given to a priest or a monk. |
| <i>Alläqa</i>       | Head of the Ethiopian Orthodox church.   |
| <i>Asir-alläqa</i>  | A military title equal to commander of ten.  |
| <i>Awraja</i>       | Administrative sub- province.  |
| <i>Azazhi</i>       | Commander', chief of the royal court   |
| <i>Bajirond</i>     | Treasury head  |
| <i>Balabat</i>      | Landlord or local hereditary chief.  |
| <i>Bitwädäd</i>     | The highest politico-military title.   |
| <i>Balambäras</i>   | A military title just below that of <i>Gerazmach</i> .   |
| <i>Busi</i>         | Collection of taxes  |
| <i>Ĉabsaaa</i>      | A traditional unit of measuring of land in Gibe region,  |
| <i>Ĉiqashum</i>     | Village chief empowered to collect tax during the imperial regime.   |
| <i>Ĉisseñña</i>     | Farmers those landowners evict them at any time  |
| <i>Däbtäras</i>     | A spiritual teacher at Ethiopian Orthodox Church   |
| <i>Däjjazmach</i>   | A military title below <i>Ras</i> .  |
| <i>Daña</i>         | Judge.   |
| <i>Därg</i>         | The military government of Ethiopia which replaced emperor Hailesilassie.  |
| <i>Facaasaa</i>     | A traditional unit of measuring of land, equivalent to one fourth hectare.   |
| <i>Fuga / Faqii</i> | Tanners  |

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>Färäsula</i>         | A unit of cereals measurement in Gibe region about seventeen kilogram.  |
| <i>Fitawrari</i>        | Commander of the Vanguard, a military title below Dajjasmach.   |
| <i>Gasha</i>            | Unit of land measurement equivalent to 40 hectares.   |
| <i>Gibir</i>            | Tribute.  |
| <i>Gäbäya</i>           | Market place.   |
| <i>Gäbbar</i>           | Tribute paying peasant.   |
| <i>Gimja bét</i>        | Treasury.   |
| <i>Girasmach</i>        | Commander of the left, a politico- military title, non hereditary right to collect tribute from landowners.   |
| <i>Gizat</i>            | An administrative unit.   |
| <i>Gagurtu</i>          | Beekipers   |
| <i>Guchi gunos</i>      | Slaves of slaves  |
| <i>Gurmu</i>            | Head of chiefs  |
| <i>Hämsa-älläqa</i>     | A military title equivalent to commander of fifty.  |
| <i>Kélla</i>            | Legal trade controlling place.  |
| <i>Läm</i>              | Cultivated.   |
| <i>Läm-täf -</i>        | Semi-Cultivated.  |
| <i>Mahibär</i>          | Association.  |
| <i>Mämhir</i>           | Teacher   |
| <i>Mandar Misreta –</i> | Vilegaztion   |
| <i>marcawu</i>          | primitive currency  |
| <i>Märiyéta-</i>        | A religious title given to the clergy who educate the liturgy.  |
| <i>Mikitil Wäräda</i>   | An administrative unit below the level of district.   |
| <i>Mälkänña</i>         | A name which the local people used to recall the northerners who were settled in the area following the conquest, they used it interchangeably with the word <i>naftaña</i> . |
| <i>Misläné-</i>         | An administrative unit under wäräda.  |
| <i>Naftänña -</i>       | The one who carries a gun, soldiers who were settled in the area following the conquest.  |
| <i>Qäbällé</i>          | Lowest administrative unit.   |
| <i>Qänasmach</i>        | Commander of the right, a political military title above Grazmach.  |
| <i>Qoroo</i>            | Political title equivalent to Çiqashum.   |
| <i>Qurx gibir</i>       | Annual tribute  |
| <i>Ras</i>              | A higher politico-military title below king   |
| <i>Säfär -</i>          | Neighborhood or camp.   |
| <i>Seera Bokkuu</i>     | Bokku law   |
| <i>Shämané</i>          | weavers   |
| <i>Shäria</i>           | Islamic Law.  |
| <i>Shéikh</i>           | A religious title given to Muslims.   |
| <i>Soressa</i>          | wealthy   |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Ṭäqelay- Gizat</i> | Province.  |
| <i>Teesoo aadaa</i>   | Traditional chair.   |
| <i>Tsihfät bét</i>    | Bureau, Office.  |
| <i>Tumtu</i>          | Smith  |
| <i>Wäräda</i>         | Administrative unit below <i>Awuraja</i> .                     |
| <i>Wata or Manja</i>  | Hunters and foragers   |
| <i>Wäyna-däga</i>     | Moderate climatic zone.  |
| <i>Wäyzäro</i>        | A title given to married women, which is equivalent to “Miss.” |
| <i>Zäbännä</i>        | Gourd.   |
| <i>Zämächa</i>        | Campaigner.  |

