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MANAGEMENT**

**A HISTORY OF MOJANA WEDERA
DISTRICT (1865-1991)**

BY

DAWIT YIFERU TEKLE GIORGIS

MAIN ADVISOR; TSEGAYE ZELEKE (PhD)

CO-ADVISOR; TEMESGEN LEMESSA (ASSIS. PROF.)

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DAWIT YIFERU

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A History of Mojana Wädära District, 1865-1991

Submitted by:

Dawit Yiferu

Name of Student

Signature

Date

Approved by:

1. Tsegaye Zeleke

Name of Main Advisor

Signature

Date

2. Temesgen Lemessa

Name of Co-Advisor

Signature

Date

3. _____

Name of Internal Examiner

Signature

Date

4. _____

Name of External Examner

Signature

Date

5. _____

Name

Signature

Date

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Key to the Transliteration System

I. The seven sounds of the Amharic (Ethiopian) alphabets are symbolized as follows:

1 st order	በ	Bä
2 nd order	ቡ	Bu
3 rd order	ቢ	Bi
4 th order	ባ	Ba
5 th order	ቤ	Bé
6 th order	ብ	Be
7 th order	ቦ	Bo

Examples; በልግ = *Bäleg*, ቤተ = *Bétä*, ወረዳ = *Wäräda*, etc.

II. Palatalized sounds are symbolized as follows:

ሽ	Šä
ቸ	Čä
ኸ	Ňä
ጅ	Jä
ዠ	Zhä

Examples; አጥቢያ ዳኛ = *Aṭebiya daña*, ሙሽሽ = *Mäšäša*, etc.

III. Glottalized Sounds are symbolized as follows:

ጠ	Ṭä
ቀ	Qä
ጮ	Çä
ዳ/ፀ	Şä
ዳ	Pä

Example; ጠጅ = *ṭäje*, ዳድቃኔ = *Şadeqané*, ዳጥሮስ = *Péṭros* etc.

IV. Stressed sounds are usually represented by doubling the consonants:

ከበደ	Käbbädä
ተሰማ	Tässemma

Abbreviations

AAU	Addis Ababa University
AMC	Agricultural Market Corporation
BA	Bachelor of Arts
C	Century
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
Ed.	Edition
ENALA	Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party
EWP	Ethiopian Workers Party
IHADG	<i>Yä Iteyopeya Hezb Abyotawi Demokrasi Genbar</i>
KM	Kilometer
M	Meter
MA	Master of Arts
MM	Millimeter
PHD	Doctor of Philosophy Degree
St.	Saint
Vol.	Volume
W/r	<i>Wäyzäro</i>
0^c	Degree Centigrade

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Abstract

This thesis attempts to explore a history of Mojana Wädära District. The investigation extends the period between the restoration of Shoa autonomy by Menelik in 1865 and the downfall of the military government of Därg in 1991. Yet it begins by revealing different historical developments of the district before 1865. The main themes of analysis from 1865 to 1941 are the achievement of Menelik II and, the socio-economic and political system that influenced on the agricultural economy of the district. Beside this, the study point out the Italian occupation and its socioeconomic impact on the district as well as the patriotic resistance of the region to against the Italian invasion. Moreover, the thesis access the predominant reforms of the Imperial government in fields of administration, land tenure and taxation systems. The study also attempted to inspect changes and developments that observed in Mojana Wädära district during the regime of Därg. It tries to describe reforms and policies which introduced by the military government and their own negative and positive impacts on the political and socio-economic life of the societies of the district. Furthermore, the investigation try's to access the economic activities of the peoples of the district. Lastly, the study attempts to explore the natural and cultural heritages of the district. On this it attempts to show the challenges to heritages and its contribution to the economic development of the district. In conducting this thesis, primary and secondary sources are utilized. This also try to assess archival sources from Ethiopian National Archival and Library Agency. In addition, interviews took place through selecting informants in different parts of the study area. The collected data were systematically organized, analyzed and interpreted so as to write a history of Mojana Wädära District.

Preface

This thesis tries to reconstruct a history of Mojana Wädära district from 1865 to the removal of *Därg* regime in 1991. The thesis comprises five chapters. The first chapter is concerned with the geographical setting and historical background of the district before 1865. The second chapter deals with the history of the district from 1865 to 1941. It briefly describes the deed of Menelik, political and socio-economic system of the district as well as the patriotic resistance movement in the Italian occupation period. The third Chapter emphasizes on discussing the major issues from 1941 to 1974. It describes the administration, land reform and taxation systems in the period. Chapter four attempts to describe the main reforms after 1974 to 1991. It states various reforms of the *Därg* government such as political reforms, land reforms, peasant association, cooperatives and villagization. It also tries to reveal the socio-economic developments of the district. The last chapter tries to access the natural and historical heritages of the district.

Oral sources and written materials were used to reconstruct a history of the district. The study largely depended on oral information that were collected from local elders. Because the majority archival sources which essential for the study are destroyed when the district had been merged with Ṭarmabär district in 1996. The archival materials also damaged by carelessness of the district administration. So to write this thesis, written documents have been used to support the collected oral sources. Moreover, the researcher have been taken various steps to avoid problems when using oral sources such as selected knowledgeable informants and use methods of data collection. Cross-check and evaluating oral sources with the existing document also another step to write the thesis. The other problem to use oral sources is involuntary of some informants to provide what they know. Financial constraints also influenced to study the district in proper way. Comprehensive study is not carried out about the history of Mojana Wädära. Except few areas like soil conservation, cultural heritages, Monasteries and Churches, most parts of the district are not studied. Therefore, the aim of this study is to reveal the history of political, social and economic facts of the district and to fill the main gap by reconstructing the history of cultural heritages, Monastery, Church and the town of Säladingay. Regardless of its investigation, the work is not comprehensive. However, I hope that it may open the way and provide hints for other historians who may be interested to investigate the history of the district.

CHAPTER ONE

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DISTRICT

1.1. Geographical Setting

Ethiopia has been organized in the form of federal, regional, zonal, wäräda (district) and *käbälé* administrative structure since 1991.¹ Mojana Wädära district is one of the twenty-four district which located in the present day North Shoa zone of the Amhara regional state of Ethiopia. The capital of the district is called Säla-Dingay. The center of the district is found at a distance of 202 kilometers north of Addis Ababa, and 767 kilometers east of Bahir Dar, the regional capital of Amhara. It is far from 72 kilometers north of Debre Berhan, the administrative capital of North Shoa Zone. It is bounded by the districts of Mänz Mama in the north and Basona Wärana in south and west front. In the east, it is bordered with the district of Ṭarmabär. It also bordered with Mänz Lalo and Mänz Qäya Gäbreal districts in North West front.²

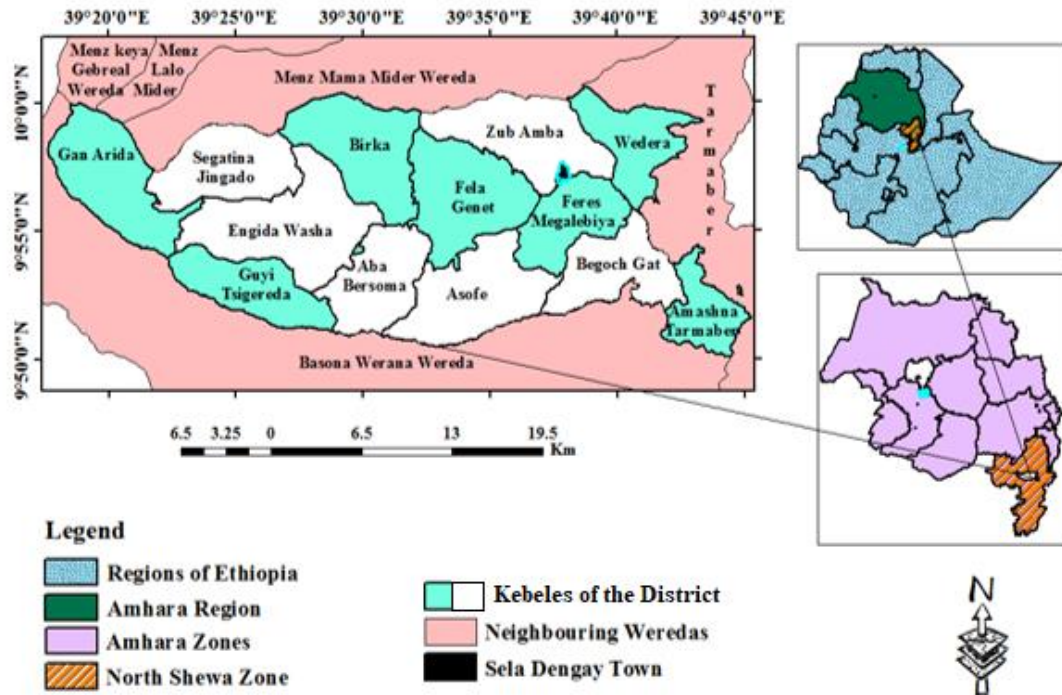
According to the document of the district's Statistical bulletin in 2008, the territorial extent of the district of Mojana Wodära is estimated around 62,200 hectares, of which 15,156.27 hectares of the land is used to agriculture. From this agricultural land about 14,938.27 hectares for crop production, 164 hectares for vegetable and 54 hectares for plantation. From the total land of the district about 9624 hectares is served as grazing land and the remaining hectares of the lands are covered by different bushes, mountain, rivers and others.³

¹Merera Gudina, *Ethiopia: Completing Ethnic Nationalism and the Question for Democracy, 1960-2000*, (Addis Ababa: Chamber Printing House, 2003), p.147.

²Dawit, p.1 and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiyä Şehfät Bét* (The Communication Office of Mojana Wädära District), "Millennium Mojana Wädära *Wäräda: Sägänät Mäşhet* (Balcony Bulletin in Millennium Mojana Wädära District)", (Säladingay, 2000 EC), p.3.

³Geremew Birhane, "Cultural Heritage Management in the Town of Seladingay and Its Surround Area" (BA Thesis, History and Heritage Management: Debre Berhan University, 2019), p.11 and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiyä Şehfät Bét ...*, p.3.

Map 1.1. The Map of Mojana Wädära District in North Shoa Zone, Amhara Region, Central Ethiopia.



Source; Administrative Office of the District

According to the administrative arrangement of 2002, the district has 15 *käbälés*. From these, 13 *käbälés* are rural while the remaining of 2 *käbälés* are small towns. Säldingay and Sasit are the small town of the district. The rural *käbälés* of the district are Amaša Tarmabär, Bägoç Gat (now Aläm Ṭéna), Färäs Mägaläbiya, Aysofé, Wädära, Zub Amba, Fila Gänät, Berqa, Aba Bärsoma, Guy Şegéräda, Ineged Waša, Sägat Žhenegodo and Gan Arada.⁴

The topographic feature of the district is 7.4% valley, 35.9% plain and 53% hilly. The rest of around 3.7% of the district are covered by mountain, plateau and cliff. Therefore, the district is mostly dominated by hilly and plain respectively. These diversified types of the landforms of the district are vulnerable to environmental degradation. The landscapes in the district of Mojana Wädära had been severely eroded by both of manmade and environmental factors in the past. It

⁴Mojana Wodära Wäräda Asetädadär Tsefät bét, “Plan commission Yälemat Iqed Ketetelna Gemegäma”, (2012 E.C), p.1, and Mojana Wodära Wäräda Communication Office, “Sägänät”, Yä Akababi Hétmät, No. 2, (December, 2011 E.C), p.3.

was characterized by the absence of sustainable use of the existing land resources or over-utilization of land resources without rehabilitating the degraded lands. The environmental degradation of the district is affected the production of crops. It also becomes a factor for deforestation.⁵

The district is surrounded by Mofär Wuha and Gado River in the north and in the south west directions respectively.⁶ The major river valleys that flow across the district are Käsekaš and Aysärawem. The river of Käsekaš is originated around Wof Waša forest region in the neighboring district of Ṭarmabär. It flows to the westward and then joins to the big river, Mofär wuha. The second river, Aysärawem is originates from the district. It flows to south westward and joins to Gado River. The rivers of Mofär Wuha and Gado are the tributaries of the Adabay River. Adabay is one of the tributaries of the river of Abay. Both Aysärawem and Käsekaš Rivers are flooding throughout a year. However, the amount of flooding water is fluctuated, i.e., in *kerämet* season their amount is increase, whereas decrease in dry seasons. The river of Aysärawem provide irrigation service for the peoples who settled around it. The settlers build a dam on Aysärawem River and they use it to produce different kinds of crops and vegetables with the absence of rainfall in dry season.⁷

The highest mountain in Mojana Wädära is Tarmabär Mountain which located within Amaša Tarmabär *käbälé*. Italy planted a radio connection on the northern edge of the mountain. In recent period, in time of building a new road that extended from Kombolca to Ṭarmabär, the constructor of the road called the *Diragdos* Road Construction Organization was also planted and used a satellite connection on the top of the mountain. Moreover, the mountain served as the habitation of many wild-animal species like Baboons and Waleya since ancient period. Now a day, it so does serve as a source of power for the branch of *Amhara Mass Media Agency* in Däbrä Berhan FM Radio Distribution Service Institution. So as to get this service, a high generating power has built on the top of Ṭarmabär Mountain.⁸

⁵*Ibid* and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét ...*, p.3.

⁶ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.18, File No. 17.1.3.18.03, Ref. No.

⁷Informants: Ešätu Awäkä and Woldä Giyorgis.

⁸Täklä Sadiq Mäkuriya, *Yä Iteyopeya Tarik: Kä Asé Lebenä Denegle Eskä Asé Tewodros* ('The History of Ethiopia from Emperor Lebenä Dengel to Emperor Téwodros'), 4th Edition, (Addis Ababa, 1961), p.363 and Wäsän Däbäbä and etal, "Mojana Wädära *Neged Teritna* Exhibition *Bazar Mäsehét* ('Mojana Wädära Trade Sights and Exhibition Bazaar Bulletin ')) (Säladingay, *Ter 17*, 2006 E.C.), p.20.

Astronomically, Mojana Wädära is located between 9°50'0''-10°0'0'' North latitudes, and between 39°20'0''-39°45'0'' East longitudes. The elevation of the district ranges between 1459 and 3172 meters above sea level. Altitude is the most important factor that affects differences in climatic conditions with in Ethiopia. As a result of the impact of altitude, Mojana Wädära district has three major agro-climatic zones: *Däga* (high altitude), *Wäyna Däga* (temperate or moderate altitude) and *Qolla* (lowland with hot climate), which comprise about 3%, 69% and 28% of the area of the district respectively. Predominantly the district has conducive climatic conditions of *wäyena däga*. These ecological variations of the district create an opportunity to grow a variety of crops and as well as to breeding livestock. The annual temperature of the district has minimum of 10°C and maximum of 18°C.⁹

Depending on the existing data, the district obtained adequate rainfall similar to other region of Ethiopia in the main rainy season of *Kerämet* (summer) from the month, June to August. It also receives some amount of rainfall in *Bäleg* season from March to May. In general, its amount of mean annual rainfall ranges from 800 to 1000 mm. Like other parts of North Shoa zone, the amount of rainfall is adequate to produce different types of crops and breeding of livestock as well as growing of vegetation's in the district of Mojana Wädära.¹⁰

The main types of soil found in the district are red soil (11.7%), black soil (vertisol) (46.1%), gray soil (6.3%), brown soil (Vito sols) (35.9%), and other soils. As it indicates most of the areas in the *däga* agro-ecology have brown soil whereas *qolla* areas have both brown soil and red soil. These agro-climatic conditions and soil types of the district are expediential to produce various kind of crops and rearing of livestock.¹¹

Ethnically, the population of the district is not more diversified. Based on the existing data in 2007, 99% of its dwellers were *Amhara*. The majority of these were locally native and other few were coming from other regions who had employed in different institutions. The remaining 1% of the residents were Oromo and *Tigrian* ethnic groups in the district. Oromo and *Tigrian* ethnic groups are come over to the district from other regions for the purpose of job. Therefore, *Amhara* is the

⁹ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.18, File No. 17.1.3.18.03, Ref. No., Dawit, pp.1-3 and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét...*, p.3.

¹⁰Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét...*, p.5.

¹¹*Ibid.*

majority ethnic groups in the district of Mojana Wädära. All most all, the major spoken language in the district is Amharic.¹² According to 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia, the total population number of the district was 88, 585 of which 44,504 were male and 44,081 were female. From the total population of the district, 85,903 inhabit in rural areas and 2,682 were urban dwellers.¹³ Regarding to religion, diversified believers has not been existing in the district. Thus, the majority peoples were/are the Orthodox Christian believers. Out of the total population of the district, around 88,497 (99.9%) were/are the followers of Orthodox Christianity. The remaining around 88 (0.1%) were/are the followers of Islamic and protestant religion.¹⁴ From we observed in relation to religious institution, around 122 building of Churches are found under Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwahedo* Church in the district. Of which eleven and seventeen are Monasteries and *Adebarat* respectively. The remaining 92 institutions are small Churches of the district. However, Islamic or protestant institutions are not found in the district.¹⁵

Like to other districts of North Shoa zone, the Mojana Wädära people's economic activity has been mainly based on agriculture.¹⁶ By using available natural resources and conducive climatic conditions, the farmers of the district were/are taking part in farming to produce different kinds of crops and to breeding domestic animals. The major type of crops that cultivated in the district of Mojana Wädära are; wheat, barley, *téff*, chick pea, bean, pea, lentil, sorghum and millet.¹⁷

The district is well known by producing lentil crop in mostly around *Wäyna däga* climatic zone. It also the major supplier of lentil crop to other town than the districts which located within North Shoa zone. Millet and sorghum are mainly produced in *qolla* areas. Barley is mostly cultivated in *däga* climatic zone of the district, particularly in Amaša Ṭarmabär *käbälé*. Moreover, the settlers are taking part in cultivating vegetables like tomato, carrot, onion, etc. and fruits like lemon, orange and others. The farmers produce these agricultural products through the use of rainfall in *kerämet* (summer) and *bälg* (spring) season. They also produce through irrigational activity by using rivers

¹²Ibid, p.5 and Geremew, p.12.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Geremew, p.13.

¹⁵Wäsän, p.14 and Informants: Hailu and Zäwdu

¹⁶ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.18, File No. 17.1.3.18.03, Ref. No.

¹⁷Isenberg and Krapf, *Journal of C.W. Isenberg of J.L. Krapf: Detailing their Proceeding in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journey in Other Parts of Abyssinia in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842*, (London, 1843), p.38 and Geremew, p.13.

and streams of the district. Besides agriculture, trade is the second economic activity of the district. The peoples who participate in this activity are particularly the dwellers in Säladingay and Sasit town, and Tarmabär *käbälé*. The *käbälé* of Tarmabär is a place where butter and thyme (*ṭoseñ*) supplied to market from year to year in all time.¹⁸ *Ṭéff* and lentil crop products are supplied to market in Sasit with in a weak. Nevertheless, around 86% of the large part of the settlers of the district are mainly depend on agriculture.¹⁹

The livestock's which breeding by the settlers in the districts are; cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, mules and horses. The various crops and animal products from the district are used at home and the surplus products after consumption in the area are often brought to markets. Mojana Wädära has possessed a variety of species compositions with the major vegetation type and has been a home of a variety of wild animals. *Eucalyptus tree (Bahir Zaf)*, Juniper, *Wäyera*, *Wanza*, *Warka*, Acacia and other indigenous species are observed in the district.²⁰ In the district, large amount of forest is mainly found in Bägoc Gat and Amaša Ṭarmabär *käbälés*. Due to the existence of large forest, Mojana Wädära is the home of wild animals such as Monkey, Baboons, Tiger, Fox, Säse (*Klips Pringer*), and Hyenas. These wild animals could be considered as the natural heritages of the district even though they are currently endanger of extinction due to deforestation and wildlife hunting. Majority of the indigenous tree species have been gradually reduced as a result of frequent cutting of forests for crop cultivation, firewood, making charcoal, building of houses and fences for residence houses. This clearing and burning of plants has led to soil erosion and environmental degradation.²¹

Regarding to infrastructure especially prior to 2005, Mojana Wädära was poor similar to other districts in North Shoa Zone. Road transportation, water supply and electric light were the main problems of infrastructure in the district. There is no asphalt road in the district except the major road transport that passed through Amaša Tarmabär *käbälé* on the line from Addis Ababa to Däsé. The major road transport that is built in the district links the two towns, Säladingay and Sasit, and Amaša Tarmabär *käbälé*. It is a gravel road. Cleared road are build that link different *käbälés* in

¹⁸ Dawit, pp.37-38, Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiyä Şehfät Bét...*, p.5 and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda* Government Communication Affairs Office, "Sägänät": Domestic Magazine's, (Säladingay, Mäsekäräm, 2008 E.C), pp.7-10.

¹⁹ Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiyä Şehfät Bét...*, p.7.

²⁰ Isenberg and Krapf, pp.287-88 and Wäsän, p.20 and Informant: Ešätu.

²¹ Wäsän, p.20 and Informant: Eshetu.

the district, but most of them are not comfortable and use in summer seasons. Clear water supply is only limited in the towns, so the majority peoples are forced to use pool, streams and rivers. As a result, it becomes a factor for water borne diseases due to water pollution. Though the center of most *kābālēs'* in the district could become the user of electric light in 24 hours, it is interrupted unexpectedly, especially in rainy seasons.²² These conditions affected mainly peoples who took part in fields of baker, metal work, mill and wood works in the district, particularly in the towns.²³

1.2. Historical Background of the District

Since 1270 in medieval period, the king of Ethiopia did not have a permanent seat of power. It was one of the feature of medieval period in Ethiopian history up to the establishment of Gondär as a permanent capital for the kingdom in 1636. Instead, the kings lived in moving capitals from region to regions. They move around in various parts of their domains escorted by their court officials and soldiers with the purposes to have to get firewood, provision and, to check and control rebellions in different regions of the empire. Yekuno Amlak, and his son and grandson were substituted one after the other with their throne and power. They controlled and consolidated their power by moving their camp in different places of Shoa plateau. The emperors of the Middle Age had to be preferred the Shoa plateau to established their center of court at the top of hill and mountain. They considered that the land forms of Shoa had been significant to look up and defend their rivalry.²⁴

Shoa was the major and central state in Ethiopia Empire. It was the owner of historical achievements that accomplished in medieval period of Ethiopian history. The topographic features of Shoa is most of undulation. The province is surrounded by mountains and its mainland also covered by mountainous features that link up among each other as a chain.²⁵ Moreover, its land is cover by inclined plane. More than this, the province is crisscrossed by many rivers that originated from the top of the mountains and hilltop. As a result, it is difficult to moving from one place to other. During the Medieval period of Ethiopian history, the province of Shoa was bordered by Wollo in the north, Awaš in the east and Beruk Mountain in the south. Its province was extended

²²Wäsän, p.4 and informants; Hailu Nägäsä and Mulunäš Yelma

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Bahru Zewde, *A Short History of Ethiopia and the Horn*, (Addis Ababa, 1998), p.60, Täklä Sadiq Mäkuriya, *Yä Iteyopeya Tarik: Kä Asé Libenä Denegle Eskä Asé Tewodros-----*, p.347 and Dawit, p.4.

²⁵Zemene Work Yohannis, "A History of Ankober (17th Century to 1991)", (MA Thesis, Debre Birhan University: History and heritage Management, 2013), pp.27-28.

to the province of Guragé from south west front. At the time Shoa was divided in to 12 *Awurajas* such as Ansokiya, Yeferata, Gedem, Mänz, Géça, Doba, Mära bété, Morät, Tägulät, Wägeda, Bulga and Tāran. They had their own hereditary chiefs. In Middle Ages, Tägulät and Däbrä Berhan were served as a capital center for the country in the 13th and 15th centuries respectively.²⁶

When the Amhara ruling class, Yekuno Amlak had taken political power from Zaguwé around 1270, the political center of Ethiopia was transferred from Lasta to Shoa. He considered that his line of descent would be linked to the family of Aksumite kings. Due to this, Yekuno Amlak had believed to be restored the ‘Solomonic’ dynasty. But Yekuno Amlak did not returned to the ancient and his father’s town of Aksum with two reasons. The first one was that he afraid the family of Agäw who dissatisfied the shift of the throne to Shoa and the *Fälashas* who desired to take the throne. The second reason was that the region of Shoa treated Yekuno Amlak and his followers in time of enjoyment and hardship scene. Yekuno Amlak perceived that Shoa also contributed for Amhara ruling class to have taken away the throne from Zaguwé rulers in 1270. As a result, he did not want to leave out the region of Shoa. During this time, Emperor Yekuno Amlak (1270-1287) used Tägulät as a political camp and he gave his administrative service from there. He established a court around Tägulät Dägu/Däbrä Berhan Dägu, now it is called Säladingay in Mojana Wädära.²⁷

According to Ereqyehun in *the history of Ethiopia-----*, before he came to power, Yekuno Amlak was able to visit various places in the province of Shoa with the guidance of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot*. By moving from one region to another, *Abunä Täklä Haymanot* could familiarize Yekuno Amlak with the noble of Shoan kingdom. Nevertheless, Yekuno Amlak usually passed his life in the region of Tägulät. When he had been crowned as an emperor, Yekuno Amlak was anointed by *Abunä Täklä Haymanot* in Tägulät. He also put his court at a place where he crowned. He started the Shoan dynasty and also he ruled the Chrstian high land kingdom of Ethiopia by seating his throne in Tägulät for about 15 years. He constructed a Church in Tägulät with in the province of Shoa.²⁸ All his descent successors, who ascended to the throne to govern the country of Ethiopia, established their court in Shoa especially in Tägulät, Däbrä Berhan, Yefat, Ansokiya,

²⁶Ereqyehun Bälaynä, *Yä Ityopya Tarik: Kä Imam Ahmed Eske Até Téwodros*, (Addis Ababa: HY International Printing PLC, 2006 EC), pp.49-50.

²⁷*Ibid.* and Feseha Yazé Kasa, *Yä Ityopiya Yä Amest Ši Amät Tarik: Kä Noh Isekä Iheadég* (‘A Five Thousand Year History of Ethiopia: From Noh to EPRDF’), (Addis Ababa: Alfa Printing Press, 2003 EC. /2011), p.226.

²⁸Ereqyehun, pp.32-41.

Šänkora, Mänz, Yärär and other high lands from around 1270 up to the war of Imam Ahmad in the 16th century. In the 16th century, the court of the emperor was transferred from Shoan Plateau to Gondär as a result of the war of Imam Ahmed.²⁹

According to the Journal of Isenberg and Krampf, Tägulät was the residence of the Ethiopian and Shoan rulers between 13th to 16th centuries. The land of Tägulät is bounded by Bärésa River, near Däbrä Berhan and Çaçä River, near Angollala from south west and Mofär Wuha River in the north. It also extended to Tarmbär Mountain and Morät from the direction of east and west respectively. “This region forms the principal part of Shoa, and was situated exactly in the center of the whole Shoan kingdom.” Tägulät, the ancient capital city of Shoa, is built at the foot of the mountain. The land forms of Tägulät’s are undulation, inclined plane, hilly and mountainous. With high steeps and banks, various torrents also formed in the region around Tägulät. The nature of the region is dangerous spot to traveling. There are a few of accessible roads for men and animals in ascending the hills, which are separated from each other by these tremendous torrents.³⁰

After Yekuno Amlak, the kings such as Zära Ya’eqob, Bä’edä Mariam, and Na’od established their court in Tägulät around in areas of Säladingay and Däbrä Metemaq. By setting their political center in Tägulät, they abled to led the Empire and had given an efficient administration service to whom they governed. It was interesting note that when he stayed in Tägulät, Zära Ya’eqob was did many significant historical events in the region. The foundation of Däbrä Metemaq Sadiqané Mariam Monastery and the Council of Däbrä Metemaq were an example of his accomplishment in the province of Tägulät.³¹

Zära Ya’eqob (1434-1468) established Däbrä Metemaq Sadiqané Mariam Monastery in the province of Tägulät, now in Mojana Wädära district. During his reign, Turkey was the contemporary most power full Muslim Sultanate of the world. Turks made a disastrous invasion over the Egyptian Christians. With the invasion large numbers of Christian were persecuted in Egypt. More than this, Turks burnt many Churches and Monasteries in Egypt. One of the Church that burned by Turkey was the Church of Däbrä Metemaq in Egypt. Before it was burning, the clergy, monks and priests of the institution hide the Ark of St. Marry and other holy materials of

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Isenberg and Kraph, pp.279-89.

³¹Mojana Wädära Communication Office, “Magazines of Mojana Wädära Säladingay” -----, p.35.

the church. To long protection from their enemy, however, the monks of the period; *Aba Michael* and *Aba Gabriel* with their large followers brought the Ark of St. Marry and holy materials to Ethiopia via Sudan. Then the Monks handed over the Ark to *Zara Ya'eqob*.³²

Following this, *Zara Ya'eqob* searching a convenient place to put the Ark. Finally, he selected the province of *Tägulät*, near to the town of *Säladingay*. Then *Zära Ya'eqob* had onstructed a Church in there. He named the Church with the name to be called *Däbrä Metemaq* so as to remark its forename in Egypt. Because it was amazing that the name of the Church was *Däbrä Metemaq* when the Ark was in Egypt. Thus, from this we can understand that the place where the Church to be build obtained the name *Däbrä Metemaq* after the coming of the Ark and building of the Church. With that coincidence *Zära Ya'eqob* conducted a Church council in *Däbrä Metemaq* by 1450.³³

The second historical event that accomplished by *Zära Ya'eqob* was the Council of *Däbrä Metemaq*. There was a long period of religious controversy on the question of Sabbath between the house of *Ewoṣṭatéwos* and the house of Anti Sabbath/Anti-*Ewoṣṭatéwos* who were the bishops of Egyptian and their follower monks in Ethiopian monasteries.³⁴ According to *Tadesse Tamrat*, “the origins of *Ewoṣṭatéwos* (1237-1352) is not clear but he was the nephew of *Abba Daniel* of *Gäralta---*”³⁵. *Ewoṣṭatéwos* was the leader of Orthodox *Täwahedo* in the early period of the Solomonic dynasty. He was strongly taught about the observation of the Sabbath in Christianity. His followers were known as the house of *Ewoṣṭatéwos*. *Ewoṣṭatéwos* was taught and professed monk by his uncle, *Daniel*. After he become to be a monk, *Ewoṣṭatéwos* set up his own monastery in *Sära'é*. There he attracted a large number of pupils and he strongly explained his view about the observance of Sabbath to them until the arrival of *Abunä Ya'eqob* who opposed to his view. The view of *Ewoṣṭatéwos* on Sabbath was that it should be observed both Saturday and Sunday.³⁶

Thereafter, *Ewoṣṭatewos* with some of his disciples left the country as a result of religious controversies in Ethiopia. First he went to Cairo where he met Patriarch *Benjamin* (1327-39). He

³²*Mojana Wädära Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét----*, p. 14, *Samuel Täsefayé, Yä Zära Ya'eqob Emäbét Sadiqané Qedest Mareyam*, Sec. Edition, No. 2, (Addis Ababa: *Akotét* Printing Press, *Mägabit* 2006 EC.), pp.6-5 and *Dawit*, p.4.

³³*Samuel Täsefayé*, p.7.

³⁴*Andualäm Ermeyas, Mäşehafü Berhan ('The Light Book')*, (Addis Ababa: *Mahebärä Qedusan*, 2018), pp.17-18.

³⁵ *Tadesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp.206-207.

³⁶*Ibid.*

defended his position by resorting to the Ten Commandments and to the Apostolic Canon. He had no good reception in Egypt. Soon afterwards, via Jerusalem Ewostatéwos marched to Cyprus and then to Armenia where he passed away 14 years later. After his death, his followers who went to Armenia returned to Ethiopia. After they returned, his followers powerfully defended the outlook of their teacher on Sabbath. They came back with strong position on the subject. All members of the 'house' of Ewostatéwos rejected receiving of Holy Orders from the hands of the Egyptian bishop. As a result, they were condemned, persecuted and expelled in to frontier areas by the opponents of Ewostatéwos. In the later, king Dawit gave a permission to Ewostatéwos to observe the Sabbath and freedom from persecution at the end of the 14 century.³⁷

Dawit also ordered them to accept the holy order. However, he maintained the Alexandrian position on the Sabbath both in the royal court and in all the non Ewostatéwos churches. But with this measurement, King Dawit did not bring a permanent solution to the problem of their disputes. The son of Dawit, King Zära- Ya'eqob (1434-68) understood the conflict in its true nature as a national movement. The coming of Zära Ya'eqob to power was an opportunity to the reorganization of the institution of the church. He perceived the role of the church to strength the kingdom. The first attention of Zära Ya'eqob was inclined to overcome an internal conflict among the Ethiopian clergy and to create a perfect union with in the church.³⁸ As to the understanding of Zära Ya'eqob, “the hottest issue that had divided the clergy for as long as he could remember was that of the Sabbath.”³⁹ Zära Ya'eqob had close association with the pro-Sabbath party and as to that he was supported by them when he was rising to power in 1434. To this in turn, he permitted the observance of the Sabbath in the Ethiopian church. During this time, Egyptian bishops was the only party that opposed the observance of the Sabbath. The two Egyptian bishops, *Abba* Michael and *Abba* Gabriel were replaced on the Egyptian bishop of Bärtäломéwos (1399-1436) in 1438.⁴⁰

Initially, the two bishops were standing to oppose the persuasion of the kings. Then the king clearly expressed his positive feeling to the observance of Sabbath and about his harmonious relations with the house of Ewostatéwos. Long prior the bishops of Egypt, Zära Ya'eqob had made peace with Ewostatéwos. In 1442 discussions and debates were held in various levels about their

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp.209-212.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp.214-217.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 219-228 and Andualäm, pp.17-18

religious controversy. However, the problem was permanently and completely settled by the efforts of Zära Ya'eqob.⁴¹ Zära Ya'eqob convened a council in North Shoa around Säladıngay at Däbrä Metemaq to overcome the religious problem that rise from the question of Sabbath with in Ethiopian Orthodox Church in 1450.⁴² The meeting was come to be known as “The Council of Däbrä Meṭemaq.” In this council, the major participants were the two bishops of Egypt, the followers of Ewoṣtatéwos, and the abbots of the leading monasteries.⁴³

The debate that carried out between Egyptian bishops and the followers of Ewoṣtatéwos had already been ended in the previous years. Therefore, they mainly summoned to reconcile the Ewoṣtathians with the Egyptian bishops and their followers in Ethiopia. The agreement that to be made in the council was that of the bishops formally recognized the observance of Sabbath in the Orthodox church of Ethiopia. Secondly, the Ewoṣtathians were agreed to receive Holy orders from the Egyptian bishop. Abba Michael and Abba Gabriel themselves also agreed to observe the two Sabbaths, Saturday and Sunday.⁴⁴ At the council, they also discussed a number of other doctrinal issues. Zare'a-Ya'eqob mentions the questions of 'the Persons of the Holy Trinity and the Unity of God'. Because at that time, the intellect taught the heresies doctrine in which the “Holy Trinity” had no three body. The heretics were called *Zemicha'elawyan*. After discussion, based on the instruction of the Orthodox Church, the heresies teaching of *Zemicha'elawyan* was excommunicated by the council. Generally, he brought a complete settlement for a religious controversy that had divided the Church of Ethiopia for over a century. In other word, he played a decisive role to bring the unity of Ethiopian Church.⁴⁵

As mentioned before, beginning from Yekuno Amlak to the reign of Lebnä Dengel (1508-1540), all emperors set up their court center in the province of Shoa. Lebnä Dengel, however, shifted the center of the kingdom from Shoa to north of Abbay around Gojjam and Bägémeder in the 16th century. Between the ninth and the twelfth century, Christianity and Islamic as well as other religion expanded side by side in northern Showa region. The spread of Islam in Ethiopia, however, was peaceful until the rise of Imam Ahmad who used military means to make mass conversion to

⁴¹Tadesse Tamrat, pp.229-230.

⁴²Daneal Kebrät, *Yäbätäkerstıyan Märäjawoç* ('Sources of Churches'), Second Edition, (Addis Ababa: Mahebärrä Qedusan, 2020), p.74.

⁴³Tadesse Tamrat, pp.229-230.

⁴⁴*Ibid*, Andualäm, p.17-18, and Daniel, p.74.

⁴⁵*Ibid*.

Islam.⁴⁶ There was a long period of rivalry between the Christian kingdom and Muslim sultanates to control trade and trade routes from 13th to 16th centuries. Until the death of Zära Ya'eqob, the Christian forces were able to defend and become superior over Muslim forces. In the later, however, Imam Ahmed who was the leader of Muslim forces defeated the force of Christians, led by Lebnä Dengel after fighting in different places.⁴⁷

The force of Imam Ahmed was able to score a victory in various battles in the high land of Shoa. These conflicts resulted in a series of battles and raids. The destruction caused by Imam Ahmad created long lasting injuries along large villages of the present north Shoa zone, as it spread unexpected fear and terror. Following these, Lebnä Dengel, who unable to withstand Imam Ahmed, was left the province of Shoa and forced to move north of Abbay via Wollo and Amhra Saint. As a result, all the south east territories of Shoa came under the control of Imam Ahmed.⁴⁸

As expressed by Isenberg and Kraph on the Journal, the natural condition of the regions of Tägülät (now part of Mojana Wädära) and around were not open an opportunity to the force of Adal that led by Imam Ahmed to control its part of the territory. Thus, the forces of Adal were always disappointed by that of those who could not be taking that part of the Shoa.⁴⁹ As stated by my informants, however, the army of Imam Ahmed was invaded Tägülät and they burnt many Churches and Monasteries in that territory.⁵⁰

The conflict between the Christian kingdom and Muslim sultanates of the 16th century was followed by further conflict between the Oromo population and the Christian kingdom over land resources. The power of Christian kingdom was weakened and then obligated to shift its center north of Abbay by the war of Imam Ahmed. This event unlocked a chance to the Oromo population movement. The Oromo cavalry occupied the land of Shoa without much difficulty. "The Oromo of this time were known for their animal husbandry and the insignificant area of land that they ploughed. The farming activity among them was very limited in extent; only the hill or mountain

⁴⁶Bekele Tamrie, "A History of Tarmabär Woräda (North Shewa) 1941 – 1991" (MA Thesis: Bahir Dar University, 2014), pp.11-13 and Tämäsegän, p.18.

⁴⁷Ṭelahun Berhanä Selassie, *Yä hayañaw Kefelä Zämän: Iteyopeya (The 20th Century: Ethiopia), From 1900-1966 EC*, 1st Edition, (Addis Ababa, 1996 EC/2003/4), p.II; Ereqyehun, pp.80-87, Feseha Yazé, *The Five Thousand Years history of Ethiopia*----, pp.280-88 and Täklä Sadiq Mäkuriya, *The History of Ethiopia from Lebnä Dengel to Téwodros*----, pp.49-54.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Isenberg and Kraph, p.279.

⁵⁰Informants: Berhanu and Wändafäräw.

sides near villages were used for producing cereals, mainly barley and wheat. The rest of the vast fields were left to the herds.”⁵¹

According to the explanation of Isenberg and Krapf, the Oromo took possession of some parts of Tägulät. The mountain of Tarmabär, parts of Täguät and around it came under the control of Karaioo, one clan of Oromo. “Hence, the descendants of Karaioo, who were then divided into several other sub clans possessed all the countries in the east of Tarmabär and north-east of Ankobär as far as the territories of the Adals or Danakils.”⁵² Moreover, three Oromo tribe chiefs; Hamté, Berré and Hoolosffe occupied the region of Wädära and around it. But the rulers of Shoa, Ammaha-Yäsus and Asfa-Wossän had took away Wädära from the possession of Oromo chieftains. As understood from this they lose their possessions of the land after carried out harsh war with the kings of Shoa. However, most parts of Tägulät were not become under the control of Oromo cavalry as a result of its natural condition of the territory.⁵³

When Lebnä Dengel had been left the kingdom of Shoa, he was abandoning one of his son, Ya’eqob in Mänz. Until the defeat of Imam Ahmad by Gälawdéwos, Ya’eqob had live by moving one area to other areas in Mänz to hide himself from the army of *Grañ*. Hence, he could be the origin for the unit of Shoan nobles. Since the period of Lebnä Dengel to *Aşé* Iyasu I, Shoa did not have one dominant leader. As a result, various nobles arise in everywhere provinces with in the province of Shoa. They governed independently through dividing the province in to *Awrajas*. These nobles lived in disputes and fighting among themselves by the cause of *rist* and boundary due to the absence of one superior leader.⁵⁴

During this period, 13 *Awrajas* were formed with their own aristocracy for each. Of which one of it was Tägulät and its first aristocracy was called Yegäbawal.⁵⁵ In the later in 1695, *Asé* Iyasu Adam Sägäd came to the province of Shoa and he reconciled the aristocracy who were in contentious. Thereafter, he ordered *Abéto* Nägasi Kirstos Worädä Qal to fight against the Oromo

⁵¹Dechasa Abebe, “A Socio-Economic History of North Shewa, Ethiopia (1880s-1935)”, (History, PhD Dissertation: South Africa University, 2015), p.51. (Available at http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/19891/thesis_demisie_da.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, retrieved on 19/08/2021).

⁵²Isenberg and Krapf, p.285.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp.297-98.

⁵⁴Ereqyehun, p.93 and Täklä Sadiq Mäkuriya, *The History of Ethiopia from Lebnä Dengel to Téwodros---*, pp.50-52 and 349-350.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

who entered to the interior of Shoa. According to Täklä Sadiq Mäkuriya expression on the book of *Ethiopian History from Emperor Lebnä Dengel to Emperor Téwodros*, the lineage of Nägasi Kirstos was directly came from Lebnä dengel through the genealogy of Ya'eqob. Nägasi Kirstos (1696-1703) founded the dynasty of Shoa at a center called Mänz in 1696.⁵⁶

After Iyasu returned to his capital of Gondär, Nägasi Kirstos fought against the Oromo and restored the lands up to Tarmabär and Rodi that overrun by the Oromo. He set up the town of Ayné and constructed the Church of St. Mariam in this town. Then he produced various kind of cereals by ploughing the farm lands in Jegéna and Däbo. Nägasi Kirstos gathered the army through enticement of feeding and he abled to govern his province effectively.⁵⁷ Following and after Nägasi, the governors who ruled the Kingdom of Shoa were; *Abéto Sebsté* (1703-1720), *Märd Azemç Abeyé* (1720-1745), *Märd Azemç Amha Yäsus* (1745-1775), *Märd Azmaç Asfa Wossän* (1775-1808), *Ras Wossän Sägäd* (1808-1813), King Sahlä Selassie (1813-1847, King Haylä Mäläkot (1847-1855) and King Menelik (1865-1889).⁵⁸

These Shoan rulers had a tradition of give up a churches and towns that established by their predecessors. Therefore, they had a common deed of building a new church that called with their name and set up a new town for their administration center. In other words, Shäwan rulers were forced to change capitals one after the other. Prior to Menelik in 18th and 19th centuries, the capitals, which founded by those rulers, served only during the life span of one ruler. Accordingly, for instance *ras* Wosän Sägäd established a town called Qundi, near to Däbrä Berhan, at the district of Basona Wärana in 1808. The town of Säladingay, now the administrative center of Mojana Wädära district, is also founded by Wäsän Sägäd in 1812. The main reason that forced those of Shoan rulers to shift their capitals one after the other was to get better resourceful sites.⁵⁹ In addition to this, according to Ereqyehun expression, the leaders of Shoa were forced by different factors to give up their predecessor's town and establish a new one. One of this was that they demanded to obtain reliable farmlands to the court. These leaders collected huge amount of cereals through cultivating the lands. Secondly, the leaders wanted to consolidate their army to exercise full authority over the kingdom. Moreover, they needed to expand the frontier of Shoa in to the

⁵⁶Täklä Sadiq Mäkuriya, *The History of Ethiopia from Lebnä Dengel to Téwodros*----, pp.350-351.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp.352-371, Bantirga, p.20, Erqyehun, pp.162-296 and Ṭelahun Berhanä Selassie, p.9.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, and Dechasa, p.203.

neighboring lands of Oromo and Guragé. They were also eager to restore the lands that had been already occupied by Oromo.⁶⁰

The kingdom of Shoa reached its peak of power during the reign of King Sahlä Selassie (1813-1847), the grandfather of Menelik II. He established his own administrative center at Ankobär in Shoa.⁶¹ However, the birth place of Sahlä Selassie is Mojana Wädära in the province of Tägulät. He was born from his father, *ras* Wosän Sägäd and his mother, *Wäyzäro* Zänäbäwork in Seladingay town in 1796.⁶² He was baptized at Quro Gädäl Selassie which located south west of Säla-Dingay. Because, at that time, this was one of the nearest church which takes approximately one hour by travelling on foot from Säladingay. When he was at the age of twelve years old, Sahlä Selassie had been came to King of Shoa. He was the seventh king and reigned about 34 years.⁶³

Sahlä Selassie was one of the power full king of Shoa. He was able to organize an effective administration system for his kingdom. During his reign, the administration of the kingdom was sub-divided into nine provinces. These were Tägulät, Menjar, Bulga, Yefat, Gedm, Mänz, Gišé, Morät and Šäwa-Mäda.⁶⁴ Sahlä Selassie appointed his loyal governors and answerable to him to each province. By this arrangement, he assigned his mother, W/r Zänäbä Work, to administer the province of Tägulät. Zänäbä Work was descended from the nobleman of Mänz. Her mother, Wolansa was the daughter of Golé, who was the well-known noble in Mänz.⁶⁵ The seat of her government when she governed the province of Tägulät was at Säladingay town. On the western front of the town, a pretty little square hill is found. The strategical position of the hill is favorable to observe the country around to all fronts. Hence, Zänäbä Work built the Balcony (*Sägänät*) on the top of the hill and used it as a palace. The whole establishment of Zänäbä Work was arranged according to the model of the King, only on a smaller scale. When she was the governor of the province of Tägulät, *Wäyzäro* Zänäbä Work was living in the Balcony.⁶⁶

⁶⁰*ibid.*

⁶¹Bahru Zäwdé (2002), p.120, Isenberg and Kraph, p.87 and Dawit, p.5.

⁶²Ṭelahun Berhanä Selassie, p.9.

⁶³Ereqhun, pp.242-43, Isenberg and Kraph, p.87 and Dawit, p.5.

⁶⁴Zämänä Work Yohannes, p.36.

⁶⁵Isenberg and Kraph, p.299 and Ereqyehun, p.242.

⁶⁶Isenberg and Kraph, pp.292-96 and Major W. Cornwallis Harris, *The highland s of Ethiopia*, Second Edition, V. III, (London: Longmans, Brown and Green, California University, 1844), pp.28-30.

She ruled nearly half of Shoa parts of the North West, in a very independent manner. Although she became the most influential person in the kingdom, Zänäbä Work was under the domination of her son. She was loyal to and accepted any command from her son, Sahelä Selassie. Based on this hierarchical arrangement, Zänäbäwork appointed her own governors with the support and approval of the king. She did not take military campaign but she had an obligation to send a contingent to the royal army. She must always keep her son in good respect. During this period, she had a number of male and female servants. She also had a great honor from the society as well as from church leaders.⁶⁷

Zänäbäwork gave a judgment to her subjects who wanted justice when they faced a problem in their territory. However, if they were dissatisfied by her decision, the peoples would go to Ankobär to get a just judgment from her son, King Sahlä Selassie. She was forbidding from participation in certain privileges which from the exclusive prerogatives of her son.⁶⁸

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

CHAPTER TWO

MOJANA WÄDÄRA DISTRICT FROM 1865-1941

2.1. The Deeds of Menelik II in Mojana Wädära

In 1865, the independence of Shoa kingdom restored. Its autonomous state was ended when Tewodros had risen to power in 1855. In 1855 Menelik was captured by Tewodros and imprisoned in Mäqdäla Mountain. After he escaped from Tewodros mountain fortress at Mäqdäla in 1865, Menelik became the king of Shoa by overthrowing Bāzabeh, one of Tewodros's governor of the province. Unlike his predecessors of Shoa rulers, Menelik founded and rebuilt several towns within two decades from 1865 to 1886, while Addis Ababa was his final destination. The town of Ankobär, Däbrä Berhan and Säladingay were rebuilt by Menelik at the end of 1870s and 1880s. During his reign, Menilek frequently moved his royal residences from one town to other in the second half of the 19th century.⁶⁹ Besides this, he tried to reconstruct the town of Ankobär, the capital of his grandfather, Sahelä Selassie. The first destination of Menilek after he escaped from Mäqdäla was Ankobär in 1865. He arrived there by the end of August (on *Nahase* 24) after defeating Bāzabeh, at Gadilo. "The rebuilding of Ankobär and Däbrä Berāhan was followed by the foundation of Entoto and other towns in the 1870s and 1880s."⁷⁰

Säladingay, formerly the residence of Sahlä Selassé's mother, was also one of the Shoa town that reconstructed by Menelik in the second half of the 19th century when his mother Ejegayehu lived there. The main factor that inspired Menelik to rebuild the town of Säla Dingay was that it had been the town of his grandfather's and grandmothers. It was also the residence of his descents. When he rebuild Säla Dingay, Menelik put his historical achievement in the town. After the foundation of Shoa dynasty, the rulers who came to power one after the other since 1696 passed their reign by putting their own historical achievements in the province of Shoa. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Menelik also contributed in many aspects for historical development in the province of Shoa, in particular and the country in general. One of his great contribution was the

⁶⁹Dechasa, p.203, Feseha Yazé, *The Five Thousand Years History of Ethiopia----*, p.424.

⁷⁰*Ibid* and Täkläşadiq Mäkurya, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik: Kä Aşé Tëwodros Eskä Qädamawi Haylä Selassie ('The History of Ethiopia from Emperor Tëwodros II to Emperor Haylä Selassie I')* (Addis Ababa: Qedus Giyorgis Printing Press, 2000), pp.86-88.

establishment of the remarkable and historical Church of *Qedus* Markos in Säladingay in 1880s. Emperor Menelik II played a great role for the establishment of the Church in this town.⁷¹

As already known until 1959, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church did not consecrate its own bishop. Therefore, from 330 to 1959 the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was depending on Alexandrian pontificate (**መንበረ ፓትሪያርክ**) in Egypt. During this period, from Pontificate *Qedus* Markos the Church of Egypt had been continuously consecrating and sending bishops for Ethiopian Orthodox Church. This brought the Ethiopian Church under the direct control of the Alexandrian Church of Egypt.⁷²

Thus, the two countries had a long lasting relationship. Based on this historical relationship:-

“አጼ ምኒልክ እስክነድርያ እናታችን ማርቆስ አባታችን እያልን ጳጳስም ከግብፅ ድረስ እያስመጣን እንዴት በሀገሪ በማርቆስ ስም የሚጠራ ቤተክርስቲያን አይኖርም በማለት ፅላቱን ከግብፅ በማስመጣት ቤተክርስቲያን መተክል አለበት ብልው አሰቡ።” ⁷³*“Emperor Menelik thought that why a Church by the name of Markos do not exist in my country, while we called Eskindria mother Markos father and brought a bishop from Mänbärä Markos in Egypt.”*

Thereafter, immediately Menelik ordered *Abunä* Matéwos to travel to Egypt and brought the Ark (*Şelat/*) of *Qedus* Markos. By showing willingness and accepting the order of the king, the *Abun* traveled to Egypt and then he discussed with duly patriarch of Egypt about the issue of his impute. His journey to Egypt was bore fruit because he became successful regarding to the aim of his voyage. Accordingly, *Abunä* Matéwos abled to bring the Ark of St. Markos to the soil of Ethiopia. Following this, until they would be find out a permanent place to build a church for the Ark, the King and the *Abun* first put the Ark at Holäta Gänät Mänagäša Mariam church. Later on, they carried away the Ark to Ankobär and decided to stay there for provisional in Afär Bayné Täklä

⁷¹Dawit, p.12, Dechasa, p.207 and Wäsän, p.35.

⁷²Berhanu Gäbrä Amanu’él and Eta I, *The Church of Ethiopia Past and Present*, (Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Enterprise, 1998), pp.11-12 and Gorgoryos (*Aba*), *Yä Iteyopeya Ortodokes Täwahedo Bätä Kirstiyan Tarik* (*The History of Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahedo Church*), Fourth Edition (Tensa’e Zäguba’e Printing Press, 1994 EC/2002), pp.21-23, Tadesse Tamirat, p.

⁷³Daneal Kibret, *Yäbétäkerstiyan Märäjawäč* (*Sources of Church*), -----, p.89 and Hadis Wäldä Iyäsus, Säladingay Kätnet Eskä Zaré ..., pp.4-5.