### List of oral informants

| S. No | Name                         | Sex | Age | Interview  |                            | Remark   |
|-------|------------------------------|-----|-----|------------|----------------------------|--|
|       |                              |     |     | Date       | Place                      |  |
| 1     | <b>Abdisa Disasa (Ato)</b>   | M   | 70  | 08-02-2019 | Sako                       | He has deep knowledge about socio-economic activities of Greeks in Dambi Dollo.  |
| 2     | Agami Kuma (W/ro)            | F   | 64  | 7-06-2010  | Dambi Dollo                | She knows the trade activity between Dambi Dollo and Kebe.   |
| 3     | Ambo Warati W/ro             | F   | 73  | 8-02-2010  | Meeti north of Dambi Dollo | She knows the Greek merchants.   |
| 4     | Aikaterini Kalogiratou (Mr.) | M   | 80  | 22-02-2019 | Yangue                     | He is Greek born and a well known merchant knowledgeable and knows about Kurmuk and Gambella port well                   |
| 5     | Assafa Ammayya (Ato)         | M   | 78  | 14-02-2019 | Gidami                     | He has more information about southwestern Wallaga in trade activity in general and about Greek merchants of the period. |
| 6     | Assafa Baro(Ato)             | M   | 79  | 14-02-2019 | Dembi Dollo 04 kebele      | He well knows about ivory trade.   |
| 7     | Bacha Galata (Ato)           | M   | 70  | 15-02-2019 | Dale Sadi                  | He was a shop keeper deeply knows about trade activity in different parts of Gimbi Awurajja.                             |
| 8     | Chali Dula (Ato)             | M   | 70  | 19-02-2019 | Dembi Dollo                | He knows very well the Sayyoo and its trade activity.  |
| 9     | Dmitry Marendis (Mr.)        | M   | 70  | 25-02-2019 | Meexii                     | He deeply knows trade activity in Gimbi Awurajja.  |
| 10    | Ebisa Challa (Ato)           | M   | 50  | 9-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo                | He is a college teacher knows the trade activity between Gambella and Kebe.  |
| 11    | Ephrem Mechi (Ato)           | M   | 78  | 7-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo                | He is a well-known informant and has   |