Haymanot Church. As a result, they gave the Ark to the clergy who live in Afär Bayné Täklä Haymanot Church.⁷⁴

Thereafter, in order to look about/choose the site where to build up the Church, *Negus* Menelik and *Abunä Matéwos* went to Tägülät, now Mojana Wädära district. After they reached there, they looked left and right around Tägülät and selected Säladingay as a favorable site to build the Church for St. Markos. There were a number of reasons for the reconstruction of Säla Dingay town and preferred it as a good place to construct the Church of Markos. The first reason was that of the suitable highland weather conditions and its topographic features. Säladingay is located in high land position and it has hilly land form as compared to the surrounding areas. Accordingly, be standing from there, the surrounding regions/districts part of Mänz, Yefat (now Tarmabär district), Bulga, Morät and Tägülät itself are visible. The second one was the existence of cleared road that able going to Mänz and the northern regions of the country. This road line is now on the way of operating to replace by better gravel as to facilitate movement of transportation from Mojana Wädära to all of Mänz districts. Thirdly, it had been the birthplace of his grandfather, Sahelä Selassie.⁷⁵ As mentioned before, King Sahelä Selassie was born in Säladingay at Beq Ameba *Säfir* (quarter).⁷⁶ Specifically, his birth place about 200 square meter has been now registered by culture and tourism bureau of the district.⁷⁷

Fourthly, the site was called the town of queen mothers (*yä wäyzärowchu kätäma*). It was the home of Sahelä Silasé's mother Wäyzäro Zänäb Wärq, Menelik's mother Wäyzäro Ejegayehu and that of Wäyzäro Bafäna, the second wife of Menelik II. Zänäbäwork stayed in the town for several years even she was the ruler of the province of Tägülät. So at that time, Säla Dingay had been served as for the residence of her. When she had lived there, Zänäbä Work built the church of Mädehani Aläm that was found between the Church of Markos and the Balcony of *w/r* Zänäbäwork. Wäyzäro Ejegayehu and *W/o* Bafäna were also live in the town.⁷⁸ Moreover, the town was the residence of *Abunä* Matewos who was the bishop of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church during the reign of Menilek II. According to tradition, Säladingay was called the town of the *Abun*

⁷⁴*Ibid*, Dawit, pp.12-13 and Wäsän, p.35.

⁷⁵Daneal, p.90 and Ṭelahun Berhanä Selassie, p.9.

⁷⁶Daneal, p.90, Dawit, pp.12-13 and informants: Berhanu and Wändafäräw.

⁷⁷Informant: Şäga Work Alämu.

⁷⁸Daneal, p.90, Dechasa, p.207 and informants: Berhanu and Wändafäräw.

(የአቡነ ከተማ). In addition to the above contributed factors, the land of the pastoralists in Wädära *käbälé* was investigated it's comfortable to give *rist* land for the clergy servants of the church.⁷⁹

Following this, the construction of the Church was started on 30 December, 1882. The building work was started by *Mähandis* (local engineer) *Ras* Abatä Yaläw. The construction of the Church had been taken about seven years. Then by brought out the Ark from Afär Bayné Täklä Haymanot Church, they entered it to a new building Church in 1889/90.⁸⁰

After six months, however, horrific and miserable event was hapned on the Church. It was highly beaten and burnt by lightning. This event shocked and grieved not only the local peoples but also the *Abun* and emperor. Although *Abunä* Matéwos was highly down cast by that of amazing event, he was bear up by the emperor and then the emperor immediately decided to reconstruct the Church and would be completed within seven months.⁸¹ As a result, in order to reconstruct the Church, Menelik II accompanied by his princes and gentry went to Säladingay. After they reached there, Menelik ordered that the priority would be given to the reconstruction of the Church. Even Menelik II passed a decree what saying that: “ወደ ሰላድነጋይ ሔጃለሁና እኔን ለዳኝነትና ለሌላ አገልግሎት የሚፈልግ እዚያ ይምጣ።”⁸² “I went to Seladingay and if any one who wanted me for judgment and other service, he/she would come to there.”

Following this, numbers of peoples came over to Säla Dingay from different regions. As a result, all peoples including who came to present their complaint for Menelik took part on the work of the Church. Although the previous burned out Church had taken seven years, its renewed construction was completed within six months. Then Menelik brought the lightning protection from Egypt and put on the steeple of the Church to save it from burning again. Due to this reason, from the beginning to completing the reconstruction of the church, Menelik II and *Abunä* Matéwos were temporarily stay in the town with in the period of six months. Menelik II was frequently coming to the town until the Church's reconstruction completed. According to this, the local peoples considered that Säladingay had been served as the capital of Ethiopia for six months.⁸³

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰*Ibid* and Yä Däbrä Heruyan Qedus Markos Museum Office Archives (YDHQMMOA), Non folder No, Non File No, Ref. No. 09/ቅጥ- 56/20.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²Hadis Wäldä Iyäsus, Säladingay Käṭnet Eskä Zaré---, pp.4-5.

⁸³*Ibid and* Daneal, pp.90-91.

When Menelik came to Säla Dingay, his residence place was the Balcony of W/r Zänäbä Wärk. So he used the Balcony as a provisional court for the time being. During this period, that means when Menelik came to and reside in Säladingay, peoples came from different parts of the country to have got any service what they wanted from him. He provided judgment and ruling for the people who presented their resentment to him at his provisional palace in the Balcony. However, it is difficult to say that the town was served as a capital for Ethiopia for six months. Rather, Säla-Dingay served as a temporal residence for Menelik II in early 1890s.⁸⁴

As we have understand from the history of the church, there were large number of clergies in the church in earlier period. As stated by informants and expressed on written documents, there were more than 133 clergy who give religious services to the Church. The *rist* land which found in Wädära *käbälé* was provided for these clergy. Formerly, the *rist* land was owned by pastoralists. However, when the land was distributed to the clergy, the pastoralists displaced from their residence and then they migrated to Säladingay and other areas. Therefore, this became a factor for the end of pastoralism in Wädära *käbälé*.⁸⁵

Moreover, Menelik rested in Ṭarmabär *Qedus* Giyorgis Church in 1895 when he was travelled to Adwa from Addis Ababa to fight with Italians. He entered to the court yard of the church and then praying to God and pleaded *Qedus* Giyorgis to won a victory over Italians. At that time, Menelik would promise to provide horse and his manservant to this church if he returned with victory. As such when he was returned with in victory, so as based on his promise, Menelik awarded such as horse, chair, one spear, two *agoza* to the church. He had also offered his manservant who was called Mäsa to cleave *mugad* wood for the church. Moreover, Menelik granted two *gašas* of land for the church, of which one was given to *mugad* cleaver. Therefore, Ṭarmabär *Qedus* Giyorgis Church was became as one of the historical part of the district.⁸⁶

2.2. Political and Socio-Economic Systems of the District, 1880s-1935

During the reign of Menelik and his successors to early 1930s, there were a large number of regions (later districts) in the province of Shoa. In this period, one of the region was Tägulät (now part of Mojana Wädära district). During most of the time, the district had three local officials; *meseläné*,

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵*Ibid* and Informants: Assäfa, Berhanu and Wändafäräw.

⁸⁶Wäsän, p.20 and *Informant*: Zäwdu Bälätä.

mälekäña, and *chiqašum* from higher to lower rank respectively. *Meselené* was the first/top officials of the district who had been appointed by emperor or provincial governor of Shoa. These were made the task of punishing the person who considered as law breakers and running tax collection. Below the *Meselené*, the next local administrator was *mälekäña*. This official was the head of land owners or army of the state who participated in national war. The main responsibility of *mälekäña* was implementing the orders of *meselené* and verifying payment of tax in proper time. The third and lowest official in the hierarchy was the *chiqašum*. He was selected from *gäbbars* who were grouped under one *mälekäña*.⁸⁷

Land tenure was one of the political, social and economic activities in the district of Mojana Wädära (formerly Tägulät and Säladingay). The total amount of lands in the district of Tägulät and Säladingay were 3128 and 1645 *Gaşas* respectively.⁸⁸ *Rist*, state and church lands were the major land tenure system that applied in those districts in the period under discussion. *Rist* was an inalienable right of all descendants to part of land that could be traced back to the founding father. He was named as *aqeni abbat* who founded that land through clearing forests and occupying the bare land in the past. *Rist* was a hereditary right to land that transferred to the descent line of the founders. It was a communal ownership of land. Before 1941, the *rist* land was not absolute private property. As a result, it could not be bought or sold to other individuals or groups.⁸⁹

“Broadly, there were three different kinds of members of the community recognized as *rist* owners: *gäbbars*, *genedäbäls* and *melmels*. The first category of the community was “*gäbbars*, tax payers as regards the *rist* land they owned or inherited from their ancestors. The major means of accessing *rist* for the *gäbbars* was indeed by inheritance.”⁹⁰ The second groups were termed as *genedäbäl* (peasant army) who became the owners of *rist* land. They were the peasants who providing their service for the government during military campaigns. These communities inherited *rist* land not only from their descent but also granted by the king. Unlike the *gäbbars*, they were exempted from paying taxes.⁹¹ “The third categories of *rist* land owners were known as *melmel* because of their

⁸⁷Dechasa, pp.117-19 and Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution*, Occasional Publication No.1 (London: Marlin Press, 1975), pp.27-28.

⁸⁸Dechasa, p.81.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p.76, Bahru Zewde, *A Modern History of Ethiopia---*, pp.199-200 and Feseha Yazé, *Yä Iteyopeya Yä 5 Ši Amät Tarik: Kaletäzämärälät Iyasu Eskä Tüzämärälät IHADG* ('The Five Thousand Year History of Ethiopia: From unknown Iyasu to known EPRDF'), Vol. II, (Addis Ababa: Alpha Printing Press, 2012), pp.108-109.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹Dechasa, pp.78-79.

exemption from other routine taxes. The name was given to them because of the fact that they were considered as peoples exempted from the routine taxes which were paid by other peasants.” But instead of tax, they provided the output products of traditional (local) crafts that could not be available in markets for government chiefs.⁹²

From the total lands of Tägulät, about 2,282 *gašas* were possessed by *rist* owners. Of which 1462, 600 and 220 *gašas* of land were owned by the three communities of *rist* owners; *gäbbars*, *genedäbäls* and *melmels* of the district respectively. In Säladingay, only two communities of *gäbbars* and *genedäbäls* owned the lands of 752 and 276 *gašas* respectively from the total *gaša* of 1,645. In both areas, most of the inhabitants of the districts were obtained farming lands via parental descent as *rist*. The majority land of the districts were owned by *rist* owners.⁹³

State land was the other types of land that practiced in Tägulät and Säladingay from 1880s-1935. It was registered/owned by the governments in the period. The state lands were donated to *balabats* and *mälkäñas*. *Balabat* was the leader of one community and he had taken one third of the land from that of his control territory. This land was termed as *balabats-siso*. *Mälkäñas* were the leader of the army in time of conquering new regions where he became the possessor of one third of the land that became known as *mälkäña-siso*. The state land also granted to other government servants for brief period so as it was called *madäriya*.⁹⁴ The lands that registered by the government for the purposes of granting to his officials; *balabats/mälkäña* were 49 and 7 *gaša* lands in Tägulät and Säladingay respectively.⁹⁵ For instance, in the district of Säladingay, Menelik granted the state lands for his officials in Wädära *käbälé*. Among from these, *Ras Mäkonnen W/Michael*, father of emperor Haylä Selassie and *Şähafä Tezzaz Gäbrä Selassie*, chronicler of emperor Menelik and *Afä Negus Estifanos* were the major Menelik’s servants who became the users of the state lands in Wädära.⁹⁶

The third type of land that applied in the district was Church (*Sämon*) lands. The church and monasteries had their livelihood land that granted by the state in the district of Mojana Wädära. The lands were disseminated to the clergy. However, the clergies received the lands according to

⁹²*Ibid*, p.79.

⁹³*Ibid*, p.81.

⁹⁴*Ibid*, pp.83-91.

⁹⁵*Ibid*, pp.95-96.

⁹⁶Wäsän, pp.35-36.

their service and position in the form of *gult* or *rist*. *Gult* was given to the head of monastery and *däber* so they were *balägult*. They had the right to collect tribute from *gäbbars* who cultivated the church land that granted to them. *Rist* lands of the church were given to other servants like for rural head of the church, priests, deacons, *awädaš*, *aqabit*, *mugad fälaç* and etc.⁹⁷ From the total land of 3128 *gašas*, 197 *gašas* of the land were donated for churches and monasteries which controlled it as *rist/gult* land in the district of Tägulät. Simultaneously, in Säladingay, 265 *gaša* of land from the total land of 1645 *gašas* were given to church and monasteries.⁹⁸ The amount of the land that given to the church by the government was varied from one church/monastery to other in the districts based on the numbers of the clergy servants. If there were large numbers of clergy servants in one church, it would take large amount of land as comparing to the other. For instance, Däbrä Meḡemaq Şadiqanë Mariam monastery and *Qedus* Markos church had 24 and 93 *gaša* lands respectively. The land was cultivated by the clergy for their consumption as a salary for their service in respective church.⁹⁹

Correspondingly, during the reign of Menelik II, there was a *gult* land in Tägulät (now Mojana Wädära) around the areas of Sasit, Moja and Wädära. These land was given to Menelik's nobleman and gentry, who were assigned as an official to govern this territory, as a salary. These officials became the owner of the land (*balä-gult*). Therefore, they gave their *gult*-land for peasants to cultivate it. Then, the peasants shared the products which produce from the land to the *balä-gult* in kind.¹⁰⁰ Beside this, taxes and tributes were collected from the land owners. Until the government started the practice of collecting fixed taxes in the form of currency, 30 Maria Theresa talers for 1 *gaša* (40 hectares) of land in 1935, payment of taxes was not formal. Before this period, taxes and tributes were collected in kind and paid in the form of labor.¹⁰¹ The *gäbbars* or peasants who owned lands forced to pay tax to government and government officials. They paid in the form of kind such as cereals, honey, butter etc. They also gave free labor service like grinding cereals, bring wood, fetching water, fencing the crop, etc for the government officials. They paid taxes that measured by traditional units like *qunna*, *dawulla*, *gurzeñ*, *madega*, *gundo*, etc. So the *gäbbars*

⁹⁷Dechasa, pp.98-99.

⁹⁸*Ibid*, p.100.

⁹⁹Informant: Wändafäräw.

¹⁰⁰Informants: Assäfa, Berhanu, Käfalän and Wändfäräw.

¹⁰¹Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, p.193, Donald Crummey, *Land and Society: In the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 200), pp.237-239 and Informant: Wändafäräw.

paid 2 or 3 *dawulla* cereals and 1 *gundo* honey per *gasha* land. 1 *qunna* is equivalent to 5 Kg. 1 *dawulla* is consisted 20 *qunna*. 1 *gundo* could be consisted from 10-19 Kg. The *balabats* and *mälkäñas* who possessed *siso* lands paid the land taxes with cattle and goats. In other way, their service like military service was considered as paying land taxes for they possessed. However, the church who owned one-third of the land was exempted from paying taxes or tributes.¹⁰²

It was interesting that from this understanding, the main body of tax payers were peasants. Besides of paying taxes, they paid *asrat*/tithe (one-tenth) of the product to the government and Church institution. It paid per year from the product of cereal or fruits. Tax and *asrat* collection had been influenced on the peasants/*gäbbars* power to produce more. As a result, this imposition had its effect in agricultural productivity. Accordingly, *gult* system and taxation were affected the economic development of the district.¹⁰³

The other factors that affected the agricultural productivity of the peasants in the district were natural hazards, war, political instability and as well as social practices in locally. Firstly, Great Famine traditionally known as *Kifu-Qän* (1888-1892) affected the peasant life of the country. This was caused by cattle epidemics so it perished large numbers of ox and cows.¹⁰⁴ According to informants, the basic economic activity of the district of Mojana Wädära was/is agriculture by using the force of cattle thus it was difficult to cultivate farm lands. This resulted to reduction of crops so the peasants were exposed to famine. And also it forced the peasants more to depend on digging the land by pick to produce crops for consumption. The peasants passed their life in miserable in the period and obliged to eat the meat of donkey, mule and horse which are illegal in culture of Ethiopia. This great famine had become a cause for retarding the economic developments of the district and for migrating peoples of the area to other less affected regions.¹⁰⁵ Secondly, before Menelik and Yohannis IV reached an agreement in Liche in 1878, the army of Yohannis affected on the peasants of North Shoa by invading and destroying their property. Similarly, the army invaded the district of Mojana Wädära. In this district they plundering the cattle from Wädära *käbälé* and burnt the town of Säladingay, where the queen mother, Atmoch

¹⁰²Dechasa, pp.110-12, Addis Hiwet, p.46 and informants; Admasu and Wändafäräw.

¹⁰³Dechasa, pp.115-17 and Addis Hiwet, p.46.

¹⁰⁴Bahru Zewde, *A Modern History of Ethiopia---*, p.79 and Dechasa, p.166.

¹⁰⁵Informant: Admasu, Berhanu and Wändafäräw

Hono resides at the time as a governor of the district. Thus, the peasants faced hardship life in the district.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, following Menelik become an emperor, although there was a relative peace in the kingdom of Shoa, the peasants of the district had face a great challenge during the reign of *Lij* Iyasu (1913-1916). Iyasu had a tradition of movement escorted by the army from region to region. On this way, when he moved to the residence of his family in Wällo escorted by 200 soldiers by riding horses, Iyasu rested in Säladingay. During this period, “Iyasu invited both the old officials of the emperor and his new favorites at Säladingay to the feast served by the nearby peasants at the home of the *Abun* in April 1912.”¹⁰⁷ The gentry of the *Abun* made reception and treatment in the town. Thereafter, feeding was made for Iyasu and his followers as well as the *balabats* of the district. This was carried out by collecting *enjera* and local beer from the surrounding *gäbbars*/peasants. This kind of feeding was locally called *Mäßen* (sharing of *enjera* and other type of food and drinking). The peasants were responsible to supply food for them and their horses by collecting grass and usufruct from them. This event created burden for the life of peasants what they obliged to supply provisions.¹⁰⁸

In the district, the hardship of the peasants also increased following the downfall of Iyasu in 1916 as a result of rivalry between Shoa and Wällo. The reason for the conflict was the downfall of Iyasu by the nobility of Shoa. To restore the power of Iyasu, *Negus* Michael, his father fought with Shoa at the battle of Sägälé in October 1916. From Wällo, the soldiers of *Negus* Michale marched to Sägälé by crossing the district of Mojana Wädära through the way of cleared road from Mänz to Tägulät to fight with the force of the central government. At that time, the army had not preparing and carrying provisions so they looted peasants who were on the line of crossing for eating and drinking.¹⁰⁹ The peasants of this district shared the fate of this hardship. The army of Wällo, plundered what they have got on the way for feeding and drinking themselves when they across through the district of Mojana Wädära. They slaughtered cattle of the peasants and burnt

¹⁰⁶Dechasa, pp.132-33.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pp.134-36 and Märsé Hazän Woldä Qirqos, *Yähayagnaw Kefelä Zämän Mäbacha: Yäzemen Tarik Tezetaye Kayehutna Käsemahut (1896-1922)*, Third Ed., (Addis Ababa: AAU Press, 2008 EC), p.93.

¹⁰⁹Märsé Hazän Woldä Qirqos, pp.161-62.

their crops and houses. Thus, the property of peasants in the district was destructed as a result of the war.¹¹⁰

Moreover, in the beginning of 20th century, conflict among the community of the district in Shoa was common due to the prevalence of weak government, geography of the region, and tax system.¹¹¹ For instance, the conflict between the district of Tägulät, now Mojana Wädära and Morät was happened during the reign of *Lij Iyasu* (1913-1916). The cause for their rivalry was the need to control land resources for farming and grazing along the border. As a result, Iyasu went to Tägulät by organizing arbitration commission committee to investigate the cause of the conflict and to find out a solution for the disputes that created among the neighboring districts. During this period, the peoples of Tägulät made reception ceremony to the king in specific place of Anqälafñ Méda in Enged Waša *käbälé* under the historical plant that known as *Andit Gerar*, means a single acacia plant existed in a plain of Anqälafñ. Then under the shade of the *Gerar*, he could overcome the problem that occurred between them in this historical site of the district. Thereafter, feeding program was made for the crown and his followers as well as the *balabats* of the district. This was carried out by the program of *Mäten* from the surrounding *gäbbars*/peasants. This program was affected on the life of local peasants.¹¹²

2.3. The Italian period, 1935-41

Since the second half of the 18th century, Industrial Revolution was started in the land of Europe. Following this European country needed new sources of raw materials for their industry. Due to this reason, Africa was one of the continent that entered to the prospect of European attention. As a result, in the second half of 19th century, most European powers wanted to control Africa. Gradually, besides of searching raw materials, those European country had been controlled most of African states through colonial occupation. From all African countries, however, Ethiopia and Liberia were not fall under the yoke of colonial powers. Ethiopia has too a unique history in the continent by keeping its independence from colonialism. Ethiopia is considered to be the cradle of human being and the source of natural resources. So, since ancient period the invaders frequently

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹Dechasa, p.138.

¹¹²Informants: Hailu, Şäga Wärq and Yähualaşät Yelma.

tried to invade Ethiopia with the interest to colonize it.¹¹³ With this interest, Italy had intended to conquer Ethiopia in the late 19th century. The attempt of Italy, however, to extend its colonial interest in to the interior regions of Ethiopia was averted by the force of Menelik. Menelik defeated Italians at the battle of Adwa in 1896 and he saved Ethiopia from the European scramble for Africa. Italy had lost her colonial intention in Ethiopia.¹¹⁴

However, Italy again launched the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 so as to build a large extent of colonial territory in East Africa and to erase the shame full scare of Italy's defeat with Ethiopian at Adwa in 1896. The Italians used their adjacent colonies, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland in the north and south respectively as springboard for the invasion of Ethiopia. The Italian aggression in Ethiopia was started on 3 October, 1935, when Italian forces crossed in to the Märäb River.¹¹⁵ The fascist invasion of Ethiopia was conducted on two fronts which were known as the Northern and Southern Front. These directions of attack came from Eritrea in the north and from Italian Somali Land in the south. Thanks to their military and technological superiority and by using an international outlawed chemical weapons and mustard gas, the Italians continued to advance into the interior of Ethiopia by defeated the Ethiopians. Due to these advantage, Italy had able to occupy many territories in Ethiopia.¹¹⁶

The Italian forces consolidated and continued their invasion, especially from northern Ethiopia. In this front, through occupying many towns and places the army of Italy reached to the town of Däbrä Sina in North Shoa and controlled it on April 29, 1936. Then Italy established a military base in Däbrä Sina. From this military base, Italians tried to control other parts of the present

¹¹³Kelvin Shillington, *History of Africa*, Second Edition, (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1995), pp.287-88.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.* Täkläşadiq Mäkurya, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik: Kä Aşe Tewodros Eskä Qädamawi Haile Selasse----*, p.257.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia----*, P.153, Bahru Zewde, "The Italian Occupation of Ethiopia: Records, Recollections and Ramifications", *In Society, State and History: Selected Essays*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2008), p.380.

¹¹⁶Gashaw Ayferam, "Ametsegna Washa ('The cave of Zeret'), The Cave of the Last Battle of the Italo-Ethiopian War; Guerrilla Fighting Against Fascism and Colonialism During the Second Italo-Ethiopian War", *In International Journal of Political Science and Development* (Ambo: Ambo University, Civics and Ethical Studies, 2015), p.121. (Available at <https://www.Academicresearchurnals.org/IJPSD/PDF/2015/February/Ayferam.pdf>, retrieved on 21/08/2018) and Teferi Teklehaimanot, "Why Ethiopia Lost: Analysis of the Factors that Led to the Ethiopian Defeat in the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36" (MA Thesis, Kansas: Kansas State University, History, 1969), pp.76-79. (Available at <https://archive.org/stream/whyethiopiialosta00tekl/whyethiopiialosta00tekljvu.txt>, retrieved on 19/08/2018).

day North Shoa. The patriots of Mänz, Tägülät, and Yefat were fought in various battles with Italians to prevent their further expansion and aggression from Däbrä Sina.¹¹⁷

Italy used Däbrä Sina as a center and stayed there for some year to create effective military campaign. It is interesting to note that, in 1938 the Italians built the so-called 'Mussolini tunnel' (Ṭarmabär Waša) on the Ṭarmabär Pass, north of Addis Ababa, on the 'imperial road' to Asmara.¹¹⁸ It planned to control particularly Säladingay.¹¹⁹ Säladingay, had been already studied by Italians through a person Count Antinori in 1877/78 as it is the most important military strategic area that enabled to manage the area of Mänz and Tägülät itself. Therefore, Italy brought big army from Däbrä Berhan and moved its army via Ṭarmabär to control Säladingay.¹²⁰

The Patriotic Resistance fighting at Ṭarmabär

Defensive war was opened by the unity of Mänz, Yäfat and Tägülät patriots to avert the expansion of Italians in to other regions from Däbrä Sina. Italians wanted to mobilize their army to the region of Ṭarmabär in order to bring other regions under their control. But the patriots prepared themselves to crush the plan of Fascist Italy. Before they fought at Ṭarmabär, the first military conflict between Fascist Italian forces and the patriots of Mänz, Yefat and Tägülät was started at the place called Täjisar on 5 June, 1936. Italians lost the battle and retreated to Däbrä Sina.¹²¹ This victory was not satisfy the patriots rather they discussed and agreed to be prepared for the next victory and to continue the defensive wars to against Italians at Tarmabär before whom came to control Säla Dingay.¹²² On the other hand, Italians understood the existence of well-organized patriotic forces in the region. Thus, they wanted to organize their army to crush the patriot's effort.¹²³

Following this, the army of Italy and the patriot of Shoa confronted at a place in Ṭarmabär. The patriots of Tägülät, Mänz and Yefat under the leadership of *Balambaras* Bäšah Haylé, *Lij Gezačaw*

¹¹⁷Tadässä Zäwdé, *Qerin Geremew: Ye Arbegnoch Tarik (The Survivors' Reflections: A History of the Patriots)*, (1960 E.C./1967/68), pp.152-54.

¹¹⁸Temesgen, p.31.

¹¹⁹Mojana Wädära *Wärüda Masetawäqiya Şehéfüt Bét ...*, p.5.