|    |                                |   |    |            |   |  |
|----|--------------------------------|---|----|------------|---|--|
|    |                                |   |    |            | At kebele 5                             | sufficient knowledge about Greek merchants who traded coffee plantation in Anfillo and then in Sayo.                           |
| 12 | Geremew Rare ( <i>Ato</i> )    | M | 75 | 7-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo                             | He knows well knows about the Greek merchants and their trade activity in region.  |
| 13 | Geleta Nasho ( <i>Ato</i> )    | M | 90 | 8-02-2019  | Dembi Dollo                             | Knows much about the Greek community and also has a friends from Greek merchants he well know Greeks in Dembi Dollo            |
| 14 | Hika Berkessa ( <i>Ato</i> )   | M | 69 | 8-02-2010  | Dambi Dollo                             | He was born in Arjo awrajja and knows live in Dembi Dollo well knows the Greek merchants and thier trade activity in the town. |
| 15 | John Napoleon (Mr.)            | M | 79 | 22-02-2019 | Gute Sayama about 50km from Dembi Dollo | He a Greek born and a well known merchant knowledgably informants about Greek community  |
| 16 | Kaba Lamu ( <i>Ato</i> )       | M | 69 | 9-02-2010  | Karro                                   | He has enough knowledge about Greeks hardworking culture in around Dambi Dollo.  |
| 17 | Kana Gaso( <i>Ato</i> )        | M | 80 | 18-02-2019 | Danka Some                              | He well know well about Netties farm and also serving at his farm  |
| 18 | Kassahun Hora ( <i>Ato</i> )   | M | 80 | 14-02-2019 | Ghidami                                 | Told me Greeks bought a leather of animals he is one of hunter and sold a number of leathers for Greek merchants               |
| 19 | Mamo Buba ( <i>Ato</i> )       | M | 80 | 19-02-2019 | Garge 12 km from the town               | He was from royal family and he knows the workers and their in Yubdo gold mining.  |
| 20 | Mamo Degu ( <i>Ato</i> )       | M | 70 | 9-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo                             | He well knows about Greeks working culture in around Dambi Dollo.  |
| 21 | Maskobi Tufa( <i>W/ro</i> )    | F | 74 | 19-02-2019 | Dayyu                                   | Deeply knows trade activity of Sayo people and Gambella.   |
| 22 | Meeret Olana ( <i>W/ro</i> )   | F | 73 | 12-02-2010 | Dambi Dollo                             | She is a teacher and has BA degree and well knows the trade between Sibu and Kebe and some of Greek merchants.                 |
| 23 | Mulunesh Abebe ( <i>W/ro</i> ) | F | 73 | 8-02-2010  | Dambi Dollo                             | He was some known Greek merchants.   |
| 24 | Musei Bandali (Mr.)            | M | 73 | 8-02-2019  | Sako                                    | He is born from his Greek father deeply knows Greek settlement in Dambi Dollo.   |
| 25 | Naga Abdisa ( <i>Ato</i> )     | M | 59 | 9-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo                             | An Adventist priest and has sufficient knowledge about the trade from Kebe to Kurmuk.  |
| 26 | Ngogno Papa (Mr.)              | M | 75 | 25-02-2019 | Ashii                                   | He knows trade situation in Dembi Dollo  |
| 27 | Rega Kaba( <i>Ato</i> )        | M | 69 | 7-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo                             | He has adequate knowledge about Greek societies and merchants in Dambi Dollo   |



|    |                                 |   |    |            |                               |   |
|----|---------------------------------|---|----|------------|-------------------------------|---|
|    |                                 |   |    |            |                               | area.   |
| 28 | RagasaTura ( <i>Ato</i> )       | M | 72 | 8-02-2010  | Dambi Dollo                   | He is well known the trade activity between Dambi Dollo and the trade of the area understudy.                               |
| 29 | Rakili Patras (Mr.)             | M | 75 | 18-02-2019 | Haro Jimma                    | He born in Dembi Dollo knows well the markets of the town.  |
| 30 | Tesfaye Megersa ( <i>Ato</i> )  | M | 76 | 7-02-2019  | Dambi Dollo<br>At<br>kebele 5 | A merchant and knows well about Greeks in 1950s and 60s when they departed.   |
| 31 | Yerasino Kammo<br>Yerator (Mr.) | M | 76 | 22-02-2019 | Dembi Dollo                   | Currently living in Dembidollo and he knows well about trade activity of the town well.                                     |
| 32 | Yohannes Mario(Mr.)             | M | 79 | 22-02-2019 | Dambi Dollo                   | He is one of a know driver and had Trento quatra lorry and also very well about the trade between Dambi Dollo and Gambella. |

### Apendix

CDIWA-025-170478317

BRITISH CONSUL  
GORE  
WESTERN ABYSSINIA

9th. September 1936.

H.E.  
Dadannatch Hapte Marian  
Governor of Nkempti-Leka Wallega

GREETINGS.

The Swedish Mission and German  
from Aira arrived safely at Gambia and left by  
Steamer.

I must thank your excellency  
from the great help you have given in all these  
matters and keeping your country in order.