¹²⁰Bantinrga Mulugeta, "The Period of Italian Occupation (1936-1941) and the Resistance in Mänz", (MA Thesis, History and Heritage Management: Debre Berhan University, 2018), pp.31-36.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p.32.

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³Tadässä Zäwdé, p.156 and Informants: Ayälä Gäbrä Şadiq, Gäbrä Wold Endalbaba and Yähualašät Yelma.

Haylé and *Baša* Tässäma Ergaté respectively fought with Italians in Ṭarmabär. The Italian forces were defeated by the patriots on September 8, 1936. In the battle, the patriots became victorious by killing higher army officials of Italy. For example, *Lij* Gezačäw Haylé killed the Italian military leader called Cabos Cadri. The patriot's victory of Tägulät, Mänz and Yefat forced the Italian forces again to turn back to their military base of Däbrä Sina.¹²⁴ The patriot's defensive war was the crushing blow for Italians. So it takes time for Italians to recover to their normal position and to start another war to against the patriots.¹²⁵ From their base, Däbrä Sina, they tried to organize military force to take revenge and control Säla Dingay. Italians began to take strict measures to against the resistance group by killing civilians, destroying and burning their property and homes on their way regions.¹²⁶

The offensive action that taken by the patriots on the military force of Italy worried General Tracchia, military commander of it. Then General Tracchia wrote a letter by Amharic and Italian language to *Lij* Gizäčäw Häylé. By the letter, the General expressed his warning to *Lij* Gizäčäw Häylé not to open another offence on Italian army. He also convinced *Lij* Gizäčäw whom to surrender for him until September 29, 1936. Unless otherwise, he might take severe actions on the patriots. But *Lij* Gizačäw Haylé informed the patriots not to be submitting to their enemy rather they had to be raedy themselves for war.¹²⁷

The patriots did not want to submit for Italians. As a result, on January 31, 1937 the patriotic resistance group fought with fascist Italy at Tarmäbär for the second time. It was the war to halt the intent of Italy to control Säla Dingay. From their military base of Däbrä Sina, Italy took several attempts to control the military strategic area of Säla Dingay. The Italians, however, unsuccessful to control Säla Dingay because it was already under the control of the patriots.¹²⁸ In this battle of Ṭarmabär, the patriots and Italians had fought bloody encounter and many soldiers were died from both sides. But, finally the patriots became victorious.¹²⁹

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵*Ibid.*

¹²⁶Bantirga, pp.33-34 and Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, Näga Woldä Giyorgis and Yähualašät.

¹²⁷Bantirga, pp.33-34 and Tadesse Zewde, pp.157-59.

¹²⁸Bantirga, p.35.

¹²⁹Tadesse Zewde, p.160.

The Encroachment of Italy to Säla-Dingay

In February 1937, with the ambition mainly to control Säla Dingay, Italy had been fought to struggle against the patriots. There were a number of collaborators who helped for Italians in the province of Tägülät, in present day of Mojana Wädära. Among these who served for the success of Italians were *Qäñazmač* Awulé, *Ato* Täsfayé Naqé, and *Ato* Admiqé were the well-known. But *Qäñazmač* Awulé and *Ato* Admike were killed by patriots. On February 23, 1937, the military force of Italians had try to travel from Däbrä Sina to control Säla Dingay. The patriotic force that included *Lij* Ayälä Häylé, *Lij* Dästa Šäwa Erkabih, *Baša* Täsämma Ergäté, *Amsa Aläqa* Tädässe Bälaynä, and *Bäläambaras* Bäšah Wäldé fought long and protracted wars to against Italians. The Italian armies were defeated by the Patriots and retreated back to Däbrä Sina.¹³⁰

As a result, until March 10, 1937 Italians unable to controlled the strategic area of Säla Dingay.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the Italians organized strong army that was brought from Gur, Tarmabär, Däbrä Sina, Däbrä Berhan and Asmara, and from different regions of Ethiopia to control Säladingay and to revenge the patriots. Following this, the army of Italy started to move towards Säladingay through Bägoč Gat, Gunč Amba and Däbrä Mitmak. Although the Italians had been frequently defeated by the force of the patriots, they continuously attempt to control Säla Dingay. Then, they began to take military revenges by burning the houses of *Baša* Yämanä Berhan Mäšäša, Ṭäbik, Mäkuriya and others.¹³² Following this, Italian army expelled the force of patriots from Bägoč Gač and marched to Säla Dingay.¹³³

On March 9, 1937 the Italian army determined to control Säla Dingay and there established military base to attack the patriots of Mänz. The military force of Italy was organized into two parts under the supreme command of General Tracchia. The first, on the right side under the leader of colonel Gaybi marched to control Säla Dingay. The second front, on the left side was led by colonel Pucci with an intention to control Emsé, in Bägoč Gat which abled to control Säla Dingay. Thus, after prolonged war, the army of the patriots were defeated by the Italians. Thereafter, on 10 March, 1937, Italy abled to control the ancient town of Säla Dingay. Then the town was became under the control of Italians. Then Fascists destroyed the villages and killed

¹³⁰Bantrga, p.35 and Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, Näga, Eseṭifanos and Yähualašät.

¹³¹*Ibid*, p.36.

¹³²*Ibid*.

¹³³Tadesse Zewde, pp.160-64 and Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, and Yähualašät.

many patriots. The community of Däbrä Mitmak Church submitted to the Italians.¹³⁴ Following this, some patriots leaved the Säladingay and distrct. For instance, *Gerazemač Zäwdé* fled to Birka. While others like *Lij Gizäčäw Haylé*, *Lij Dästa Šäwa Erkabih*, *Baša Täsämma Ergäté* and *Balambaras Haylé* moved to Dängäzé (the village in Mänz). After the control of Säla Dingay, Italians attacked the area in and around Säla Dingay. At this time, by the use of cannon they burned houses, killed large number of peoples and destroyed property.¹³⁵

In Säladingay town, the Italians built a fortress/camp in Markos *Säfür*. They also occupied the Balcony of *Wäyzäro Zänäbä Wärk* and used it as a fortress. The peoples of the district and came from other areas who accepted the order of Italy and the collaborators stationed at a place behind the Church of *Qedus Markos* where hoisted the Italian flag.¹³⁶ The five years Italian occupation of Ethiopia from 1936-1941 was very dreadful and unedifying period for Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian people's lost their life when they struggled against the Fascist forces in various parts of the country. Moreover, Monasteries, Cathedrals and Churches were burnt. As a result, the period was horrifying. In related to this, *Abnä Péṭros*, the bishop of Wällo had never been forgotten. He was one of the unifying figure of the attack or inspired the patriots due to this the Fascist forces captured and persecuted him in Addis Ababa. Fascist Italian also massacred large numbers of clergy and laity in the capital, Däbrä Libanos and other parts of Ethiopia.¹³⁷

Like to other parts of Ethiopia, when they overrun Säladingay, the fascist forces massacred large number of peoples and also burnt many Churches and Monasteries in Mojana Wädära district.¹³⁸ Accordingly, the patriots of Mojana Wädära district were actively took part in fighting against the enemy. The district patriots carried out advanced attack on the fascist forces to stop its invasion and to keep the unity and liberty of their country. The clergy and laity also fought with Fascist forces to crush the mission of Italy and to dislodge its army from this area.¹³⁹ With this, the clergy (priests and deacons) and laity who fought the Italians particularly around Säladingay were brutally executed by Fascist army. An example among the clergy who persecuted by Italians were; *Qés*

¹³⁴Bantirga, p.37 and Informants: Ayälä, Eseṭifanos, Gäbrä Wold, and Näga,

¹³⁵Taddesse Zewde, pp.164-65 and Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, and Yähualašät.

¹³⁶Dawit, pp.14-15 and informants; Gäbrä Wold and Yähualašät.

¹³⁷Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*-----, p.170 and Hadis Wäldä Iyäsus-----, p.11.

¹³⁸Wäsän, p.16 and Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, Näga, Eseṭifanos and Yähualašät.

¹³⁹Tilahun Tasew, *Adabay*, (Kuraz Asatami Dirjit ('Kuraz Organization Press'), 1990), pp.129-30 and "Yä Ṭenetawit Iteyopeya Jägnoch Arbägnoch Mahebär Ena Lähagäré ('The Association of Ethiopian Patriots and for scountry'): 1935-1941", (Printing of Tessema kebede, 2018), p.36.

Nägädä, *Qés Wäldä Michael*, *Qés Gäbrä Iyäsus*, Deacon Gäbrä Şadiq, Deacon Täklä Selassie, *Aläqa Gäbrhana*, *Däbtära Zeqé*, *Aba Agedé*, *Däbtära Mäfäriya*, etc. Nevertheless, although it was difficult to know the exact number of people who lost their life in Mojana Wädära district, in single day more than 40 peoples were persecuted in Wädära *käbälé* alone. The majorities were not buried in formal way rather they remained in bushes, gorges, valleys, rivers and became as a food for wild animals and eagles.¹⁴⁰

The Patriot’s War at Sasit

Next to Säla Dingay, the target of fascist attack was Sasit. Around Sasit Italians set up a garrison center at a place called Aşal, in Birka. This military base was established with the aim of defensive military strategy to against the force of Ras Abäbä Arägay who had strong movement in Shoa. On September 16, 1937 the patriots fought with Italians at the battle of Aşal. As a result, large number of patriots sacrificed their life in the battle. Moreover, Fascists had taken other force to reinforce their armed forces with the aim to control Sasit.¹⁴¹

After the Italian control of Sasit, fascist Italy executed an attack through invasion of the surrounding region. The attack was performed by using both ground and air force. As a result, many Churches and Monasteries were burnt in the district. Some Churches, however, could not burn by fascist attack. For instance, the Church of Sasit *Kidanämeherät* was not burnt by Italian frequent air craft attack. Italians dropped three bombs on the Church by the use of Airplane. But, no one of the three was burned the church. Then after, two Italian army generals had tried to take the property of Sasint Kidanä Mehrät Church. During this time, Wäldä Yohannis Kidané, the administrator of the Church, had tried to protect the Italian generals not to enter to the Church and to take an action of damaging on it.¹⁴² As such, the administrator of the Church had been present praying to Kidanä Meherät in the following geez language;

*“በስመክብ ገበርኪ መፍቀሬ ምጽዋት፤
አዘክሪ ለነ ኪዳነ ምህረት ሐበ ስላሴ ነገስት።”¹⁴³*

¹⁴⁰Daneal, p.91, Dawit, p.15 and Hadis Wäldä Iyäsus-----, pp.11-12 and Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold and Yähualaşät.

¹⁴¹Tadsse Zewde, pp.182-83 and Informants: Ayälä, Näga, and Yähualaşät.

¹⁴²Bantirga, p.37, Wossän, pp.16-17 and Informants: Näga, Esetifanos and Yähualaşät.

¹⁴³Informants: Näga and Esetifanos.

Literally translated as follows;

*“Loving of Gifting to be the always deed of her with the name of God Father;
Kidānā Meherāt Please praying for us to the King of Trinity.”*

Among them, one of the Italian general was died in court yard of the Church. He entered to the court yard of the Church in contempt and without respect the rule of the Church to know the secret why the church was unable to burn by frequent dropping of bomb. He also did many inappropriate things like smoking cigarette, split the saint photograph, purge and crap with in the Church. Then he was immediately topple and passed away on the stage of *Kidānā Meherāt* Church. Accordingly, the society manifest the event through poem. For example, one individual called Banti forwarded the poem as follows;

*“ሣሣት ኪዳነ ምኅረት የሴት አርበኛ፤ “Sasit Kidānā Meherāt female Patriot;
ገለበጠችዋል ያንን ሴረኛ”።¹⁴⁴ She overturned those who was the plotter.”*

With the event, his bodyguard’s were shock and leave out Sasit by informed to their higher official who stationed in Däbrä Berhan. They transported the corpse to Däbrä Sina and buried in their burial site of there. The peoples/believers of Ethiopian Orthodox Church believed that *Kidānā Meherāt* drive away the army of fascist Italy and maintain the independence around Sasit.¹⁴⁵

In addition, Italy and the patriots fought in various regions of Tägulät (now the district of Mojana Wädära) like in Sasit, Guyi and Jingodo.¹⁴⁶ The controlling of Säla Dingay and Sasit favored Italy to use them as a base to invaded Mänz.¹⁴⁷ By crossing via Mofär Wuha River, Italy began to mobilize its army from Säla Dingay on 4 May, 1937. Mofär Wuha River is the borderline between Mänz and Majana Wädära district. However, due to two main reasons it was difficult for Italians. Firstly, the Italians were challenged by topographic features of the region which is characterized by deep gorges, valley, and cliff and covered by jungle forest, and bushes. Secondly, knowledge of the terrain enabled the patriots to harass and put threats for the Italians.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴*Ibid*, Bantirga, p.37 and Wossän pp.16-17.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid*.

¹⁴⁶Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, Näga, Esetifanos and Yähualašät

¹⁴⁷Bantirga, p.38.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid*, pp.39-40 and Informants: Gäbrä Wold and Yähualašät.

The Establishment of Ethiopian Patriot Association

During the Italian occupation, the patriots had an intention to establish an associations. With this intention, Ethiopian Patriots Association was established by the patriots of Shoa when they struggle against fascist occupation. The main objective of the Association was to defend and liberate the mother land from external aggression and Occupation by creating united and nationwide resistance. It was also intended to support each other in time of war and difficulty.¹⁴⁹

To create a common front to against the Fascist Italians, the scattered patriots in various regions were ordered to meet together in one particular area to discuss and consolidate their unity for fighting. Thus, the patriots had understood the importance of unity. Consequently, on October 30, 1938 the patriots carried out a conference under the chairman of *Ras* Abäbä Arägay at the place called Wäraw in the present day Mänz Käya Gebriel Wärada.¹⁵⁰ To start the meeting, Abäbä Arägay made the dawn speech of the conference. This indicated that he contributed a great role to form the association. It was the first meeting to establish the Association of Ethiopian Patriots. In this conference, the idea of establishing patriot association with the name called *Yä Ethiopia Gegnoch Arbäñoč Mahebär* (The Association of Ethiopian Patriots) was generated.¹⁵¹ Therefore, according to Erqihun Bälaynäh on the book entitled, *A History of Ethiopia: from Imam Ahmad to Emperor Tewodros---*, the patriots laid aground to form the patriots association in Wäraw on October 30, 1938. So this was the first step to create a strong unity among the patriots.¹⁵²

In January 1939, *Ballambaras* Bäšah Haylé, the patriot leader of Tägulät, passed an instruction for patriots to meet in Enged Waša *käbälé* at Anqälafin Méda to design new military strategy that abled to stamp out the invader army of Italy. As a result, under the order of *Balambaras* Bäšah the patriots made the second significant meeting in Tägulät at specific place called Aneqälafin Méda under Andit Gerar (single acacia), in the present day Mojanä Wädärä district in Enged Waša *Käbälé*. This meeting was held on January 9, 1939. The prominent patriots arrived in the area

¹⁴⁹Bahru Zewde, *Society, State and History Selected Essays*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University press, 2008), p.377 and Erqihu, pp.62-63.

¹⁵⁰Erqihun, pp.62-63.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

¹⁵²*Ibid.*

with their follower and took an oath of unity and cooperation to struggle for the independence of the country.¹⁵³

Figure 2.1. The Acacia Tree of Anqälafiñ Käbälé before its Collapse.



Source; Bantirga Mulugeta, “The Period of Italian Occupation (1936-1941) and the Resistance in Mänz”, (MA Thesis, History and Heritage Management: Debre Berhan University, 2018), p.83.

On this historical day, the patriot leaders with their follower army met in Tägülät, Aneqälafiñ Méda under the shadow of acacia tree. The leader of the patriots and amount of their army who came to this meeting place were;

- *Ras Abäbä Arägay* → 1600 fighters from Jiru,
- *Lij Gezačäw Haile* → 800 fighters from Mänz
- *Ballambaras Bäšah Haylé* → 600 fighters from Tägülät,
- *Däjazmač Tässäma Ergäté* → 600 fighters from Yefat,
- *Fitawrari Taddäsä Bälaynäh* → 600 fighters from Tägülät,
- *Däjazmač Käfäläw Wäldäšadiq* → 500 fighters from Mänz,
- *Ato Šähayä Enqu Selassie* → 750 fighters from Märabété and
- *Ras Mäsefen Seläš* → 1600 fighters from Sälalé.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³Bantirga, p.82 and Informants: Ayälä, Eseřifanos, Gäbrä Wold, Näga, and Yähualašät.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp.82-85.

The conference was headed by *Ras Abäbä Arägay*. The major objective of the meeting was to consolidate the unity among the patriots to fight against the fascist army. In this conference, the patriots came to know each other and formally established the Association of Ethiopian Patriots. Thereafter, firstly the patriots formulated and approved the rule and regulations of the association under the tree of Andit Gerar.¹⁵⁵ The association had its own rules and regulations that were endorsed by the members of the association. The rule and regulation of the association had twenty three articles. Among these struggling for the liberation of the country, supporting the patriots among each other, and responsibility of the members were included.¹⁵⁶ It was agreed that, each members of the association should respect these rules and had to fulfill that was expected from them as a member of the association.¹⁵⁷

Secondly, the patriots elected the main chief/work accomplisher of the association. They selected *Ras Aäbä Arägay* as a president and *Baša Woldä kiros Gäbrämäskäl* as coordinator for the association. *Ato Lesanäw Häbtäwold* and *Ato Däsalän Täkläwold* were also assigned by the members as the main secretary and accountant respectively. Hence, *Ras Aäbä Arägay* was considered as the first president of the Association of Ethiopian Patriots. He had performed important activities in the coordination of this association especially since January 9, 1939.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, after they established the association and counseled and relied about the necessity of unity among themselves and also formulated and improved its rule and regulation, all patriots committed an oath of covenant in Aneqälafin Méda under Andit Girar to strengthen their unity and to expel/dislodge fascist Italy in determination from their country.¹⁵⁹

They had determined to struggle up to death for the independence of their country. The Acacia tree was not only served as the place for the establishment of Patriots Association of Ethiopia but as a place of conciliation and arbitration among the conflicting parties of several individuals or groups in the region. Thus, it is the symbol of independent and commemoration of patriots who sacrificed their life for the independence of the country. But, Andit Gerar which is the historical symbol of independent failed down due to the raining of heavy rain that accompanied lightning on

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶Bantirga, pp.82-85.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid*, Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, Näga, Esetifanos and Yähualašät.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.* and Wossän p.16.

¹⁵⁹Tilahun Tasew, *Addabay---*, pp.129-135 and *The Association of Ethiopian Patriots---*, p.36.

August 11, 2011.¹⁶⁰ The Acacia tree become the place for celebration the day of Ethiopian independence from fascist rule and the day of Ethiopian National Patriots due to the establishment of Patriots of Ethiopian Association under the tree. It is celebrated on May 5 on every year to commemorating Ethiopia's independence from Fascist rule on May 5, 1941.¹⁶¹

Figure 2.2. The Current Position of Acacia Tree



Source; Bantirga Mulugeta, “The Period of Italian Occupation (1936-1941) and the Resistance in Mänz”, (MA Thesis, History and Heritage Management: Debre Berhan University, 2018), p.85.

At this historical day on 9 January, 1939 the patriot of Shoa could be demonstrate their spirit by way of war song and boasting together with peoples. Then after, the patriot leaders with their follower army disseminated in to their battle field. At that period, the fighting of these patriots was not only confined in Mojana Wädära but also the movement continued in whole parts of Shoa.¹⁶² When Italians realized the formation of the association and the existence of strong patriotic resistance in the region, they had forced to take repressive measures to bring the submission of the Patriots by burning of homes and other properties.¹⁶³

However, based on an oath and their agreement, the patriots bravely continued struggling with Italians to liberate their country. Beside this, the patriots used inner patriots who lived and worked with the Italians. Thus, they organized a person who secretly supply valuable information to them. At this time, they used *Ballambaras* Haylé who formerly supplied information to and lived with

¹⁶⁰Bntirga, pp.84-87 and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda* Cultural and Tourism office, *Yä Ityopia Arbännöč Mahbär Yätämäsärätäbat Andit Girar, Tir 2010 EC.*

¹⁶¹*Ibid.* and Informant: Ayälä, Eseñifanos and Näga.

¹⁶²Informants: Ayälä, Gäbrä Wold, Näga, Eseñifanos and Yähualašät.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*

Italians. The patriots secretly exchanged useful information from *Ballambaras* Haylé. With the discussion, they made *Ballambaras* Haylé to lead the enemy force. As a result, Haylé guided the enemy force when they move from Säla Dingay to the region of Mänz through Mofär Wuha River. Then they reached to Mofär Wuha River. When all the Italian army entered to the river, Haylé had separated from them and informed to the patriots. He also fired on the enemy force and killed the leader of Italian army. Thereafter, the patriots who encircled in the surrounding region confronted with enemy force. The war was completed by the victory of the patriots in Mofär Wuha River. By resisting heat and coldness the patriots paid immense sacrifice and harassed the army of Italy. So they played a great role to the gradual weakening of the fascist forces and enhanced the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941.¹⁶⁴

When Italy evacuated the country, it left both negative and positive impact. The positive legacy of Italians in the district of Mojana Wädära was very small. In the district, among the positive legacies that left by Italians is the construction of road.¹⁶⁵ As soon as fascism conquered Ethiopia it started linking the main administrative centers of its new empire through a road network with the aim of promoting the colonial conquest of the country. The construction of road from Assäb to Addis Ababa through Ṭarmabär was one of the Italians roads building scheme.¹⁶⁶ On this way, Italy built 642 m cave (Ṭarmabär Waša) road which located in Mojana Wädära district.¹⁶⁷ After Italian evacuation from the district of Mojana Wädära by strong resistance of the patriots, the Italian fortress in Säla Dingay town become to serve as a primary school before 1945. After 1945, it had given a service for court office and administration. Since 2002 by adding additional building, it has given a service for rural road office, agricultural and water development office as well as cooperative office of the district.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét ...*, p.5.

¹⁶⁶Tämäsegän Seyoum, “A history of Kombolča Town” (1937-1991), (MA Thesis, Aksum University: History and Heritage Management, 2019), p.31.

¹⁶⁷Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét ...*, p.5.

¹⁶⁸Dawit, pp.14-15.

CHAPTER THREE

MOJANA WÄDÄRA DISTRICT DURING THE IMPERIAL PERIOD 1941-1974

3.1. Administration

The Fascist forces occupied Addis Ababa and Emperor Hailä Selassie exiled to Europe in 1936, and lived there about five years. After five years, Italians were leave out from Ethiopia and the emperor returned to the country in 1941. Therefore, in 1941 Ethiopia was independent from subjugation of Fascist Italian rule. And also Emperor Hailä Selassie I was restored to power. Following this, the Emperor gave more attention to consolidate his power.¹⁶⁹

As a result, he appointed ministers, started the restoration of provincial and local governments. These was the attempts for revival of centralization of the country. As part of the centralization attempt, the imperial government was interested to establish similar local administration system throughout the country. This political organization of the state gave power to the emperor to control the peripheries from the center through appointing his loyal governors to all of the provinces. On this base, successive policies with the aim of centralized administration in the country and consolidate the absolute power of Emperor Hailä Selassie I were introduced between 1941 and 1974.¹⁷⁰

In 1942, the imperial government issued a decree which divided the empire into a new administrative system. Provincial administration was reorganized to facilitate the centralization of power and to ensure the periphery remained loyal to the center.¹⁷¹ According to administrative decree No.1 of 1942, Emperor Haile Selassie reorganized the Ethiopian administrative system in

¹⁶⁹John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of A Traditional Polity* (Addis Ababa: Berhanena Selam Printing Press, 1972), pp.205-206; and John Markakis, *Ethiopia The Last Two Frontiers*, (James Curry, 2011, USA), p. 115.

¹⁷⁰Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Nottingham: The Russel Press, 1978), p.44; Donald Donham, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History": *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.27 and C. Clapham, *Haile Selassie's Government*, (London: Longmans, 1969), pp.21-22.

¹⁷¹John M. Cohn and Peter H. Koch, *Ethiopia Provincial and Municipal Government: Imperial and Post-Revolutionary Changes* (Michigan State University, 1980), pp.19-23; Mengistu Geremew, "A History of Wänbära Wäräda, 1941-1991" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University: History, 2016), p.26. (Available at <http://213.55.95.56/bitstream/handle/123456789/772/Mengistu%20Geremew.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, retrieved on 19/08/2021) and Tämängän, p.13.

hierarchical form of *awrajas*, *wärädas* and *meseläné*.¹⁷² In 1946 the administrative division was amended by the decree No. 6 of 1946. Based on this administrative proclamation, Ethiopia was re-drawn in to *Täqalay Gizat*, *Awraja*, *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda*.¹⁷³ Thus, in 1946 the country was divided in to Twelve (12) provinces (*täqelay gezat*), one hundred three (103) sub-provinces (*awrajas*), five hundred five (505) districts (*wärädas*) and nine hundred forty-nine (949) sub-districts (*meketel wärädas*).¹⁷⁴

Throughout the period, however, the numbers as well as the boundaries of these divisions have continually changed. Since then many boundaries have been redrawn in the interest of consolidation and political centralization. Therefore, according to J. Markakis expression in the book of *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, for instance, the administrative hierarchy of Ethiopia was re-arranged into fourteen (14) provinces, ninety nine sub-provinces (99), four hundred forty-four districts (444) and one thousand three hundred twenty-eight (1328) sub-districts in 1964.¹⁷⁵ In 1950, there were seven (7) sub-provinces, fifty (50) district and one hundred forty eight (148) sub-districts in the province of Shoa.¹⁷⁶

የሸዋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት በወ.ስጡ የሚገኙት የአወራጃዎችን የወረዳዎች የምክትል ወረዳዎች ገዥዎችን ስም አጠራርና ከተማዎችን የሚያሳይ ሠሌዳ አዘጋጅቷል። ስለዚህ በወሰን ሰሚየገናኘን ጉዳይ ወይም በልዩ ልዩ ስራዎች በወንጀልና አፈሳሰግ ስምንጸጸፋቸው ደብዳቤዎች ጠቅሰውን የአገሮችን ስም አጠራር መስራ ጤትም ቢየዉቅልን ጠቀሚ መሆኑን ተረድተን ሁለት ክርታስ በዚህ ደብዳቤ አማካኝነት ስብርክትም ልኬደሁ።¹⁷⁷ See Appendix-i.

¹⁷²Nebyu Eyasu, “The Administration History of Gojjam, 1941-1974.” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2004), pp.47-48.

¹⁷³Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991: From the Monarchical Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy*, (London, New York: Kegan Paul International, 1997), p.46.

¹⁷⁴John M. Cohn and Peter H. Koch, *Ethiopia Provincial and Municipal Government: Imperial and Post- Revolutionary Changes* (Michigan State University, 1980), pp.19-23; Mengistu Geremew, “A History of Wänbära Wäräda, 1941-1991” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University: History, 2016), p.26.

¹⁷⁵Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of A Traditional Polity---*, p.290; Tämängän, p.13 and Yamral Mekonnen, “A History of Burji Woreda, 1941-1991”, (MA Thesis, Haramaya University: History and Heritage Management, 2013), p.54. (Available at <https://www.google.com/search?q=Yamral+Mekonne+%2C+%E2%80%99CA+History+of+Burji+Woreda%2C8>, retrieved on 19/08/2021).

¹⁷⁶ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.26, File No. 17.1.3.26.04, Ref. No U/90013, p.2., Seen Appendix-ii.

¹⁷⁷ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.26, File No. 17.1.3.26.04, Ref. No U/90013, p.2.

Literally translated as follows;

“The province of Shoa prepared the board that showed the calling name and the town of sub-province, district and sub-district which found under it. Therefore, by understanding the importance of your office to know the countries name to exchange letter about the boundary and searching of criminal we send two sheets with this letter for regards.”

የሸዋ ጠቅላ ግዛት (ዋና ከተማ አዲስ አበባ) 7 አዉራጃዎችና 50 ወረዳዎች 148 ምክትል ወረዳዎች አሉት። ስማቸውም ከነከተማቸው ከዘህ በታች በዝርዝር የተመለከቱት ናቸው። ተገሰትና ቡልጋ አዉራጃ (ደብረ ብርሃን) ወራና ወረዳ (ልቸ) ሞጃ ምክትል ወረዳ (ጽጌረዳ) መንዘና ዪፋት አዉራጃ (ደብረ ሲና) ቀወት ወረዳ (መዘዞ) ወደራ ምክትል ወረዳ (ሰላድንጋይ) ።¹⁷⁸ See Appendix-ii.

Literally translated as follows;

“The province of Shoa with its capital Addis Ababa had seven sub-provinces, fifty district and one hundred forty eight sub-district. The name of these with their capital were the sub-province of Tägulätna Bulga awraja (Däbrä Berhan), the district of Wärana (Leche), Moja sub-district, (Mänzna Yefat subprovince (Däbrä Sina), Qäwät (Mäzäzo), the sub-district of Wädära (Säladingay).”

As describe in short, among from these sub-districts, two sub-districts, Wädära and Moja had been structured between 1946-1968/69 in areas of present day Mojana Wädära district. Wädära sub-district was categorized under Qäwät district which found under Mänzna Yefat sub-province in the province of Shoa up to 1965. At this time, the center of Mänzna Yefat *awraja* was Däbrä Sina. The center of Qäwät district was Mäzäzo. See further information about the organization of the province in Appendix-ii.

When the ministry of interior re-arranged the administrative boundaries, the center of Mänzna Yefat shifted from Däbrä Sina to Mähal Méda in 1965.¹⁷⁹ Thus, Wädära sub-district had been grouped under Tägulätna Bulga *awraja* in 1965. It was grouped under Baso district with its capital Atakelet. The administrative center of Tägulätna Bulga *awraja* was Däbrä Berhan. The center of Wädära sub-district was already at Säladingay since 1946.¹⁸⁰ Moja sub-district was grouped in Tägulätna Bulga *awraja* under Wärana district with its capital Leché since 1946. The

¹⁷⁸ ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.26, File No. 17.1.3.26.04, Ref. No U/90013, p.2., See Appendix-ii.

¹⁷⁹ Dawit, p.20 and Informants: Admasu, Hailu and Wändafäräw.

¹⁸⁰ ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.26, File No. 17.1.3.26.04, Ref. No U/90013, p.2 See Appendix-i, and Appendix-ii, and Folder No. 17.1.3.03, File No. 17.1.3.03.03, Ref. No. 873/47.

administration capital of Moja sub-district was stationed at Şegéräda around Sasit.¹⁸¹ From 1965 to 1968/69, Wädära and Moja sub-district were continued under Tägulätna Bulga *awraja* with in different district. As a result, administration, police, court and other offices were opened in Säladingay and Şegéräda for effectively governing the respective *meketel wädäras*. The administrative issues which would be above the authority of sub-district officials were transferred to the respective district centers.¹⁸²

According to informants, the first governor of Wädära sub-district was *Fitawrari* Tadässä Bälayenäh. His successors who administered this sub-district were *Ato* Yäşetela, *Ato* Yinäsu and *Ato* Sahelé but their period of rule was unknown that means who governed one after the other.¹⁸³ On the other hand, the first *meketel* governor of Moja sub-district was *Qäñ Azemač* Däjäné Hailä Mariam. His successor was *Qäñ Azemač* Mamäça. Though other governors were ruled this subdistrict, their name were disremembered/forgotten by my informants.¹⁸⁴

The leaders of these sub-district with other government officials had been accomplished minor legal issues and administrative career. They gave judgment for local people when they reached to conflict. They also collected and send tax to the government. Moreover, the governors supervised other government officials who assigned under him to keep the security of this sub district. While, the major issues that needed serious decisions from both *meketel wärädas* were carried out and accomplished in their respective district. Therefore, serious problem judgments of both sub-district had been to be seen at the center of their district.¹⁸⁵

In 1965, all political unit of *meketel-wärädas* were abolished and upgraded to the standard of *wärädas* throughout the empire. Additional *wärädas* were also created in many parts of the empire that was one part of the development in the country. The parameter to abolish *meketel wärädas* was their poor economic standard, which means their tax revenue was below \$17,000.¹⁸⁶

የተገለገሉትና ቡልጋ አወራጃ ገዥ የተከበሩ ደጃዝማች ተስፋዬ ዕንቆ ስላሴ በአወራጃው ግዙት አስተዳደር ውስጥ ያጋጠመውን የስራ ችግር በመዘርዘር በቁጥር 6242/40 ሚያዝያ 19 ቀን 1959 ዓ.ም፣ ሲጽፍልዎ ያደረጉት ግልበጭ ደርሶናል። የምክትል ወረዳ የሚሰጠው አገልግሎትና ጥቅም በመታጠፉ የሚደርሰው ችግርና ጉዳት የትኛው እንደሚያመዘን ጉዳዩ በዘርዘር ተጠንቶ ቢታጠፍ የመንግስትን

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁸² Dawit, p.20 and Informants: Admasu, Hailu and Wändafäräw.
¹⁸³ Informant: Admasu and Wändafäräw.
¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁸⁵ Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie and Wändafäräw.
¹⁸⁶ Yamral, p.54.

ስራ የሚያቀላጥፍና የባለጉዳዩን ድካም የሚቀንስ መሆኑ ስለታመነበት በጠቅላላው የንጉሠ ነገሥቱ መንግስት የግዛት አስተዳደር መሥሪያ ቤት እስከ ወረዳ ግዛት ብቻ እንዲሆን ተወስኖ ስለድልድሉ አፈጻጸም በተላለፈላቸው መግለጫና መመሪያ መሰረት ብዙዎች ጠ/ግዛቶች ም/ወረዳ ግዛቶችን አጥፈው በአዲሱ የወረዳ ግዛት ድልድል ስራቸውን ጀምረዋል። እስካሁንም በተየው ወ.ጤት ስራው ቅልጥፍና አገኘ ከሚባል በቀር በም/ወረዳ ግዛቶች መታጠፍ ችግር ደርሶል የሚል አቤቱታ አልቀረበም።----- ስለዚህ የም/ወረዳ መተጠፍ ጠቃሚነቱ ተጠንቶና ታወቆ ሌሎች ጠቅላይ ግዛቶች ድልድሉን ፈጽመው ስለቀረቡ የሚጠበቀው የሸዋ ጠቅላይ ግዛትም ድልድሉን እንዲደርሰን ከሚደረግ በቀር ከሌላው እንዲለይ የሚደረግበት ምክንያት አለመኖሩን በማክበር አሳውቃለሁ።¹⁸⁷

Literally translated as follows;

“Dejjazemach Tesfaye Enqo Selassie, the leader of Tägulätna Bulga awraja, wrote by No 6242/40 on April 27, 1967 by listed the problems that faced within the administration of this sub-province reached to us. By studding the importance and service which given by sub-district with comparing to the problems and severe which coming by joining this unit of administration, the sub- district unit was ended and upgraded in to district. The removing of sub-district ensures to be facilitated government task and minimized the up and down of whom wanted to get service from the government. All the imperil government territorial administration office to be decided only up to the level of district. Based on this, most provinces started their task with the new form of administration structure by joining the administrative level of sub-district. There was no compliant by this form without saying the work is simplified. There is no reason for Shoa Province to differ from others so I announce to bring your new form of administration.”

It described shortly in the following way. In 1967, except in the province of Shoa the political unit of sub-districts in all provinces of the country was abolished and upgraded to the level of district. So the ministry of administration sent a letter to the governor of Shoa province about the decision of imperil government *gezat astedader* in April 27, 1967. On the letter, the ministry of administration expressed the abolition of sub-provinces to simplify the task of the government and reduced the up and down of those who wanted a solution for their issue was ensured by investigation and to rearrange the administrative unit only up to the standard of district. Therefore, based on this order, the political unit of sub-district in the province of Shoa was ended and merged and advanced to the level of district since 1967. See further information in Appendix-v.

¹⁸⁷ ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.28, File No. 17.1.3.28.27, Ref. No./1564/1, See Appendix-v.

Accordingly, the two separate *meketel wäradas*, Wädära and Moja, become joined/united as to one district, Mojana Wädära under Tägulätna Bulga *awraja* in the province of Shoa in 1968/69. However, when the government ordered to unite these *meketel Wädäras*, there was a great conflict/disagreement between the inhabitants of Moja and Wädära sub-district. According to informants, the disputes were mainly carried out between the respective *balabats*. The *balabats* of Moja were rich in treasures/property, while the *balabats* of Wädära were rich in argumentation to persuade the issue in proper manner.¹⁸⁸

The *balabats* (mostly they were priests) of Wädära demanded the unification of Moja with them and formed a sole district by making its center at Säladingay. From Wädära, the leading personnel who wanted to the unification with Moja were *Qés Mängestu*, *Ato Beserat Alämayähu*, *Šambäl Asedängeṭ Zäwdu*, *Mälakä Sälam Hadis W/Iyäsus*, *Qés Mä'aza W/Iyäsus*, *Balambaras Hailä Mariam*, Colonel *Käbädä W/Iyäsus*, *Ato Berhanu Mäšäša* and *Ato Ago Abäbä*.¹⁸⁹

However, the *balabats* of Moja were unwilling to unite with Wädära. The inhabitants of Moja sub-district refused the unification though they believed that if we united as a single district, the center of the district would be at Sasit. The main persons of Moja who lead the society to oppose the unity and try to made Sasit as a center of Mojana Wädära district if they would be fused were; *Ato Geris W/Säma'et*, *Ato Ṭäqelé W/Şadeq*, *Ato Berqenäh W/Şadeq* and *Ato Admasu Hailu*.¹⁹⁰ The major cause for their disagreement in relation to unification was the question of the district center where it would be placed.¹⁹¹

The inhabitants of Moja preferred Sasit to be the center of the united district, whereas, the Wädära inhabitants wanted to be at Säladingay. The other reason was long term conflict between the *balabats* of Moja and Wädära with the rivalry of controlling *rist* land. Even when the struggle to against fascist Italians, they had no more good relation as such they fought with Italians separately in different trenches between 1936 and 1938. Though they made unity in the last period of fighting, the *balabats* were again went to disputes in case of desire to control lands of the border line.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Wändafäräw and Admasu.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid* and Berhanu Mäšäša.

¹⁹⁰Informant: Admasu.

¹⁹¹*Ibid* and Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie and Wändafäräw.

¹⁹²*Ibid*.

In 1968, the *balabats* of Wädära from Säladingay went to Sasit to bring out the document and files of Moja sub-district by saddle of donkey. But the *balabats* of Moja refused and derived away the Wädära *balabats* who made traveling to Sasit to brought files. Thereafter, the *balabats* of Moja had been carried out meeting and discussed how to protect the files. They selected *Ato Admasu Hailu* and ordered him to protect the files of that sub-district. The others went to Däbrä Berhan and Addis Ababa to present their appeal of the case.¹⁹³ According to informant, one *Azemari* who was named Bäsah Wuräd stated the grievance of Moja peoples as follows;

“እኔ አያግባባኝም እንዲህ ያለ መላ፤ “I have not agree with in this tactic;
ተቀላቀል አሉት ሞጃን ከወደራ”።¹⁹⁴ They called to join Moja with Wädära.”

The debating had been taken near to one year. Finally, the debate ended by the victory of Wädära *balabats*. The *balabats* of Wädära obtained the decision by present convincing reason. The availability of water was the primary reason to made Säladingay for the center of the district. The town was encircled by seven stream waters. The second reason that strongly presented by Wädära *balabats* was the ancientness of the town. Säladingay served as court for many kings since 1270. Yekuno-Amelk and Zära Ya’eqob were the major examples who used Säladingy as a center of their court.¹⁹⁵

Based on this convince, the government officials of the province and sub-province decided to unified Moja and Wädära under one district and the town of Säladingay to be the center of the integrated district. *Ato Woldä Amanuel*, the governor of Tägulätna Bulga *awraja*, came to the district and reconciled the antagonist *balabats* of the two sub-district. At this time, the *balabats* accepted the reconciliation and avoided their adversary and then reached to an agreement. At this time, according to local tradition, they slaughtered an ox by contributing both *balabats* to maintain the conciliation.¹⁹⁶

Following this, the two separate sub-district became united as a district called Mojana Wädära with its administration center at Säladingay in 1968/69. As a result, Mojana Wädära had been structured as district between 1968/69 and 1974. During the imperial period all the governors of

¹⁹³Informants: Admasu and Wändafäräw.

¹⁹⁴Informant: Wudyä Tägétä

¹⁹⁵Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Germa Ṭalé and Wändafäräw.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*

Wädära and Moja *meketel* wärädas from 1940s-1968/69 and governors of Mojana Wäräda district from 1968/69-1974 were appointed by the emperor from the center with the purpose to consolidate the supremacy of centralization and to disbanding the autonomy of local regions. Loyal to the emperor, maintenance of peace and security and their quality leadership were the parameter to select those of the governors by the central government. However, the major requirement to select these governors was their participation in fighting with fascist Italian. Therefore, Patriotic was the main criteria for the emperor whom to select district and sub-district governors.¹⁹⁷

In case of this in the period under discussion, however, formal education and, even reading and writing were not taken as the requirement for appointment of governors for these political field. There were other government officials with/under the governors like *Şähafi* and *quṭeṭer* (controller) in the center. Although the payment for district and sub-district governors was not constant in all imperial period, salary of sub-district and district governors were 50 and 100 birr per months respectively for some times. Under the governors of sub-districts and district in the later, the government assigned local traditional rulers (*balabats*) by dividing that of sub-district and district in to a number of small administrative unit called *Aṭebiya* to facilitate efficient administration system.¹⁹⁸

The *meketel* wäräda of Moja was sub-divided in to 11 *Aṭebiya* as a result it had 11 traditional rulers for each. Similarly, the *meketel* wäräda of Wädära was divided in to 13 *Aṭebiya* with 13 traditional rulers for each. These traditional rulers were termed as *Aṭebiya Daña*. The *Aṭebiya Dañas* were appointed by the respective sub-districts/districts governors from patriots or others. The government granted *gult* lands to them in *gaša*. They were responsible to the district or sub-district governors. The task of *Aṭebiya Daña* was providing local judgment for minor local issues in their respective *Aṭebiya*. The other responsibility of these officials were collecting tributes/taxes from the society, settling disputes and keep the security of the region.¹⁹⁹

Aṭebiya Daña had been appointed other government servants under him in order to forward rule and regulations to the local peoples in proper manner. These government officials were known as *Çhiqaşums* who were responsible to the *Aṭebiya Daña*. *Çhiqaşum* was appointed to providing for

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*

one-year service. *Chiqashum* was responsible to distribute the orders and instructions of the government for peasants/local peoples from higher officials. *Çhiquashums* were inspired the inhabitants under them to pay tax in proper time. So, collecting and sending taxes from the peasants and to his upper officials was the other task of *Chiqashum*. Moreover, they transferred an information to their above officials about civil and criminal issues.²⁰⁰

Therefore, he was an agent between peasants and his upper local officials. However, *Çeqashums* had no power to have taken any action and to make decision rather they transferred to *Atebiya Daña*.²⁰¹ Both *Atebiya Daña* and *Çeqashums* were appointed without formal cash payment. The local peoples gave free labor service to these officials. The main activity of males was cultivating the land of *Atebiya Daña* that provided by the government instead of salary. Females were also took part in grinding cereals and fetching water for wives of *Atebiya Daña*. *Atebiya Dañas* acquired some percent of income from tax that collected from tax payers. *Çeqashums*, however, earned free labor service from the local peoples. Their benefit was generally earned from the governed under him.²⁰²

3.2. Land Tenure Systems

The post 1941 period saw structural transformations in many fields of state and society. Among them the most significant areas of change was land tenure.²⁰³ Land is one of the most important property of human being. While, the Ethiopia government had a long tradition of intervention in land tenure affairs. The state exerted considerable influence on local land tenure systems throughout different political regimes since ancient period. In history, the land tenure system is associated with the socio-economic and administrative concepts rather than concepts of geographical features.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*

²⁰¹*Ibid.*

²⁰²*Ibid.*

²⁰³Shiferaw Bekele, "The Evolution of Land Tenure in the Imperial Era", *An Economic History of Modern Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974*, 1 (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995), pp. 73-74.

²⁰⁴Temesgen Gebeyehu, "Land Tenure, Land Reform and the *Qalad* System in Ethiopia, 1941–1974", In *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, (History, Pennsylvania state university, 2011), p.567. (Available at <https://www.grafiati.com/fr/literature-selections/land-reform-land-settlement-land-tenure-veterans-zimbabwe/conference-proceedings/>, retrieved on 19/08/2021) and Wibke Crewett and et al, "Land Tenure in Ethiopia: Continuity and Change, Shifting Rulers, and the Quest for State Control", In *International Food Policy Research Institute, CAPRI Working Paper 91*, (Washington, DC, 2008), p.5. (Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2499/CAPRIWP91>, retrieved on April, 28, 2020).

In Ethiopia, the most ancient system of landholding is the communal land tenure system. But gradually this ancient form of landholding transformed to new forms of land tenure and also created another ownership of land rights. Three types of landholding were developed in most of imperial period. These were *rist*, *ristä-gult* and *gult* which were dominant in that period.²⁰⁵ “*Rist* is a group right, in which the land is owned by the group family. It is divided and re-divided among the descendants of the founder of the land through time, and inherited within the family for generations.”²⁰⁶

Gult was a right to land and a right to collect tribute in kind or cash from *rist* owners of land. An official granted land by the government for his service. It was not hereditary right therefore it was cancelled when they could not be loyal or unable to accomplish their responsibility.²⁰⁷ With time, in some cases, the nature of *gult* was transformed. Some well-placed officials of the state began to be succeeded by their offspring in their official positions. As a result, *gult* became hereditary. These hereditary *gult* rights were called *riste-gult*.²⁰⁸ “Land was said to be owned by the peasants, the church and the nobility in the form of *gult* and *rist* while later the ownership type officially changed to private and state property.”²⁰⁹

During the reign of Hailä Selassie, there were three categories of land in Mojana Wädära district. These were *yämängest yezota* (state land), private (*rist*) and church lands. The first kind was registered as to government possession in time of land measurement. Some communal ownership and grazing lands delivered to become government lands. The government had given this land to his servants. For example, the servants who obtained government lands were *Aṭebiya Daña* as a *gult* that amounted one *gaša* for each for their service such as collecting tributes, administration, maintenance of security in the region, and supervise other administrative personnel in the granted area.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ Temesgen Gebeyehu, p.568.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ Crewett, p.9 and Mengistu, p.38.

²⁰⁸ Temesgen Gebeyehu, p.569.

²⁰⁹ Beyene Chekol, “Contending Views on Land Tenure System in Ethiopia: Historiographical Essay”, *In African Journal of History and Culture*, (Department of History and Heritage Management: Debre Markos University, 2017), p.1. (Available at https://academicjournals.org/ebook/journal1487170732_AJHC%20Ebook%20-%20January%202016%20Issue.pdf, retrieved on 19/08/2021).

²¹⁰ Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Gäbä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw.

According to informants, *Aṭebiya Daña* cultivated their land by using free labor of the peasants in the district. They also distributed the lands to landless inhabitants.²¹¹ According to Bahru on the book entitled *A Modern Ethiopian History---*, in the period under discussion, the main beneficiaries from this beneficence of the state land were patriots, emigrants, soldiers and civil servants. Bahru explained that the government distributed the lands look about for so what seems to expand his backing perspective.²¹² In Mojana Wädära district, the state land was mainly granted to patriots one per *gaša*, resembling to *Aṭebiya Daña*. For instance, the patriots who earned from this kind of lands were *däjazmač* Käfäläw W/Şadik, Täfära Dañé and Gäbrä Selassie Azebeṭé in Zub Amba Kábälé. *Ato* Täsäma Ergäṭé earned in Berqa *kábälé*, and *Aba* Gošemé Hailä Giyorgis in Aysofé *kábälé*. However, it does not mean that these were the merely patriots who benefited from that land in the district.²¹³

The second types of land in the district was *rist* lands that existed in the post liberation period. These lands that transferred from generation to generation in line of descent family from its founder (*aqeni*) via clearing large tracts of forest. Through change of time, it is divided and transferred to the descendant family of the founder. Under this process of inheritance, the initial stage was assigned an *aläqa*. For instance, if an individual had seven children, one of them would be appointed as *Aläqa*. To grant the land for them, the rest land was divided into eight equal parts. Then each child would take its own share by casting lots, and one part was allowed to adding to the *Aläqa*.²¹⁴ This land came to be known as *yämenezet*. The founder also transferred the land in forms of inheritance to his family descent as well as to others.²¹⁵

On the other hand, during the imperial regime, through time the *balabats*, the *mälkäñas* and other government officials changed their service lands to *rist* lands in Mojana Wädära district. Most of the lands were owned by *rist* owners. The majority of *rist* owners were living in rural areas of the district and cultivated their lands by themselves and they granted to tenants. While, the others about 25% of the *rist* owners were live in urban and outside the district. Therefore, they distributed the lands to tenants. The majority of the inhabitants/peasants were landless.²¹⁶ Those peasants who

²¹¹*Ibid.*

²¹²Bahru Zewde, *A Modersn History of Ethiopia---*, p.199.

²¹³Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw.

²¹⁴*Ibid* and Dechasa, p.77.

²¹⁵ Informants: Asäfa and Germa Ṭalé.

²¹⁶Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw.

did not have their own land live on *rist* owner lands. Peasants also rented lands from *rist* owners. They provided free labor service and honey to land owners.²¹⁷

In Mojana Wädära district, the land lords distributed the lands to poor land peasants and landless inhabitants in the forms of lease and *mägazo*. In the form of lease, landlords provided lands to landless peasants whom to construct houses to live there and cultivated the lands of *rist* owners. These peasants were known as *çesäña* (tenants). *Ekuléta* (1/2), *Siso* (1/3) or *Erbo* (1/4) of the products from the lands that cultivated by tenants was given to the owner of the land. Secondly, the landlords granted lands to peasants in forms of *Mägazo*. Peasants did not live on the lands of the land lord by building houses. Rather they only cultivated the lands, yet share the products to land owners similar to *çesäña* (tenants). In the district, this kind of giving lands to peasants was called *mägazo*. The peasants were called *tägaž*. However, when the tenants and *tägaž* unable to satisfied the land lords, they released lands. They also canceled their contract taht made with the land lords. This had a negative impact on the peasants. They unable to feed their family and then migrated to other aress.²¹⁸

The third types of land that existed in the district of Mojana Wädära was Church land as it called *yäsämon märét*. In the district, most Churches and Monasteries had *gult* lands though its size was varied from one to others. It was interesting that not only the varieties of the land but also some Churches and Monasteries were granted lands by the government. For instance, the government granted 93 *gaša* land for *Kedus* Markos church, 1 *gaša* for Ajana Micael church, 2 *gašas* for Tarmabär Giyorgis church, and 24 *gašas* for Däbrä Meṭemaq Şadeqané Mariam monastery.²¹⁹

However, the majority Churches and Monasteries earned their livelihood land from people's *rist* land. The institutions which obtained lands by this conditions was mostly less than 1 *gaša* land. These land distributed for large numbers of clergy servants. As a result, the clergy did not have sufficient lands for their livelihood.²²⁰ Different from the above two ways of getting lands, the monastery of Mäsqälé Mädhané Aläm occupied lands by clearing forest. In ancient time, the clergy expanded the lands by protecting large tracts of forests. In this way, they occupied 40 *gaša* lands

²¹⁷Dechasa, pp.91-93.

²¹⁸Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw.

²¹⁹*Ibid.*

²²⁰Informants: Asäfa and Wändafäräw.

for their livelihood around the Monastery. However, during the period of Haile Selassie, though the majority lands of that was taken by *balabats*, small tracts of lands were maintained under its Monastery.²²¹

In the district, the Church land was owned by Church or Monastery leaders, priests, deacons, *māriḡēta* and *gābāz* which termed as *yastādādār mārēt*, *Yāqesena mārēt*, *Yādiquna mārēt*, *Yāmāriḡēta mārēt* and *Yāgābāz mārēt* respectively. The peasants in their respective church provided free labor for churches and contributed grain and different commodities from their product voluntarily.²²²

Land measurement was one of the most land reform in the post liberation period. This resulted privatization of land. In other way lands became privatize through different ways. The state had been granted lands as salary/*madāriya* to *balabats*, *mālkāñas* and other government servants/officials instead of salary in pre-war period. These lands was changed to *rist* (privatize) lands after 1941. Like to this, the *gult* lands of gentry and nobility of the previous period was changed to private or *rist* lands in post liberation period. The other way of changing to private was that the land which obtained by inheritance. These kinds of lands were owned by *gābbars*. Taxpaying (*gābbars*) became legal owners of the land. After 1941, however, *rist* land became an absolute private property. Henceforth, the land holders/*rist* owners had a right to bought/sold lands unlike the pre-war period in which the members unable to bought/sold to other individuals or groups.²²³

3.3. Taxation and Fiscal Systems

Before Ethio-Italian war, the government of Emperor Haile Selassie declared a new tax system in May 1935. In this declaration, the government established formal and uniform tax payment by changing the form of kind in to the form of currency. Based on this, the government made the land owners to pay 30 Maria Theresa talers for 1 *gaša* (40 hectares) of land. However, the tax payment through the form of kind was continued until early 1940s. Even this tax system also stopped within

²²¹Informant: Täklä Berhan.