With regard to the Sudanese Arabs  
at Gimbi, being British Subjects these should be  
sent Gambia via GORE also the 4 British Indians  
merchants who said they wished to go to their  
country. With regard to the 200 dollars Deressa  
borrowed on your account please accept the goods  
he bought as a sign of our friendship. I received  
telegram today that the Italian Army and Ras Hailu  
have begun the march to occupy South and West of  
Addis Ababa.

*Ed. Tuskine*

His Majesty's Consul  
for Western Abyssinia.

BFS/.

No 41965-2/2

HELLENIC REPUBLIC  
COUNTY OF KEFALLINIA  
MUNICIPALITY OF KEFALLONIA  
OFFICE OF MUNICIPAL AND CIVIL STATUS  
Prot. No : 770

Argostoli, 9-1-2015

**CERTIFICATE OF NEXT OF KINS**

It is certified that :

A. As it is indicated in our Municipal Rolls, **POLIXENI KALOGIRATOU**, father's full name : PANAGIOTIS HELMIS, mother's full name : ZENEBETCH HELMI, who was born in Gidami, Ethiopia on 10-1-1932 and was registered in the Municipal Rolls of our Municipality with Family Share No 10072/2 (Former No 10073/2 of the Municipal Unity of Argostoli), died in Argostoli on 25-2-2009 (Registration Act of Death No 25/2009 in Argostoli). She was a widow and left the following next of kins who were alive on the date of his death :

1. Her child AIKATERINI KALOGIRATOU, father's full name : GERASIMOS KALOGIRATOS, mother's full name : POLIXENI KALOGIRATOU, who was born in Dembi Dolo, Ethiopia on 28-5-1951, registered in the Municipal Rolls of our Municipality with Family Register No 10072/3 (Former No 10073/3 of the Municipal Unity of Argostoli), type of registration : Indicative for Greek citizen, family status : Divorced, still alive.

**As it is indicated by the Solemn Declarations of two witnesses with Prot. No 771/8-1-2015 and 775/8-1-2015 :**

1. MARIA KARADIMA daughter of SOFOKLIS, resident of Ilioupoli, holder of the Identity Card No F 077908
2. AIKATERINI KALOGIRATOU daughter of GERASIMOS, resident of Ilioupoli, holder of the Identity Card No R 097081

The deceased has not left any other next of kins apart from the above mentioned.

This certificate is issued for inheritance matters.

The Municipal Officer  
Th.Petratou (signature)

By order of the Mayor  
The Head of the Department of Municipal and  
Civil Status  
M.-E. Peveratos (signature)  
Stamp of the Municipality of Kefalonia

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ, ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ  
ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ  
REPUBLIQUE HELLENIQUE, MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES  
SERVICE DE TRADUCTION  
HELLENIC REPUBLIC, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TRANSLATION SERVICE





**ΕΠΙΣΗΜΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ    TRADUCTION OFFICIELLE    OFFICIAL TRANSLATION**

The Municipal Officer  
A.Galiatsatou (signature)

By order of the Mayor  
The Head of the Department of Municipal and  
Civil Status  
M.-E. Peveratos (signature)  
Stamp of the Municipality of Kefalonia

(\*) The place of birth is corrected from Ginsani to the right one Gidami.  
The Head  
Th.Petratou (signature)  
Stamp of the Municipality of Kefalonia

(stamp of the Ministry of Interior & Administrative Reform)  
Certified for the authentication of the signature of M.-E. PEVERATOS by the Deputy Head of  
Secretariat K.KALYVAS (4-6-2015)

(stamp of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)  
Seen exclusively for the legalization of the signature of K.KALYVAS  
Signature : G.TSIKRIKOS, Secretary (4-6-2015)

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Certified translation of the attached Greek original  
Athens, 9.6.15  
The translator **N.Baxevanaki**

**ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ, ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ**  
**ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ**  
REPUBLIQUE HELLENIQUE, MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES  
SERVICE DE TRADUCTION  
HELLENIC REPUBLIC, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
TRANSLATION SERVICE

1/5

(page 6)



Law 1337/1983, certificate of contribution in cash as per article 9 of Law 1337/1983, certificate as per article 105 of Law 2961/2001 in conjunction with Law 1947/1991, as well as any other certificate required or that will be required from the law to prepare the inheritance acceptance deed and enforced from any provision of law.