²²²Informants: Admasu, Asäfa and Wändafäräw.

²²³Bahru Zewde, *A Modern History of Ethiopia---*, pp.199-200 and Feseha Yazé, *Yä Iteyopeya Yä 5 Ši Amät Tarik: Kaletāzāmārälät Iyasu Eskä Tāzāmārälät IHADG ('The Five Thousand Year History of Ethiopia: From unknown Iyasu to known EPRDF')*, Vol. II, (Addis Ababa: Alpha Printing Press, 2012), pp.108-109.

five years of Ethio-Italian war. The economic development of the country went back to backwardness. Because the Italians did not collect tax except collecting *asrat* and used labor.²²⁴

After removed the fascists and the emperor's restoration to power, various declarations were introduced by the Ethiopian government to consolidate the political power and to increase government revenue. Therefore, in 1942 the government declared new tax systems in the country in order to collect fixed taxes from peasants in cash. In the year, the land tax levied on the *rist* holders. These made to reduce by half from the land tax that imposed in 1935 by understanding the five years hardship and crisis of peoples and the country. Thus, the amount of tax payment varied according to the size and fertility of land that owned by peasants.²²⁵ In 1942, land-tax proclamation had been introduced based on the quality of the land. The three categories of land were "cultivated land (*lem*), semi-cultivated land (*lem-tef*) and uncultivated land (*tef*). The fixed tax rate on these lands per *gasha* (forty hectares) were 15, 10 and 5 birr respectively".²²⁶

In 1944, tax collection system was improved. In this year, new tax proclamation was enacted to increase the amount of tax payment. According to 1944 land-tax proclamations, payment of tax had been raised up to 50, 40 and 15 birr per *gasha* on cultivated, semi-cultivated and uncultivated lands respectively on the lands that measured by *qäläd*.²²⁷ On this proclamtions, the payment of *asrt* also had made to pay on cash. So the *rist* owners paid of 35, 30, and 10 birr of *asrat* per *gasha* on cultivated, semi-cultivated and uncultivated lands respectively.²²⁵ According to Bahru Zewde, in the book of *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, however, the land tax that imposed in the province of Shoa *Amhara* on the land which was unmeasured by *qäläd* was lower than the tax decree of 1944.²²⁸ Based on this, 12 birr land tax and 8 birr *asrat* had been levied on the *rist* owners.²²⁹

²²⁴ Yezna Worku, *Yä Iteyopeya Geber Tarik: Käñentäwi Isekä Zämänawi* ('The History of Tax in Ethiopia: From Ancient to Modern'), Addis Ababa: Berana Printing press, 2011 EC), p.78.

²²⁵ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, p.193, Donald Crummey, *Land and Society: In the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 200), pp.237-239.

²²⁶ Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of A Traditional Polity---*, p.149.

²²⁷ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, p.192, Crummey, pp.237-239 and Yezena, p.96. ²²⁵ Yezena, p.96.

²²⁸ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, p.193.

²²⁹ Yezena, p.96. ²²⁸ Giulia Mascagni, "A Fiscal History of Ethiopia: Taxation and Aid Dependence 1960-2010", *In Institute of Development Studies*, (Brighton: ICTD Working Paper 49, March 2016), p.8. (Available at https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/12777/ICTD_WP49.pdf, retrieved on 19/08/2021).

The 1942 land tax proclamations brought several changes on local inhabitants of Mojana Wädära district.²²⁸ One of its change was the replacement of traditional tax collection in kind by new taxation system of cash.²³⁰ Before the declaration, tax payment was not fixed as a result of prevailing tax collection in kind such as butter, honey, grain, etc. The amount of tax that collected from peasants was varied in different areas. Tax assessors were also corrupt when they levied tax on land owners in proportion of the product. Moreover, the expected tax would not be reach to the government. Since early 1940s, although various problems could be brought on peasant's life, tax was paid in terms of cash in *meketel* wäräda of Wädära and Moja.²³¹

Secondly, the size and quality lands of the district that occupied by peasants was identified based on the tax decree of 1942. The amount of tax was imposed based on the quality of lands. Henceforth, like to other parts of the country, lands was divided in to three categories; fertile (*läm*) semi fertile (*läm-täf*) and poor/infertile (*täf*) in the sub-district of Moja and Wädära. As a result of these land divisions, the imposition of taxes on them were equally different. Tax was collected from tax payers of the district in terms of the decree; 5, 10 and 15 birr for poor (*täf*), semi- fertile (*läm-täf*) and fertile (*läm*) respectively.²³²

On wards from 1944, the *rist* owners of Moja and Wädära sub-district paid land tax and *asrat* on the decree standard payment system. As stated by informants, however, some peasants and *rist* owners could not pay tax and *asrat* on the standard of the decree. They paid 20, 30 and 40 birr for two or three *gaša* lands. In addition to land tax and *asrat*, education, health and transport tax were imposed on the *rist* owners in Moja and Wädära sub-district.²³³

In the district of Mojana Wädära, land tax was imposed first on lands that occupied by *rist* owners who inherited from his family descent. One *rist* holders divided the lands to his children equally so they paid taxes by sharing so as to this they were termed as *gäbbars*. For example, if the children were five and inherited one *gaša* fertile land, they would be contribute 3 birr by each self to pay 15 birr. Because the government enacted to pay 15 birr per *gaša*. Secondly, previously the

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw.

²³² Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p.191, Shiferaw, p.129 and Dawit, pp.5-6 and informants: Asäfa and Wändafäräw.s

²³³ Informants: Asäfa, Gäbräwold and Wändafäräw.

madäriya lands which given to *balabats* and *mälkäñas* whom changed it to *rist* land for themselves as such they became land owners/lords. Therefore, they obligated to pay land tax according to the standard of the decree related to land size and fertility. Moreover, *mesafint* and nobilities became *rist* owners after liberation. Then payment of land tax was expect from them in proportion of their occupying lands in *gaša*.²³⁴

According to informants, however, it is very amazing that though tax payment was implemented by the name of the land owners, usually the cost of money was fall on the shoulders of peasants who received lands form land lords.²³⁵ Nevertheless, tax was not collected from church/*sämon* lands that given to clergy for their service in the church and monastery. So the clergy did not pay taxes. Rather than paying taxes, they provided church services like *qedase* (sing mass), praying, etc. Various services were expected from the church to the country. As such, the church provided several services such as praying for country peace, agricultural productivity and won a victory over the adversary. The church also provided teaching service for followers about spiritual issues and to be loyal for their rulers. Thus, Church lands were exempt from paying tax.²³⁶

State lands/*yämänegest yizota* which granted to government officials were also exempted from paying tax. Generally, tax was collected from *gäbbars*/peasants and land lords/*rist* owners.²³⁷ The government assigned tax collectors for each province. Tax collectors were selected by district and sub-district governors in respective regions. Tax collection was enforced by any government bodies in every district.²³⁸ In the period under discussion, the financial office of Wädära subdistrict was located in Säladingay town with in the balcony of W/o Zänäbä Work. Similarly, the office of Moja sub-district tax collectors was found in the town of Şegéräda around Sasit.²³⁹ In both regions, tax collectors were setting in the office and inspired the society with government servants of

²³⁴ Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw

²³⁵ *Ibid* and Harägua Habtä Wold.

²³⁶ Dechasa, pp.115-117 and informants; Admasu and Wändafäräw.

²³⁷ Mascagni, p.9 and Informants: Admasu, Asäfa Gäbrä Selassie, Berhanu Mäšäša, Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba and Wändafäräw.

²³⁸ Mengistu, p.32 and Shiferaw, p.32.

²³⁹ Informants: Bälehu Mäkonnen and Haile Mariam Alämu.

Atebiya Daña, Çeqaşum and *Näç Läbaš* to pay the expected tax according to the standard of the decree.²⁴⁰

Already in 1928 the decree that related to tax was enacted to end the labor service that given for *balabats* and government officials besides land tax. Both proclamations of 1942 and 1944 also introduced with aimed to abolish corve'e labor though practically it was continued. The peasants were not free from the influence which imposed by *balabats* and government officials.²⁴¹ In sub-district of Moja and Wädära, the peasants provided free labor service with plough, pick up the weed, fencing the crops and harvesting to land owners and government officials. Sometimes, the land lords also influenced the peasants to pay land tax for the government. Land tax and other taxes, *asrat* and labor work created big and high problems on peasants of the district. Moreover, when the peasants were unable to pay lease land to land owners, they forced to leave the lands. In addition, the peasants who unable to pay rent land and to give *erbo*, *siso* and *ekuleta* for land lords were forced to sold their own land to wealthy man of the district. By these problems, the tenants would be objected to left from the lands of the *rist* owners and also migrated to other areas. Therefore, these created negative influence on the economic development of the district. The peasants of the district also opposed the policy of the imperial government.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, p.193 and Yezena, p.77.

²⁴² Informants: Admasu, Asäfa, Gäbrä Wold Endalebaba, Wändafäräw and Harägua.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOJANA WÄDÄRA DISTRICT DURING THE *DÄRG* PERIOD, 1974-1991

In February 1974, Popular Revolution erupted in Ethiopia due to various factors to against Emperor Haile Selassie's government. The fundamental causes for these rebellion were; the increment of oil price, drought, growth of economic problems, political unrest. Moreover, the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution was the result of long years of popular discontent by imperial system of government. The dissatisfied group of peasants, army, teachers, civil servants, taxi drivers and students rose an uprising to depose Emperor Haile Selassie's monarchical system of government. Those social groups intended radical changes for what to accomplish their ambitions. But the immediate cause for the explosion of 1974 Revolution was Wollo famine²⁴³

The army which stationed in Nägälé revolted for what they needed to improve their living conditions. Teachers and students performed strikes and demonstrations to against the Educational Sector Review program of imperial regime. In addition, taxi drivers carried out a revolt with the desire of reducing petrol price. Nevertheless, the imperial government of Emperor Haile Selassie was unable to generate effective solution for these problems.²⁴⁴

Finally, on September 12, 1974, the Rebellion overthrew the Emperor and ended the imperial government in Ethiopia. Following this, the Provisional Military Government Council (PMGC), popularly known as *Därg* (committee) had taken the political power and started to rule Ethiopia in September 1974. Then after, the *Därg* issued various proclamations to satisfy the discontented society and to become as legitimate power. "On December 20, 1974, *Därg* declared the decree of "*Ethiopia Teqedäm*" (Ethiopia First)."²⁴⁵ After removing the emperor from power the *Därg*

²⁴³Bahru Zewde, *A History Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), p.229-236. Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuities in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.38.

²⁴⁴*Ibid.* Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1987: A Transformation from An Aristocracy to A Totalitarian Autocracy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.38; Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic History of Modern Ethiopia---*, p.139.

²⁴⁵ Andargachew Tiruneh, pp.80-87; Bahru, p.236; Clapham, p. 40; and Kjetil Tronvoll, "Ethiopia: A New Start?" *An MRG International Report*, (Minority Right Group International, 2000), P.13. (Availale at <https://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-148-Ethiopia-A-New-Start.pdf>. retrieved on 19/08/2021).

reformed the whole political and socio economic fields of the country and introduced new policies which imposed directly upon peoples everyday lives in the period between 1974 and 1991.²⁴⁶

4.1. Reforms of *Därg*

4.1.1. Political Reforms

After the *Därg* took the political power, the administrative structure was reformed. The political supremacy and dominance of the relatives of the feudal aristocrats was abolished from all sectors. The relatives of the old regime and officials were oppressed by the force of *Därg*. In some areas, the wealth of *balabats* were confiscated, and the big landlords were forced to be removed from their former positions. Moreover, the military government of *Därg* arrested and persecuted the former high ranking officials, and replaced the corrupt rural area administrations by new political figures.²⁴⁷

Mojana Wädära though organized as district since 1968/69, it continued the same position during the *Därg* regime (1974-1991). As to the previous period, Säladingay has been continued as the center of the district in the period. As a result of *Därg*'s administrative reform, for the sake of easy administration, Mojana Wädära was divided in to thirty-seven (37) *käbälés*. Thirty-six (36) were rural and one (1) was town *käbälé*. These *käbälés* had their own traditional leaders with the title called *Liqämänbär*. Under his there were another officials, such as cleric, auditor, local judge and militia. Local court (*Ferd šängo*) had been existed in each *käbälé*.²⁴⁸

This institution had a power to decide punishment on the governed when they violated the law of the period and made social conflict among themselves.²⁴⁹ After overthrowing the emperor from power and his officials from any sectors, the military government appointed new administrators for Mojana Wädära district. These officials are nominated to be able to run the reforms of *Därg*. Unlike the imperial regime, educational background is a base for their nomination. The first administrator of Mojana Wädära was *Ato Nägässä Bayu*.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶Steven Davies, "The Political Economy of Land Tenure in Ethiopia", (PhD Thesis: University of St Andrews, 2008), p.137-138; (Avalable at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/1154457.pdf>, retrieved on 19/08/2021) and Tronvoll, p.13.

²⁴⁷Clapham, p.40 and Mengistu, pp.46-47.

²⁴⁸Informants: Admasu Däbäbä, Käfäläč Gäbrä Šadiq, Täsäma Bogalä and Wändafäräw.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*

During the period of *Därg* from 1974/75-1991, the district was governed by nine rulers consecutively. Among from these, *Mäto Aläqa Anedargačäw Mäšäša* (1978-1980) and *Ato Bälätä Meteké* (1986-1987) left their contribution in the district. The former played a great role to construct a cleared road that extended from *Säladingay* to *Sasit*. He also helped for the establishment of telephone service in the district in 1979. The later inspired for the establishment of water generator to supply clean water for the society in 1986. Moreover, he played a great role to construct a cleared plain in *Säladingay*. It was/is important for sport training center and recreational place for the society, especially for the youngsters.²⁵¹

The *Därg* organized all peoples in to rural and urban administrative units, peasant associations (*gäbäré mahebär*) and urban dwellers associations (customarily called *käbälé*) throughout the country. Their main role was to implement the land reform and to coordinate the redistribution of land. Moreover, they organized for the sake of easy administration and to monopolize the whole country, rural and urban areas. Generally, they were local administrative units and they had also a responsibility of collecting taxes.²⁵² The new government formed three societal associations in the district of *Mojana Wädära* in related to sex and age in order to monopolize the rural area of the territory. These were peasant, female and young association that formed in the district.²⁵³

They were formed by the government with the aim to provide an instructions in organized form to the society and also to supervise their deed. Moreover, these were designed to perform the administration task of the district in organized form. Among from these, peasant association was the most important and well organized association under this discussion. Peasant Associations was formed at *käbälé* level in the district. Accordingly, 36 peasant associations were organized in each *käbälé*. Beside this, one urban dweller association (*käbälé*) was formed to administer the residence of the town. Thus, 37 *käbälés* were existed in the district of *Mojana Wädära*.²⁵⁴

Most of the district peasants were interested to become the members of the association in their respective *käbäle* peasant associations.²⁵⁵ Each peasant associations had their own leader/chairman

²⁵¹Dawit, p.21 and informant: Yetebaräk Haile

²⁵²Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*-----, p.254, Feseha Yazé, *Yä Iteyopeya Yä 5 Ši Amät Tarik: Kaletäzämärälät Iyasu Eskä Tüzämärälät IHADG*-----, p.281, Giulia Mascagni, p.16 and Kjetil Tronvoll, p.14

²⁵³Informants: Adamu, Täsäma and Wändafäräw.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵⁵*Ibid.*

who would be elected by the members of the associations. The leaders were named as *käbälé gäbäré mahebär* (head of *käbälé* peasant associations). The major duty of those leaders was to run the day to day activities of the associations.²⁵⁶

They also provided an administrative services in their respective areas. Those 36 *käbälé gäbäré mahebär* had their super chairman to implement the aim of peasant associations effectively. The seat of the chairman was located at Säladingay in the hole of the *Sägänät*. He was known as *wäräda gäbäré mahebär* (head chairman of the district peasant associations). The *wäräda gäbäré mahebär* had his responsibility like, supervise and guide the leaders of *käbälé* peasant associations. Peasant Associations in the district of Mojana Wädära were responsible to the leader of *wäräda gäbäré mahebär*. Therefore, they accepted the instruction from the district Peasant Associations and district administrators.²⁵⁷

All peasant Associations conducted monthly conference at the center of the district. They had been present the report of their task to the district governors and head of *wäräda* peasant associations and discussed with them. This monthly contact would be consolidate the associations. The peasant associations had an important contribution for the cooperation of peasants to actively take part in the field of farming. It helped the peasants to produce agricultural products in cooperation. But it affected on the agricultural developments of the district. The amount of the product reveal declining conditions because the cooperation task was fall on the shoulders of some members of the associations.²⁵⁸

The associations helped the officials to forward orders for the peasants to participate them in different programs in their respective areas. Through peasant associations, the government officials and district peasant association leader directing the society to involve in various coordinated activities. So the society actively participated collectively in soil conservation, planting tree and terracing for environmental protection, road building and house construction for villagwization program. The associations also significant to redistributed lands to all land less

²⁵⁶Informants: Adamu, Habté, Käfäläč, Täsäma and Wändafäräw.

²⁵⁷*Ibid.*

²⁵⁸*Ibid.*

peasants. It resulted for the end of feudal system so as to that some beneficiary groups of land lords were threatened.²⁵⁹

4.1.2. Land Reforms

Land is the principal resources for generating income for most of the peasants in rural areas. As stated in previous chapter, feudal land tenure system is practiced in the country in most of the imperial regime. This old age system was altered by the land reform proclamation of 1975.²⁶⁰ After overthrown the imperial regime of Haile Selassie, *Därg* proclaimed the land reform policy known as Proclamation No. 31/1975, which is titled “Public Ownership of Rural Lands Proclamation” on 4 March, 1975.²⁶¹ This land reform program was implemented the student’s slogan that is known as “*land to the tiller*”. By this Land Reform Proclamation, all rural land to be the property of the state. All large commercial farms were nationalized and became state farms, collective farms, or were distributed to the peasantry. The “Public Ownership of Rural Land Proclamation” also nationalized all rural land and issued to redistribute the lands to the peasants and to organize farmers in cooperatives.²⁶²

Based on the land reform proclamation, as to other parts of the country, land was redistributed to peasants in the district of Mojana Wädära. Firstly, in 1975/76 land was allocated for the peasants by *aynä gämäd* (eye guessing). However, formal land distribution was carried out in Mojana Wädära in 1980. This was implemented equally to all peasants. This was one of *Därg* program that carried out in the district.²⁶³ Peasant associations created in the district to implement the land reform and to coordinate the redistribution of land. The land was redistributed by the committee. The committee members were selected from the members of peasant associations. Hence, the first step to distribute land was that of forming land committee which consisted between 9 and 12 members in each *käbälés* of the district.²⁶⁴

Following this, investigation related to the issue of land and land owners was the first task of the committee. On this process, they registered the land owners and peasants who controlled lands

²⁵⁹*Ibid.*

²⁶⁰Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*-----, p.252 and Mengistu, p.47.

²⁶¹*Ibid*, Giulia Mascagni, p.16, Temesgen Gebeyehu, p.575 and Crewett pp.12-14.

²⁶²*Ibid.*

²⁶³Informants: Wändafäräw and Käfälän.

²⁶⁴Informants; Adamu, Käfälän, Täsäma and Wändafäräw.

more than 10 hectar in all *käbälés* of the district. Then the committee confiscated lands from all land owners out of 10 hector. The next task of land committee was redistribution of lands. The land committee redistributed the lands to landless peasants in equal proportion for each family members. However, the distribution of land was varied from one *käbälé* to the other *käbälés* due to unequal between the size of the land and the numbers of peasants. As such, small numbers of peoples who settled in large *käbälé* would be obtained excess cultivation lands and vice versa. It was because the land allocation was performed in *käbälé* level.²⁶⁵

However, some land committee members were corrupt instead of respecting law and order that formulated by the reigning regime of the period. When they redistributed the lands, the committee provided better, fertile and extra land for their family, relatives, and friends and for individuals who give bribe. They also had taken better and fertile lands for themselves. Moreover, they did not take excess lands of the *balabats* who possessed more than 10 hector. Notwithstanding, this land reform, confiscation and redistribution, was the first uniform tenure system that implemented in Mojana Wädära district.²⁶⁶

The land reform policy of *Därg*, removed the previous land tenure of feudalism and it made the majority land less peasants to be the possessor of cultivation land in Mojana Wädära district. Based on this transformation, the old-age landlord tenant relationship was removed from the distric. The land tenure system of *rest*, *gult* and *reste-gult* were abolish from the district. The *rest* owners/*balabats* of the district loss their rest land. The *rest* land of the Church was also removed by the land reform policy of the period. As a result, the Church and the clergy who depend on it became landless. On the other hand, this land reform rise a chance for tenants/peasants to get excess lands for agriculture and other purposes. Most peasants (*chisegna* and *tegazh*) of the district became the possessor of land.²⁶⁷

On 27 July, 1975 a proclamation was issued by the *Därg* on nationalization of urban land and extra houses. This was a good measurement of *Därg* that taken based on the principle of “*heberätäsäbawinät*” (‘socialism’) and to assure the economic and social fairness and equality of citizens. This proclamation established the Urban Dweller's Associations (*kebeles*). These

²⁶⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶⁶Informanfs; Asäfa, Gerema, Berhanu and Wändafäräw

²⁶⁷*Ibid* and Dawit, p.24.

associations were also used by the *Därg* to control and eliminate opposition forces in the towns.²⁶⁸ In the district of Mojana Wädära, the government had taken the urban land and extra houses under its control. Then based on the proclamation, the state distributed the houses to houseless dwellers in the town of Säladingay. Following this, the state organized the Urban Dwellers Associations locally called *käbälé* to control the urban land and houses and also to collect house rent.²⁶⁹

4.2. Cooperatives in the District

During the regime of *Därg*, though many cooperatives were formed in the country according to the declaration of the government, two cooperatives; service cooperative and agricultural Marketing Corporation had been formed in Mojana Wädära district.

4.2.1. Service Cooperatives

The military government issued a declaration by Proclamation No. 138/1970 EC to provide for the establishment of cooperative services. Therefore, according to this proclamation, service delivering cooperatives had been established with combination of different *käbälé* peasant associations.²⁷⁰ “The major functions of service cooperatives were to provide significant services to the members of cooperatives.”²⁷¹ Accordingly, “some of the objectives of service cooperatives were the provision of improved agricultural inputs, marketing service, renting out tractors and other farm machinery, supplying consumer goods, and storing and saving services. Overall, they aimed at protecting the peasants from exploitation by private traders by giving these different services easily and at lower cost.”²⁷²

Like to other parts of Ethiopia, in Mojana Wädära district, there were 36 *käbälé* peasant associations for which eight service cooperatives were established by combining three to seven peasant associations. These were Zaro, Sasit, Embuy Bad, Ayesofé, Säladingay, Bägoč Gač, Ṭarmabär and Wädära peasant service cooperatives.²⁷³ This was organized under the office of

²⁶⁸Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*-----, p.254, Feseha Yazé, *Yä Iteyopeya Yä 5 Ši Amät Tarik: Kaletäzämärälät Iyasu Eskä Tüzämärälät IHADG*-----,p.281

²⁶⁹Informants; Adamu, Gétačw, Mulunäš and Wändafäräw

²⁷⁰Mengistu, p.55, *Yä Hebrät Sera Tenat Budn Geberena Minister*, “The Organization of Peasant Cooperative: the Main Difference between the Previous Declaration and the Proclamation No 85/1986”, (Addis Ababa: Trade Printing Press, 1997), p.7 and YMWYYSMTBM, Folder No 8, Non File No, Ref. No. 000/12/15-125, See Appendix-vii.

²⁷¹Mengistu, p.55.

²⁷²Yamral, pp.99-100.

²⁷³Informants; Käfälän, Nägaš Käfälän and Wändafäräw.

Agricultural Development of the district. There were a parameter for peasants to be membership of service Cooperatives. One of it was that they were the member of *käbälé* peasant associations.²⁷⁴

Secondly, the peasants submitted an application to official committee of the cooperative. The official committee presents the application to general assembly and then the general assembly give a decision. The service cooperatives had mainly three official committees. These were chairman, secretary and finance holder. Thirdly, when the peasants become the member of the cooperative, every one paid 1 birr for registration and 4 birr for establishing and build up service cooperative. Generally, the peasants who wanted to be the member of service cooperative paid 5 birr.²⁷⁵ To accomplish their task/objectives in the district of Mojana Wädära, service cooperatives established shops of the cooperatives to distribute different kinds of goods for the members through membership cards. Moreover, they built *mägazäns* (storage rooms) of the cooperatives to store various types of grains. The service cooperatives employed shop workers for the shop of the cooperatives and workers of cereal buyer for storage room.²⁷⁶

According to the objectives of the cooperation's, the service that provided by these service cooperatives was supplied various commodities. The service cooperatives bought household consumer goods and household commodities and distributed to the members of the cooperatives through shops with determined fixed prices. When they distributed the commodities, the amount of selling price was greater than the price of purchasing. An example of the commodities which supplied by service cooperatives were salt, sugar, oil, coffee, soap, matches, web, nail, pen, corrugated iron, paper, battery, blade, scissors and farming materials.²⁷⁷

In Mojana Wädära, the other significant service that provided by service cooperatives were buying various type of grains from peasant in lower price. The main local grains which had been bought by the cooperatives were bean, pea, check pea, lentil and *teff*. For example, in 1983 the cooperatives bought bean, pea, check pea and lentil with 25, 32, 28 and 42 birr per quintal

²⁷⁴YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 8, Non File No, Ref. No. 000/12/15-125, pp.2-4. See Appendix-vii.

²⁷⁵*Ibid.*

²⁷⁶YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, No File No, Ref. No. 111/74 and Informants; Berhanä Habtä Wäld and Nägaš.

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, Non File No, Ref. No. 90/75, See Appendix-ix.

respectively.²⁷⁸ These grains were bought for two purposes; one to store in store rooms for hardship time. If the peasants faced a hardship time, the service cooperatives would be distributed the grains for the members with either credit or selling.²⁷⁹

እኔ አቶ ከበደ የሺጌታ የተባልኩት የእምቦይ ባድ አካባቢ የአ/ሕ/ሥ/ማ የህብረት እህል ሽያጭ ሰራተኛ የሆንሁ -----በተቀመጠው -----የሽያጭ ዋጋ መሰረት ለእርሻ ሰብል ለመሸጥ መረከቤንና በንዝህለልነት ለሚደርሰው ጉድለት እረሴ የምጠየቅ መሆኔን በፊርማዬ አረጋግጣለሁ።²⁸⁰ Seen Appendix-x.

It translated as follows;

“I am Mister Kebede Yeshigeta to be the selling worker of the Embuay Bad and around cereals service cooperatives.....I take various cereals with their selling price to sell to AMC and I take the responsibility of its shortage and assured by my signature.”

The second purpose was to sell the grains with earning some profit for Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC). They sold bean, pea, chick pea and lentil with selling price of 30, 36, 32, and 47 per quintal respectively for such organization. Therefore, the service cooperatives earned 5 birr from bean grain per quintal.²⁸¹ For example, the group of cereals buyer of the service cooperative office of Embuay Bad bought various crops from the seven peasant associations and sold these to AMC with determined price.²⁸² In the district, various events indicated that the service cooperatives were profitable. E.g., the service cooperative of Embuay Bad bought mill grinding.

በተገለጹትና በሌላ አወረጃ በሞጀና ወደራ ወረዳ የእቦይ ባድ የገበሬዎች የአገልግሎት የሕብረት ሥራ መገበር ከዚህ በፊት ከእርሻና እንዲህም ሌሎች ልማት ባንክ በብድር ወፍጮ እንዲያገኙ በተፈቀደላቸውና ተረካቢ እንዲልኩ በተጠየቀው መሰረት፣ 1ኛ/ አቶ ደበበ ዘለቀ 2ኛ/ ከፈለኝ ሙሉነህ 3ኛ/ ነገስ ገ/ሥላሴ ማህበሩ ወክሎ የላካቸው መሆኑን የሞጀና ወደራ ግብርና ልማት ጽ/ቤት በቁጥር 1014 ሐ-20/78 በ12/12/78 በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ ገልጸውልናል። ስለሆነም በእነናገተ በኩል ይኸው ታወቆ ለሚመለከተው ክፍል ተላልፎለቸው ወፈጮውን በእነዚህ ተወካዎች አማካኝነት እንዲያገኙ እንዲደረግ እየሰጠን ከዚህም ጋር የማህበሩ ሥራ አስፈጻሚ ኮሚቴ የተጠቀሱትን ሰዎች የወከለበትን 1 ገጽ በርባል አያይዘን የላክን መሆናችንን እንገልጻለን።²⁸³

²⁷⁸YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, No File No, Ref. No. 98/75, See Appendix-x.

²⁷⁹Informants; Adamu, Nägaš and Tässäma

²⁸⁰YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, No File No, Ref. No. 98/75.

²⁸¹YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, No File No, Ref. No. 98/75, See Appendix-x.

²⁸²YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, No File No, Ref. No. 89/77. See Appendix-xii.

²⁸³YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No, No File No, Ref. No. 3695/h/43/78, See Appendix-xi.

This idea is translated as follows;

“The peasant service cooperatives of Embuay Bad which located in Täguläna Bulga *Awraja* under allowed to get grinding mill in debit from agriculture and industry development and then asked to send taker. Based on this the *Mojna Wodera* agriculture and development office announce Ato Debebe Zeleke, Keefelegn Muluneh and Negese G/Selassie whom represented by the cooperative with letter which written by 20/8/1986 on No 014 ሐ-20/78. Thus, we announce this by attaching the decision of work accomplisher of the cooperatives with one page and send to them they get the grinding mill by those of representatives.”

The cooperatives also established wood work and black smith. The Agricultural Development Office of Täguläna Bulga *Awraja* send an application letter to Federal *Beräta Berät* Company in order to bought different apparatus and raw materials that used to the work of black smith in Embuay Bad cooperative service. Hence, Embuay Bad service cooperative could purchase and transported the apparatus and raw materials.²⁸⁴

Initially, the peasants were unwillingness to join the cooperative services. Gradually, they joined to the cooperatives for the purpose to obtain various services. However, the cooperative services of the district were collapsed and plundered by the local peoples when the down fall of *Därg* power in 1990/91. The local peoples looted the commodities from the shop and grain from the storage room of the cooperative service in the district. Hence, in 1991 the cooperative services had been interrupted from providing their services to the society/peasant associations of the district.²⁸⁵

4.2.2. Agricultural Marketing Corporation (*Erša Säbel Gäbiya Derejit*)

Agricultural Marketing Corporation was an enterprise that controlled by the government. It was one of the organizations during the time of *Därg*. This was established by the government officials of the period. Its headquarters was located in Säladingay. The organization was formed with the aim of buying agricultural crops in low coast from peasants and sold it in proportional price to the town dwellers. Peasants were forced to sell their product to the organization with fixed prices.

²⁸⁴YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No, No File No, Ref. No. 3695/h/43/78, YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No, Non File No, Ref. No. 2055/h/43/81 and YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No, Non File No, Ref. No. ቀ/ሐ438/5, See Appendixxi and Appendix-viii.

²⁸⁵Informants: Adamu, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Negaš and Wondafäräw.

Such types of government measures embittered the peasantry. One (1) quintals/one hundred (100) kg cereals gathered from each peasants.²⁸⁶

The peasants were not willingness to supply the crops. Though they were not volunteers, the government officials forced them to supply their crops for AMC.²⁸⁷ At the beginning, AMC had been purchased *teff* with a price of 25 birr, pea with 15 birr, and bean with 15 birr and wheat with 20 birr per quintals. This crop price is low as compared to its price purchased by merchants.²⁸⁸

Moreover, the AMC had been bought various crops from the organization of service cooperatives. For example, it bought bean and lentil with a price of 25 and 42 cent per Kg respectively in March 1982.²⁸⁹ Then the organization stored the crops in the store house of the town. Following this, officials of the organization transported the crops to Däbrä Berhan and Addis Ababa and stored there. In these towns, the organization sold the crops to civil servants, town dwellers, prisoners and warriors in proportionate price. The organization reduced the product power/motivation of peasants to produce more. The peasants were suppress by the government. As a result, it hampered the economic development of the district.²⁹⁰

4.3. Villagization in Mojana Wädära

The term villagization in Amharic called *mändär meseräta*.²⁹¹ In Ethiopia, the relocation of population as a policy to transform rural population was begin in 1958. The program of villagization was widely started during the *Därg* regime. It was initiated in 1984 on a relatively small scale in selected regions and in 1985 as a nationwide campaign in Ethiopia.²⁹² The major aim of villagization were to create essential preconditions for agrarian socialism and to providing social service to the societies by concentrating scattered homesteaders into central communities. The other purpose of the program was to increase village security and protection. Accordingly, the

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*

²⁸⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸⁸*Ibid.*

²⁸⁹YMWWYSMTBM, Folder No 6, No File No, Ref. No. 98/75, See Appendix-x.

²⁹⁰Informants: Adamu, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Negaš and Wondafäräw.

²⁹¹Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, p. 250 and Yamral, p.96.

²⁹²Ojulu Boka, "The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of Villagers: The Case of GOG Wäräda, Gambella Regional State, since 2010/11", (MA Thesis, Social Work: Addis Ababa University, June 2017), pp.12-13. (Availabe at <http://etd.aau.edu.et/handle/123456789/16471>, retrieved on 19/08/2021).

Därg regime tried to gather the scattered settlement in to collective community in rural areas. The reigning government formulated the principles that serve as a guideline for the establishment of villages.²⁹³

In Mojana Wädära, implementation of villagization started in 1987. But the process to implement this project began in 1986. So the government formed the villagization coordinating committee in Mojana Wädära district to establish and run the villagization program in 1986. The task of this coordinating committee were site selection for the project, supervise house building and concentrate the settlers. So as to that the committee first selected the sites which were favorable to the program. There were a number of criteria/principles to select sites for villagization project. Geographical features and environmental conditions were the main elements that concerned on the parameters. According to the parameter, the selected sites for villages should be plain landform with fertile soil and near to the availability of water, as well as, located nearby forests for fire wood.²⁹⁴

Furthermore, the principles included that the new selected sites should be comfortable to build houses and for the establishments of social services like schools, health centers, etc. The site also should be suitable for electric light and pure water supply. Generally, the policy was designed to supply various social and infrastructural services for the communities by concentrate in selected villages.²⁹⁵ More or less, according to the principles, places for villagization were selected in the district of Mojana Wädära. The places which selected for the villagization program were; Saist, Gawna in Gan Arda *käbälé*, Näç Gädäl, Dinšeq and Gragn Färäs in Fila Gänät *käbälé*, Dançur in Aysofé *käbälé*, Bägoç Gaṭ and Mäseqälé Gädam in Aläm Ṭəna *Käbälé*, and Gur Ṭarmabär and Aläw Amba in Amaša Ṭarmabär *käbälé*. Yet the sites which selected for the program were very limited as a result of the criteria.²⁹⁶

In selected sites, first the coordinating committee of the project arranged to build houses. Houses were built by peasants who came from every *käbälé*. Peasants were enforced by *Käbälé* administrators, leader of peasant associations and local militias to construct houses in selected sites

²⁹³Mengistu, p.57.

²⁹⁴Informants: Adamu, Assefa, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Wondafäräw and Wudyé.

²⁹⁵*Ibid.*

²⁹⁶*Ibid.*

where near to their residence. If the peoples did absent from this work, they would be punished by *Käbälé* administrator and leader of peasant associations.²⁹⁷ Following this, as stated by informants, especially the poor and houseless peoples from all *käbälés* did move to the respective and nearby selected sites. More sparsely/scattered communities and the societies who live in lowland regions, which were/are unfavorable to establish social services, were also forced to left it and move to the selected sites.²⁹⁸

However, the majority peasants were did not accept the villagization program in the district. Because the peasants did not want to leave the former settlement places where their ancestors and themselves lived there for long period of time. The second reason was that the selected sites were far from their former residence so as it was difficult for peasants to cultivate their farm land.²⁹⁹ To achieve the program, firstly, the coordinators of the program and other local officials tried to persuade the peasants peacefully to accept the program and moved to the new selected sites. They attempted to convince them by express what various social service and infrastructure should be fulfilled. In the second stage, when they unable to convinced in peacefully way, the officials had taken forceful action.³⁰⁰ The local militia forced the peasants to leave their previous homestead areas and to move to the new selected sites. When the peasants were strongly resisted the program, the officials threatened them by taking their farm lands and made them out of any advantage that provided by the government. Even the local militia imprisoned the peasants to force them to accept the program involuntary.³⁰¹

Villagization program was unsuccessful in various parts of Ethiopia. It was due to the weakness of the government which unable to give sufficient financial resources as well as unable to provide skilled man power to accomplish the program according to its perspective.³⁰² Similarly, it was ineffective in Mojana Wädära district due to various reasons. From the beginning, the program was started without the consensus of the peasants. The peasants forced to leave their birth place forcefully instead of their volunteer. Moreover, the landform of the district was not favorable for the program. Its topographic feature is more of hilly, plateau, lowland and small mountainous due

²⁹⁷*Ibid.*

²⁹⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰⁰*Ibid.*

³⁰¹*Ibid.*

³⁰²Mengistu, p.58.

to this the site was not selected in all *käbälés* of the district. As a result, nearly 11 villagization centers were established within the district for about 36 *käbälé*. Due to this reason, the peasants were travelling far distance from their origin to the new selected places.³⁰³

The local peoples have been affected by Villagization program. Peasants traveled long distance for farming their land. This was challenging to them for supervising, protecting and harvesting crops. As a result, the program had its own effect to reduce the agricultural production of the district of Mojana Wädära. Secondly, the peasants who resisted the program became out of any advantage that provided by the government. They also oppressed by local militia and leaders of peasant association. These resulted that all peasants were give up the new villages and then returned to their birth place following the removal of *Därg* from power in 1991. Thus, houses which constructed in new villages for villagers were destroyed. Generally, villagization had no positive impact in the district of Mojana Wädära.³⁰⁴

The oppressive military regime of *Därg* led to its downfall in 1991. *Därg* introduced many policies in the county in general which facilitated for its collapse.³⁰⁵ These were recruiting the youngsters for military campaign, villagization program, Agricultural Marketing Corporation, failure its economic policy, the corrupt officials, the cruelty rule of Ethiopian Workers party (EWP). These resulted for rising opposition from the society.³⁰⁶ The other factor that forced the district peasants to begin an uprising to against the *Därg* administration was imposing tax on rural land and trade as well as the collection of money from the society in the form of to develop sport field, unity for mother's country, to establish aid program, and to facilitate Ethiopian Peasant Associations and Ethiopian Worker Party.³⁰⁷

The opponent of *Därg*, later EPRDF forces controlled Mänz districts of Gešä Rabél and Molalé in 1990. Then the force of EPRDF moved to the district of Mojana Wädära through Mäzäzo, the district of Tarmabär. Then after, fighting was created between the opponent of *Därg* and *Därg* soldiers. The opponent of *Därg* was supported by the resented peasants in the district. The war was mainly took place in Tarmabär and *bägoč gačkäbälé*. Large number of *Därg* soldiers destroyed

³⁰³Informants: Adamu, Assefa, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Wondafäräw and Wudyé.

³⁰⁴*Ibid.*

³⁰⁵*Ibid* and Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, --, p. 243.

³⁰⁶Informants; Adamu, Tässäma and Wudyé

³⁰⁷*Ibid* and Informant: Habté

in Wädära, Färäs Mägaläbiya and Bägoč Gaṭ *käbälé* by the exchanging of war. Following this on 13 and 14 February, 1991 the force of EPRDF controlled Mojana Wädära.³⁰⁸

4.4. Development of Social Institutions in the District

4.4.1. Education

Education is one of the most important factor for the development of one country. It is a means to sustain and accelerate over all development in a country. It is also a factor for the expansion of modernization.³⁰⁹ Accordingly, church/traditional education and modern education have been given in the district of Mojana Wädära for long period of time.

Traditional/Church Education; it was established long before the establishment of modern school in the district as well as in the country. According to informants, though the exact period of its starting is not known, church education has a long period about five century in the district. It was/is taught by priests, monks, and *märiyétas* in some church and monastery of the district. The teachers who provide church education has a title called *yänéta*. Prior 1974 revolution, those teachers received land from the *gult* land of the church/monastery as a salary. The pupils who participated in learning of church education were/are locally known as *yäqolo tämari* or *ayewa*. Most of the pupils begging their food from the society by moving from one region to the other by calling the name of St. Marry as *Selä menetä Mareyam*.³¹⁰

However, when the *Därg* came to power in 1974, land nationalization policy was issued. The land was nationalized and came under the control of the state. In the district, the *rist* and *gult* land of the church and monastery were taken by the state. Before nationalization, the church had its own land that serve as to lead the activity of the church and provide for the teachers. Then by the land proclamation of 1975, church land was taken by the state and redistributed to the peasants. As a result, church education had been forced to stop its teaching and learning process in the period of *Därg*.³¹¹ In the period under discussion, some teachers provided the teaching service for the students without any payment. In the district, church school that is called *yäqolo temehert bét*

³⁰⁸Informants; Adamu, Tässäma and Wudyé

³⁰⁹Yamlak Sera Tamänä, "Development Indicators of the Amhara Region", (Bahr Dar: Ṭis Abbay Printing Press, 2006), p.79.

³¹⁰Informant: Bäkurä Şeyon Berhanu (*Yänéta*).

³¹¹Malädä Wasihun, *Yäbätä kerstiyän Tarik ('History of the Church')*, (Addis Ababa: Mahebä Qedusan, 2017), pp.115-116, Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*-----, p.252 and Mengistu, p.47.

found in Säladingay with in Markos church, in Däbrä Meṭemaq Şadiqané Mareyam Monastery and Näç Gädäl Ba'eta Mareyam Church in Fila Gänät *käbälé*. The number of students fluctuated in this school, sometimes they were increase and in another time decrease from earlier time to the present.³¹²

Obviously, church education had a great contribution for the development of modern education in the district. According to informants, when modern education had been started in the district, the teachers were priests and *märiyétas*. In reverse, modern education is might become as one factor for the decline of church education due to the students who attended church education turned their attention towards modern education following its expansion.³¹³

Modern Education; in Ethiopia, though the interest for modern education was started in the 19th century, it had been formally established in 1908. In the same year, the first school was set up in modern line.³¹⁴ In Mojana Wädära, modern education was started after liberation from the Italian occupation. As already stated in the previous chapter, in Säladingay town the Italians build a prison camp. After the Italians evacuated from their, it served as the modern school in the district from 1942 to 1945. Therefore, modern formal education has been started at the district by 1942. When the school began its operation, it had given a teaching service of grade one and grade two. Nevertheless, in 1945 the school moved in to the present primary school which found at the center of the town. It started the teaching operation with two blocks. It provided the teaching service from grade one to grade six up to 1976. In 1976, the school has been started to providing the schooling service of grade seven and grade eight.³¹⁵

In the district, the second primary school was opened at Sasit in 1955. Before this, the place was a prison camp where *Dejazmach* Takälä Wäldé Hawaryat was detained. After he was release from imprisoned, Takälä applied to minster of education to build a school on the place. Then by the order of minister of education, the construction of the school was begun by the leadership of *Dejazmach* Mamächa, the sub-district governor of Moja in November 1954. The building operation completed in May 1955 and then the same year in September the work of schooling

³¹²Informant: Bekure Şeyon Berhanu.

³¹³*Ibid.*

³¹⁴Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, pp.112-117.

³¹⁵Dawit, p.25 and Informant: Jämanäh Därbé and Berhanu.

service started with two teachers. It stayed by giving from one to six grade level up to 1988. In September 1988, it started to teach the education level of grade seven. So, in 1990 the first grade eight national examinations had been began in Sasit primary school.³¹⁶

However, when both schools were began the operation of teaching, the attitude of local community towards education was low and they refused to send their children to the school. To solve these problems, the government motivated the children to come to school and to attend their education by providing materials like cloths and stationary for those who came to learn. Therefore, in order to get cloths the student's attend in the school and continue their schooling program.³¹⁷

Before the period of *Därg*, schooling/educational service did not provide above grade six in the district. This was one of the challenges for the students to interrupt their education from grade six. The military government of *Därg* attempted to expand modern education in the district. During the regime *Därg*, 8 additional primary schools were established in Gawna, Fäla, Embay Bad, Näç Gädäl, Aysofé, Bägoç Gaç, Ṭarmabär and Wädära. However, one of it that established in Gawna in 1982 was ceased due to the murder of teachers by bandits. This event retarded the expansion of education in the period at the district.³¹⁸ In addition, the military government of *Därg* had been established literacy campaign in the country in general to produce educated man power who able to read and write. Correspondingly, literacy campaign could be established in the district in each *käbälé* peasant associations. Then the government officials forced all stripling to have to take learning in literacy school. This campaign contributed to produce a person who abled to read and write.³¹⁹

Gradually, the society had been understood the importance of education so that the number of students began to increase. There was a shortage of class rooms as a result of increment the number of students in due course of time in the district. When the number of students raised in the school, the school had been challenged by shortage of class room in the reign of *Därg*. Due to this reason, the students obliged to attend the training in shadow of the tree or locally called *Das*. Thus, the students were vulnerable to sun, frosty weather (*wurç*) and cold. These weather conditions came

³¹⁶Informant: Mandäfro Mazängiya.

³¹⁷*Ibid.*

³¹⁸*Ibid* and Infrmant: Birhanu.

³¹⁹Informant: Wudyé.

to be the source of sickness on the students.³²⁰ In the district, the other problems that affected the teaching-learning process were related to fulfilling educational facilities. These were lack of well qualified teachers and lack of budget. The fund that allotted to full fill educational materials was inefficient. In the period under discussion and even up to 2006, the absence of secondary school was the major problem that undermine the development of education in the district of Mojana Wädära.³²¹

The students who completed in grade 8 were forced to go to either Däbrä Berhan or Däbrä Sina which far from 72 and 30 km respectively. As a result, the majority students were unable to continue their secondary school education. This was due to the economic problem of their parents. The students needed money from family for transport, house rent and to fulfil educational materials. For instance, one student who attended in Däbrä Berhan paid 80 birr for transport and 60 birr for house rent per month. This was difficult for peasant parents to pay this birr at that time. Hence, the only chance or alternatives of the major students of the district was terminated their education from the level of grade eight. If the parents abled to cover this cost for their children and the students who abled to continue their education by going to either of the school, they would especially females endangered to many problems.³²²

They were vulnerable to rape, disease, unwanted pregnancy and abortion. This culture forced the district students to interrupt their next class/secondary school education. In order to overcome these problem, since the period of *Därg*, the society frequently asked the government to open secondary school in the district of Mojana Wädära. Finally, secondary school opened in 2006 by financial contribution of both the government and the society.³²³

4.4.2. Health

Health is one of the indicators for countries development. Earning of health service is part of human right and economic growth also inconceivable without it. Therefore, the attention has been given to prevent diseases.³²⁴ The society of Mojana Wädära district had been infected by various

³²⁰Hadis Woldä Iyäsus, p.23

³²¹Dawit, p.27.

³²²Hadis Woldä Iyäsus, pp.23-24, Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bêt---*, p.11 and Dawit, p.26.

³²³*Ibid.*

³²⁴Yamlak Sera Tamänä, p.89.

types of diseases such as TB, meningitis, cholera, ameba, gastritis, eye disease, etc. The cause for these types of disease were lack of environmental cleaning, private health sanitation, water pollution and lack of feeding system.³²⁵

Until 1971, health center did not set up in the district to prevent these diseases. As a result, the people who needed medical treatment had an obligation to go to other areas. And also they forced to use traditional medicine. Patients transported to Däbrä Berhan by carrying human power as a result of the absence of full transportation. It was difficult and costly to travel to other areas for medical treatment. When they traveled, some patient had been died before they arrived at the health centers. Traditional medicine also had an influence on the life of the patient because it is mostly given by uneducated man. Those man did not know the amount of the medicine when they give to the patient.³²⁶

In the district, the first health center (clinic) was established in 1971 at Säladingay town. It had been provided health service to the residence of the district of Mojana Wädära. At the beginning, there were two health professionals in the clinic to give medical treatment for the society.³²⁷ The second health center had been opened in Saist in the end of 1970s. Though it was opened, the need of the society could not fulfill regarding to medical treatment. Two health centers alone had been existed in the district in the period of *Därg*. These clinic did not provide sufficient medical treatment to the society due to unbalanced ratio of health professionals with the patients and lack of drug that given to the patient. Therefore, it was difficult to provide sufficient health service to the society in the period of *Därg*. In the district, the coverage of health service was not more than 40% in the end of 1990s.³²⁸

4.5. Economic Activity of the District

Economically, the society mostly depend on agriculture. The residence has been taken part in cultivating land and herding animals. Next to this, the society, particularly town dwellers, participated in trading activity from high enterprise to retailers.

³²⁵Dawit, p.28 and Informants; Hailu and Wudyé

³²⁶*Ibid.*

³²⁷Dawit, pp.28-29 and Mojana Wädära *Wärada Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét----*, pp.12-13.

³²⁸*Ibid.*

4.5.1. Agriculture

Agriculture is the backbone of Ethiopian economy. Economically, about 85% of the Ethiopian peoples are depend on agriculture.³²⁹ Like to most parts of Ethiopia, the residence of Mojana Wädära economy is mainly depended on agriculture. Agriculture has a long history in the district.³³⁰ The district farmers had been used natural resources, favorable climatic conditions and their labor for agriculture. Most parts of the district soil is fertile. Moreover, most of the climatic zone of the district is *Wäyna Däga*.³³¹

Therefore, these are favorable for agriculture and herding of animals. The cultivated crops are chickpea, bean, pea, *téff*, wheat, barley, millet, sorghum and lentil in the district. Lentil and *téff* were/are among the major crops that cultivated in the district. Most of the crops were/are growing and produced in *wäyna däga* region by using rainfall which raining in *kerämet* season that categorized in Ethiopian climatic conditions. Barley was mostly produced in *däga* climatic zone. Its production period was unique from other crops because it was produced by the rain of *bäl*g season. On the other hand, millet and sorghum were growing in *qolla* climatic zone. In addition to these, the peoples cultivated fruits and vegetables, and oil seeds in some extent. The peoples could supply their crops for local grain traders in the market. The farmers also supplied fruit and vegetables in the market. However, most of the peoples used their crops for their own consumption.³³²

During the period of *Därg*, there were various problems which affected the farmer's producing effort and these also contributed to decrease the amount of crop production in Mojana Wädära. These problems were government oppression, people's weakness and natural threats. The government policy of cooperative farming, AMC and villagization were responsible for the reduction of crop production by killing farmer's production effort.³³³

Moreover, the military government of *Därg* levied different types of tax on the society. These types of tax were levied on rural land and hotel service trade. The government also collected money from the society in the form of sport; facilitate the work of aid program, Ethiopian Farmers

³²⁹Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia---*, pp.198-99 and *Wäsän*, p.22.

³³⁰ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.18, File No. 17.1.3.18.03, Ref. No.

³³¹Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Shefät Bét-----*, p.7.

³³²*Ibid*, p.5 Dawit, pp.37-38.

³³³Informants: Adamu, Assefa, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Habté, Wondafäräw and Wudyé.