To apply for and to take from the proper Public Revenue Service certificates as per the provisions of article 54A of Law 4174/2013 as completed by article 9 par.2 of Law 4223/2013, acting so much on behalf of the assignor individually as in the capacity of the heir of the deceased, or to sign solemn declarations with a related content.

4) To sell, grant, transfer and give to anyone for any consideration and on any terms and covenants he approves, any real estate or indivisible share on a real estate, or horizontal ownership of the assignor that was devolved to her from the aforementioned inheritances of her parents.

To collect the consideration and/or to credit with that the buyers and with any collateral (including but not limited to, mortgage or resolatory clause, with the issue of bills of exchange, etc). To transfer to the buyers all the rights of the assignor (personal or real) and her related actions and objections, as well as the actions for the return of the leasehold.

To warrant and represent that the sold real estates are free of any lien, debt, mortgage, prenotation of mortgage, seizure, whether conservative or forced, eviction of a third party or claim, inheritance right, any kind of easement (save those



Date 12/08/97  
 ቀን 12/08/97  
 የመዝገብ 2238/09/97  
 File No.

Marriage Certificate  
 የጋብቻ ውል ማስረጃ

በአርማኒያ ክልል የምዕራብ ወለጋ ዞን  
 ሥራ ከተማ ልማት መምሪያ ቤር  
 ዓ.ዓ/ዓ.ጥ ከ ተማ ጣዛጋሻ ቤት

|   |  |
|---|--|
| የባል ሙሉ ስም <u>ማካኤል ፓንዴሊ ኒቲስ</u><br>Hasbands full Name <u>Mikael Nittis</u> | የሚስት ሙሉ ስም <u>ዕድሌ ደባ</u><br>Wife's Jull Name <u>Edile Daba</u> |
| የተውለደ ዘመን<br>Date of Birth<br><u>June 6/6/1960</u>                        | የትውልድ ዘመን<br>Date of Birth<br><u>January 8/1/1952</u>          |
| የትውልድ ቦታ<br>Place of Birth <u>Dembi - Dollo</u>                           | የትውልድ ቦታ<br>Place of Birth <u>Dembi-Dollo</u>                  |
| መኖሪያ አድራሻ <u>ደምቢ ደሎ</u><br>Residence <u>Dembi - Dollo</u>                 | መኖሪያ አድራሻ <u>ደምቢ ደሎ</u><br>Residence <u>Dembi-Dollo</u>        |
| ዜግነት <u>ግሪክ</u><br>Nationality <u>Greek</u>                               | ዜግነት <u>ኢትዮጵያዊ</u><br>Nationality <u>Ethiopian</u>             |
| የባል እናት ሙሉ ስም<br>Hasband's Mothers Name<br><u>Tirfi Korsä</u>             | የሚስት እናት ሙሉ ስም<br>Wife Mother's Name<br><u>Kabene Disasa</u>   |

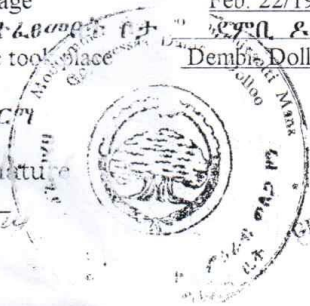
ጋብቻቸው የተፈጸመበት ቀን የካቲት 15/1979

Date of Marriage Feb. 22/1987

ጋብቻቸው የተፈጸመበት ቦታ ደምቢ ደሎ  
 Place Mariage took place Dembi, Dollo

የመዝገብ ቤት ስም ስም ፊርማ  
 ፊርማ  
 Registered Name & Signature

ማካኤል ፓንዴሊ ኒቲስ



ጋብቻውን የፀደቀው ጋብቻ  
 Approved  
 Getache

## **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this Thesis is my work and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Disa Ligaba Muleta.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor: \_\_\_\_\_

Co-Advisor: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Submission: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: Jimma University

College of Social Sciences and Humanities Department of History and Heritage Management