Associations, Ethiopian Worker Party, distinctive contribution for establishment and aid program, unity for mother's country and associations. Secondly, the society of the district had only depend on rainfall for farming to produce the crops. They did not use other alternative methods like irrigation to maximize their amount of product.³³⁴

As to most parts of Ethiopia, the district could be obtained high amount of rain in *kerämt* (summer) season. Sometimes, in *bälg* season, the region obtained a small amount of rainfall. Therefore, the majority peoples of the district were obliged to harvest once a year. As a result, the society were susceptible to famine and poverty when drought had been occurred. In 1984/85, drought created in Mojana Wädära as to most parts of Ethiopia in general resulted by shortage of rain. It had an adverse effect on the life of human as well as animals in the district.³³⁵

By that time, the crops were not grew and give their fruits, particularly in *qolla* climatic zone. According to informant's expression, some peoples passed a hardship life situation. This drought had also an effect for the depopulation of animals because many livestock were perished in the district as a result of the shortage of food and water.³³⁶ In that year, the peoples could be survive their life from this hardship with the aid of government and charitable organization. The government supported the society by giving wheat, food oil and powder. The charitable aid organization of ALCA gave a birr for the society in form of supporting. In the district, the representatives of the organization able to bought around 1,500 ox from Yefat district by this money and then gave these cattle for peoples who lost their livestock by the drought.³³⁷

In the period under discussion, the farmers could not use manmade fertilizers to maximize their product. Even they did not give enough attention to use natural fertilizers. The district agricultural office professionals did not have strong commitment to support farmer's activity in farming. Furthermore, pest, weed, *wurç* and wag had their effect on the product of crop and, fruit and vegetables in the district. These mostly affected the crop after its seed began to grow. Generally,

³³⁴*Ibid.*

³³⁵ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.07, File No. 17.1.3.07.01, Ref. No. 78/፫/15 and Dawit, pp.38-39.

³³⁶ENALA, Folder No. 17.1.3.07, File No. 17.1.3.07.01, Ref. No. 78/፫/15.

³³⁷*Ibid* and Informant: Wondafäräw.

drought, soil erosion, pests, weed, *wurç*, wag, etc. were contributed to the reduction of crop production in the district.³³⁸

Besides to crop cultivation, the society of the district took part in livestock production. The major animals which breed in the district were sheep, got and cattle.³³⁹ The majority had been sold in the market though the herder used them for their consumption particularly in the day of festivals and holyday. The cattle were/are used for plough to increase crop cultivation. However, the residence were careless about the quality of the animal product rather than they gave emphasis on quantity. Until the recent time, the farmers were not give much attention to breed animals by using modern mechanisms in Mojana Wädära. As a result, breeding of animals was poor in the regime of *Därg*.³⁴⁰

Bee keeping also exercised in the district of Mojana Wädära. Some peoples were involved to this type of economic activity. As stated by informants, one person could have between 15 and 20 bee hive. However, the product of honey was not effective because the bee keeper used traditional beehive. Until 2000, the bee keepers did not have a chance to get a modern beehive. The other retarded factor to increase the product of honey was that all peoples were not involved in this economic activity. In the district, honey product is mostly produced in *şaday/mähär* season (September, October and November). The product of honey was/is used to traditional medicine and for preparing *taş* (honey beer) in the district. The major honey product, however, supplied to market and then transported to Däbrä Berhan and Addis Ababa.³⁴¹

4.5.2. Trade and Trading Activity

Trade is the second economic activity in the district of Mojana Wädära. The trade route is connected with Däbrä Sina, Däbrä Berhan and Addis Ababa. The district had no trade contact with its neighboring district except Ṭarmabär. This was due to the absence of road transport that linked the border districts.³⁴² As comparing to the present, trade activity was very weak in the 19th and 20th centuries. The peoples were traveled on their foot to other district market center. The local peoples transported the products by carrying their power and pack animals to Däbrä Berhan and

³³⁸Dawit, p.39 and Mojana Wädära *WäradaMasetawäqiya Şehfät Bêt-----*, p.7.

³³⁹Isenberg and Krapf, pp.287-88 and Mojana Wädära *WäradaMasetawäqiya Şehfät Bêt-----*, p.9.

³⁴⁰Informants: Adamu, Assefa, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Habté, Wondafäräw and Wudyé.

³⁴¹Dawit, pp.40-41 and Mojana Wädära *WäradaMasetawäqiya Şehfät Bêt-----*, p.9.

³⁴²Dawit, pp.41-42 and Informants: Adamu, Assefa, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Habté, Wondafäräw and Wudyé.

others. When they returned to their home, the peoples had been bought and carrying different consumption commodities for themselves.³⁴³

When the local traders and peoples traveled on their foot, they could be challenged by different problems. They plundered money and commodities by bandit (locally called *shifta*). Moreover, due to its long distance, the merchants/peoples consumed more time so they could be stay more than three days. In addition, when they stayed a long period of time, the society would be forced to expense large amount of money.³⁴⁴

Despite of these difficulties, the people tried to open shops in the district center, Säladingay. According to oral sources, in 1954 the first shop was established by *Ato Wägayähu Bitäw* in Säladingay. He transported various commodities from Däbrä Berhan by using pack animals. Then he had been sold the commodities to the society of the district. In time go on, relatively this problem was solved after the establishment of road transport from Däbrä Berhan to Säladingay in 1964. Following this, the society went to took part in trade economic activity. However, all trade problems were not solved in the district.³⁴⁵

Although the road was constructed between Säladingay and Däbrä Berhan, the transport services which are important for merchant's movement was poor up until 1990s. From this time onwards, modern transport services such as cars were sufficient in the district. These were important for merchants to move freely to and from Däbrä Sina, Däbrä Berha and Addis Ababa. Grain traders carried agricultural products from the district to other market centers. While, other merchants transported various finished products such as spices, salt, sugar, cloths, etc. from other market center to Mojana Wädära.³⁴⁶ Various trade movements was carried out in places of Säladingay, Sasit and Ṭarmabär. The main export item of trade from the district were/are lentil and *ṭéff*, particularly from *Eneged Waša kábälé*. These type of crop were mainly supplied in market center of Sasit. Moreover, butter and thyme (*ṭoseñ*) were/are supplied every time to market in Ṭarmabär.³⁴⁷

³⁴³*Ibid.*

³⁴⁴*Ibid.*

³⁴⁵*Ibid.*

³⁴⁶*Ibid.*

³⁴⁷Mojana Wädära *Wärüda Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét-----*, p.5.

Until the end of 1990s, there were three market center in the district. These were located in Säladingay, Sasit and Ṭarmabär. The market day of Säladingay and Sasit was/is Saturday. Whereas, Sunday was/is the market day in Ṭarmabär. The society exchanged their product in the markets which is nearness to them in distance from their residence. On these market days, the farmers brought and sold their agricultural products to local grain traders and town dwellers as well as civil servants. On the other hand, both merchants of retailer and wholesaler sold different finished commodities to the farmers and whole society in the district.³⁴⁸

The existence of holy sites like holy water, churches and monasteries in the district, facilitated trade development.³⁴⁹ Because more than 100,000 peoples per year are coming to these religious sites as a religious pilgrimage for their different purposes.³⁵⁰ Those peoples have been bought food and also other different materials that give service for them. As a result of coming large numbers of peoples, the society of the district are motivated to participate in trade economic activity. Consequently, small and big shops have been opened in the town, particularly at Säladingay. Hotels and restaurants are also built in the town for the purpose of selling food and soft drinking for *ṭäbäletäña* (sprinkle holy water). Some peoples also sold different types of food such as bread, *qollo* etc. and drinking like tea, coffee, etc. on the strait of the road. Therefore, next to agriculture, peoples especially in the town could lead their life on this type of economy.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸Informants: Adamu, Assefa, Berhanä Habtä Wold, Habté, Wondafäräw and Wudyé.

³⁴⁹Mojana Wädära *WäradaMasetawäqiya Şehfät Bét*-----, p.20.

³⁵⁰Wäsän, p.14.

³⁵¹Dawit, p.44 and Informants: Woldä Giyorgis (*Aba*), Wändafäräw and Wudyé.

CHAPTER FIVE

NATURAL AND HISTORICAL HERITAGES OF THE DISTRICT

Tourism began as an economic industry in the late 20th century. Now a day, tourism is one of the economic resources that come to develop in highest stage. This is the result of existing attractive natural and cultural resources. Ethiopia has various interesting natural sites and cultural resources which have immense power to attract local and foreign tourists. The rivers, lakes, wild animals and plants which have interesting natural features, various alluring terrain settings, National parks, natural and man-made caves, forests, water falls, archaeological sites, ancient and historical monuments, the cultures of the society, annual festival, ancient and historical churches, monasteries and mosques are the essential tourism resources in Ethiopia. These are the primary and have not replacement tourism sites that could be attract human feeling. The undulation land feature of Ethiopia made it become the possessors of tourism resources.³⁵²

The district of Mojana Wädära is to be as one part of Ethiopia; therefore, it is the home of numerous natural and cultural heritages which intrigue the attention of international and national tourists. The first factor that made it become the possessor of these type of resources is the expansion of Christianity to the districts. This resulted for the establishment of churches and monasteries that become the historical sites and heritages of the district. The second one is its undulation terrain setting that able to attract the feeling of human being. Däbrä Metmaq Şadeqané Mariam Monastery, Monastery of *Meskabä Qedusan* Mädehané Aläm, the church of *Qedus* Markos, the Holy water site of Ajana Michael, Embes Waşa Täklä Haymanot *Felfel* Waşa, Näç Gädäl Ba'etalämaryam Monastery, Dern Amba Şyon Mareyam, Mäseqälé Gädam Mädhané Aläm Monastery, Quro Gädäl *Qedest* Selassie Church, the historical stone that able to obtained the name of Säladingay, the Balcony of *Wäyzäro Zänäbä* Work, the site of Andit Gerar, the cave of Gotära and others are the major natural and historical religious sites and heritages which found within the district of Mojana Wädära.³⁵³

³⁵²Yemserach Dagne, "Challenges and Prospects of Heritage Management Practices; in Some Selected Churches of Finfine Sepecil Zone, Oromia Regionl State" (MA Thesis: History and Heritage Management, Gondar University, 2019), pp.20-21 and Wäsän, p.14.

³⁵³Wässän, p.14.

The mountain of Tarmabär, forests and geographical settings are also the attraction sites of the district. The major tourism sites and heritages of the district are the site of Holy water, Churches and Monasteries. As a result, very large number of peoples flooded to Mojan Wädära district in every year from month to month.³⁵⁴ Some of the natural and historical heritages of the district are listed and described as the following.

5.1. Däbrä Meṭemaq Şadenqané Mareyam Monastery

Däbrä Metemaq Sadiqané Mariam Monastery is located in Mojana Wädära at Färäs Mägaläbiya *Käbälé*. It has two km distance from the town of Säladingay. It has been established by Emperor Zära Ya'eqob in the 15th century. As stated in chapter one, the monks, *Aba Michael* and *Aba Gabriel* gave the Ark to King Zära Ya'eqob from Gondar front. According to Samuel Täsfayé on the book entitled, *Yä Zära Ya'eqob Emäbét*, the Monks spoke a prophecy with a statement “አንተ ትሰመዩ ደብረ ምጥማቅ ዘሀገረ ኢትዮጵያ ዘብሔረ ተገለጸ”³⁵⁵ Which literary translate as *it would be renamed Däbrä Meṭemaq in the region of Tägulät with in the country of Ethiopia*

After he received, Zära Ya'eqob ordered the priests and deacons to be seated the Ark of St. Marry in a place called Jibat and to give a regular service of sing mass (*Qidasé*). After stayed in Jibat for several time, the king ordered to carry away in to the mountain of Entoto. Again the Ark had been moved to several places and get round to put in highland areas like Bärh Mountain, Debrä Berhan, Säladingay and other.³⁵⁶

Before and coming to the place of Däbrä Metemaq, it was also set in Mojana Wädära district for some time in a place called the hilly of Qäço Bado which far around 2 hours travelling on foot from Säladingay.³⁵⁷ Finally, Zära Ya'eqob opted an appropriate place to put the Ark of St. Marry in Mojana Wädära district at a place now called Däbrä Metemaq. Following this he brought to there and ordered his followers to have to make a large tent in this selected site. For provisional,

³⁵⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵⁵Mojana Wädära *Wärada Masetawäqiya Şehfät Bét*---, p. 14, Samuel Täsefayé, *Yä Zära Ya'eqob Emäbét Sadiqané Qedest Mareyam*, Sec. Edition, No. 2, (Addis Ababa: *Akotét* Printing Press, *Mägabit* 2006 EC.), pp.6-5 and Dawit, p.4.

³⁵⁶*Ibid.* and Informants: Bälaynäh

³⁵⁷*Ibid.*

he seated the Ark with in the tent and he had given an instruction for the clergy to carried out all Church services such as sing mass, *Sä'atat*, *Kidan* and *Mäsewa'et* with in it.³⁵⁸

Then Zära Ya'eqob had been constructed the Church for the Ark of *Qedest* Mareyam in Däbrä Mețemaq. The monks of *Aba* Michael and *Aba* Gabriel who brought the Ark served the Church until the rest of their life. They were also buried there. After some times, Zara Ya'eqob hide the Church's heritage and treasures in Endod Waša little distance from Däbrä Mețemaq to protect from Muslim invasion. In the later, Imam Ahmad invaded and destroyed many Churches and Monasteries in Ethiopia by the 16th century. Equally, the Church of Däbrä Mețemaq Şadqané Mareyam was burned down by the force of Imam Ahmad.³⁵⁹ According to *Aba* Woldä Giyorgis (the abbot of the Monastery), the name Endod Waša had been named Şadqané by Emperor Särşä Denegil.³⁶⁰

The Ethiopian kings gave a *rest* land for the Church's livelihood beginning from earlier time to 1974. For instance, during the reign of Menelik II and Haile Selassie I the Church of Däbrä Mețemaq had a livelihood of *rist* land about 24 *gaša*. However, during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, the Church was collapse due to aging. Hence, the Emperor build a new Church in a modern design by sending the Italian engineer. Although the Monastery had been established in the 15th century and had an interesting historical part and heritages, many visitors were not came in to the monastery due to lack of transportation and promotion.³⁶¹

Most types of modern transport had been given their service beginning from 1990s. Officially, the bus that provided public transport from Addis Ababa and Däbrä Berhan to Säladingay was started in 1998. Due to this reason, the number of visitors who came to the Monastery of Şadiqané Mareyam were not more than thirty (30) on January 21, 1999.³⁶² However, the folding of peoples to the Monastery has been increased rapidly from the end of 1990s. Especially, in anniversary date of St. Marry, in *Nehasé* 16, *Mäskäräm* 21, *Ter* 21 and *Genebot* 21 large numbers of peoples came

³⁵⁸Samuel Täsefayé, p.7.

³⁵⁹*Ibid*, pp.8-9.

³⁶⁰Informant: Woldä Giyorgis (*Aba*)

³⁶¹Hadis, p.21

³⁶²Dawit, p.31.

in to the Monastery as a religious pilgrimage for different purposes. The peoples came to there for visiting, to cure from disease, to get salvation and to sprinkle *ṭābāl* (holy water).³⁶³

Most peoples including the believers of Orthodox Christians saying holy water called *ṣābāl*. However, there is a big difference between the meaning of *ṭābāl* and *ṣābāl*. According to religious informants, holy water/spa which known by the church is referred to as *ṭābāl* that contain the power of God, whereas *ṣābāl* is termed as dust particle.³⁶⁴ As a result, annually more than 100,000 peoples had been coming to Däbrä Meṭemaq Ṣadqané Mareyam Monastery between 2008 and 2010.³⁶⁵ The coming of those peoples had an efficient influence on the district's economic and social aspects. This motivated the local peoples to actively participate in trade economic activity. Because the peoples needed to buy food, and materials and commodities that used for their day to day activities. Some peoples also rented and stayed in hotel and in other small houses in the town of Säladingay. These forced the local peoples to establish small and big shops as well as to build different hotels and restaurant in the town.³⁶⁶

Some peoples also sold different types of food such as bread, *qollo* etc. and drinking like tea, coffee, etc. on the strait of the road. Merchant's profit increased and their economic status become better. As a result, the Monastery helped to create employment opportunity for the residence. Transportation flow also increased from time to time. So this able to minimize the problem of transport service. Finally, the Monastery of Däbrä Meṭemaq Ṣadenqané Mareyam facilitated the development of Säladingay town, in particular and the district, in general.³⁶⁷

³⁶³*Ibid*, p.44 and Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Ṣhefät Bét*, p.20.

³⁶⁴Informant: Hénok Berhanu.

³⁶⁵Wäsän, p.14.

³⁶⁶Dawit, p.44, Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Ṣhefät Bét*, pp.20-21and Informants: Asäfa, Berhanu, Terunäsš, Woldä Giyorgis (*Aba*) and Wondafäräw.

³⁶⁷*Ibid*.

Figure, 5.1. Däbrä Metmaq Şdeqané Mareyam



Source; Culture and Tourism Office of Mojana Wädära

5.2. Ajana Qedus Michael Church

Ajana Michael is located 12 Km far from west of Säladingay town. It is the earliest historical site in the district of Mojana Wädära. Different heritages are found in and around the church. The Church was founded during the reign of Shoan ruler *Abéto Sebesté* (1703-1720), in the Gondarian period in Ethiopian history. The founder of Ajana Michael Church was *Mämeher Aba* Agnañiyos who came from Aheya Fäj *Qusequam* which found in the district of Mänz Qäya. Initially, he put the Ark with in the cave that has been existed very close to the present Church.³⁶⁸

After some years, Agnañiyos constructed the building of the church and then he entered the Ark to it. Now a day, the cave serves as the ware house (*eqa bet*) that was previously the home of the Ark. The king of Shoa such as Sahelä Selassie and Haylä Mäläkot and emperor of Ethiopia such as Menelik II, empress Zäwditu and Haylä Selassie I consecutively assigned an administrator and allocated a livelihood *rist* land for this church. Miraculous and interesting holy water (*ṭäbäl*) is exist in Ajana *Qedus* Michael. This made the Church feel like one of the historical and tourism center of the district. This *ṭäbäl* stands from high ground and throwing step down on high cliff, but its origin is openly not well-known.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸Wäsän, p.24.

³⁶⁹*Ibid.*

A glow of *Qästä Dämäna* which consisted seven colors is observed and step down together with *ṭäbäl*. It is obviously showing as to seem like cling on the body when somebody has been sprinkled his/her body with in this *ṭäbäl*. The occurrence of *Qäsetä Dämäna* made the holy water (*ṭäbäl*) of Ajana Michael is to be unique and miraculous. The Orthodox Christians believe that they are protected and cure from different kinds of diseases, physical or mental illness or evil sprites by sprinkling and drinking *ṭäbäl*. So, for these purposes large numbers of Orthodox Christian laity came to Ajana Michael in every day but mainly in its anniversary date/festival of *Hedar 12* and *Säné 12*.³⁷⁰

Not only this but also they moved to there to visit the attractive environment around the Church. The land of holy water and around the Church are mainly covered by *Šola* and also by other plants that growing through nature. The fruit of *Šola* used as *emenät* (medicine) to the laity who came to there with the purpose to get healing from illness. Apes and, beautiful birds with different colors which attracted the spectators/visitors inhabited in the tree.³⁷¹ From this we can understand that Orthodox Church arising from its ancientness contributed by preservation of ecology and indigenous plants.³⁷² Therefore, the Church of Ajana *Däbrä Meherät Qedus Michael* maintained various indigenous plants in and nearby the environment.³⁷³

Figure, 5.2. Ajana Qedus Michael Church



Source; Culture and Tourism Office of Mojana Wädära.

³⁷⁰*Ibid.*

³⁷¹*Ibid.*

³⁷²*Ibid.*

³⁷³*Ibid.*

5.3. Säladingay Qedus Markos Church

This is one of the historical Church that found in the district of Mojana Wädära. It was founded by emperor Menelik and *Abunä Matéwos* in December 1875 EC/1882. Although the work of the Church started when Menelik was the king of Shoa kingdom, it was completed after he became the emperor of Ethiopia. The construction of the Church had taken seven years. Therefore, it accomplished in 1882 EC/1889/1890.³⁷⁴ From this we can understand that the Church is being around 130 years old.³⁷⁵

The architectural building of the Church is remarkable. It gives us to learning about the skill of our forefathers. Although three doors and twelve *qomä be'esi* (erected round the building and stand for carry the roof) observed in most churches, the church of *Qedus Markos* has four doors and forty-two *qomä Be'esi*. The wood trunk that used to figure out the door, frame, doorsill and *qomä Be'esi*, mainstay and gangplank of the Church of *Qedus Markos* is very marvelous. Not only the design of operational architecture but also the bigness of trunk is amazing. These wood trunk was transported from dense juniper forest region of Wofwašä, around Däbrä Sina and Qälbo.³⁷⁶ The wood trunk transported as that: “እንጨቱ የተጓዘው 30 ሰው ከግራ 30 ሰው ከቀኝ ሆኖ እንደ ቀምቦር በተጋደመ እንጨት ሊይ ታስሮ እየተጎተተ ነው”.³⁷⁷ “Each log was transported to the site by 60 men, 30 on the left and 30 on the right sides after tying it on a yoke”. The transportation of the wood also amazing, it is difficult to believe that the wood would brought by the shoulder of human being. Therefore, it become puzzle for many peoples how to bring the wood by man power.

At the beginning during the reign of Menelik, the Church had more than 133 servants. The livelihood of those clergy was depending on *rist* land that located in Wädära *käbälé*. In ancient period, Monasteries, *Däbrats* and Churches had their livelihood lands like *Sämon* land, *Mäsqäl* land and the land of the *Abun*. Like to that the Church of *Qedus Markos* had its own livelihood land which about 93 *gashas* in Wädära *käbälé* and around Säladingay. On the other hand, the lands about 350 *gašas* were granted to the *Abun* in and around Säladingay. This was called the land of the *Abun* (የጳጳስ ማደሪያ). Therefore, the land nearby the Church was considered as the *gult* of the

³⁷⁴Daneal, p.89 and Yä Däbrä Heruyan Qedus Markos Museum Office Archives (YDHQMMOA), Non folder No, Non File No, Ref. No. 09/ቅጥ- 56/20.

³⁷⁵Informants: Bekurä Şeyo, Eşub Ṭbäbä Selassie and Haylä Michael.

³⁷⁶Daneal Kibret, p.90.

³⁷⁷*Ibid*, pp.90-91 and Dechasa, p.207.

*Abun.*³⁷⁸ The first Gäbäz of the Church was also an Egyptian, the brother of *Abunä Matewos*, called *Belata Pawolos.*³⁷⁹

Following 1974 Popular Revolution, the *Därg* regime issued the nationalization of rural land proclamation and redistributed to the landless peasants in 1975. The regime also reduced the numbers of Orthodox holy days and nationalization of town houses that allowed to the church. These decree undermined the economic base of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The church and the clergy had lost their livelihood of *rist* land that allotted to them. Following these, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church lost its large property and resources. Large number of priests and church leaders became income less.³⁸⁰

Qedus Markos was one of the church that faced equally the fate of others in the period. Thereafter, both the church and its servant clergy's source of income entirely depend on the alms of laity and charitable men. The income collected every year with the so called *yäsäbäka* from every laity who had been grouped under the *Aṭebiya* of *Qedus Markos* church. *Aṭebiya* means the region that limited to one church. The peoples who would be live in this *Aṭebiya* and would have to get different services like baptism, *qurban*, burial site, etc. from the church are called laity.³⁸¹

As stated by local aged informants, the event that occurred on the church during the Italian occupation period of Ethiopia (1936-1941) was able to talk about its historical entity. Fascist Italy made an attempt to burn the church of *Qedus Markos*. But they were unsuccessful. The church could not be burnt with the bomb that throwing by fascist Italians. So the Italians believed that a divine power might be live in this church. As a result, they replaced the straw of the roof of the church by corrugated iron.³⁸²

Arising from aging after being more than a century, the church faced danger of sand down inside and outside surface of its building. Thus, the Regional State Culture Tourism and Parks

³⁷⁸*Ibid* and Hadis, pp.6-7.

³⁷⁹*Ibid.*

³⁸⁰Malädä Wasihun, pp.115-116, Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia-----*, p.252 and Mengistu, p.47.

³⁸¹Infromants: Bekurä Şeyo, Eşub Ṭbäbä Selassie and Haylä Michael.

³⁸²*Ibid.*

Development Bureau offered about 70,000 birr to renew the building of the church as a purpose to maintain its originality.³⁸³

የሰላድነጋይ ደብረ ጎሩያን ቅዱስ ማርቆስ ቤተክርስቲያን አሰሪ ኮሚቴ የቅርስ ጥናትና ጥበቃ ድርጅትን የቤተክርስቲያኑን እድሳት ለማድረግ ትብብር መጠየቁ ይታወሳል። በዚህ መሰርት እሥፍራው ድረስ በመገኘት በመስሪያ ቤታችን መሐንዲሶች የተጠናወደ የእድሳት ጥናት ከዚህ ደብዳቤ ጋር አያይዘን ስራውን በጥናቱ መስራት መጀመር መቻላችሁን እንገልጻለን። ሆኖም የእድሳት ሥራው በሚጀመርበትም ሆነ በሂደት ላይ እያለ በመስሪያ ቤታችን ባለሙያ ክትትል እንዲከናወን በጥብቅ እናሳስባለን።³⁸⁴ See Appendix-xiii.

Translated as follows;

“Remember question of the Seladingay Qedus Markos Church coordinating committee to the heritage studies and protecting organization for helping to renew the Church. Based on this, the investigation of the renewed study send a letter to start the work. Nevertheless, when we announce to supervise in the beginning and on the process by the profession of our office engineer.”

The country also contributed with money and materials. Thereafter, the operation of renewing the church launched and completed between November 2001 and on May 08, 2002. The operation was coordinated by *Mälakäsälam* Hadis W/Iyäsus. It was renewed at the age of 119. At this time, other additional hall and hoses had been constructed with the purpose to fulfill different services.³⁸⁵

Various ancient and historical heritages are consisted within the church of *Qedus* Markos. These are; one gold drum that came from Egypt, the chair of *Abunä* Matéwos that seems like the shape of Lion, one gold and silver cross, the crown of Menelik II, the *däwäl* that have the picture of saint, holy book that written by Arabic and Egyptian language, crown and *Akelil* that provided by kings, the books of vellum, silk tent, cloak, iron locker, bronze Golla and etc.³⁸⁶

The other remarkable issue of the church is the existence of bees which found at the above of the door of the south front that is known as the entrance of females. The society believed that these bees may have been lived to protect the church as a soldiers. Thus, the church to be called protected

³⁸³Daneal, p.91 and Dawit, p.16.

³⁸⁴*Ibid* and Yä Däbrä Heruyan Qedus Markos Museum Office Archives (YDHQMMOA), Non folder No, Non File No, Ref. No. 09/ቅጥ- 56/20.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid* and Daneal, p.91 and Dawit, p.16. ³⁸⁴Dawit, p.6 and Wäsän p.35 and Informnts: Bekurä Şeyo, Eşub Ṭbäbä Selassie and Haylä Michael. ³⁸⁵*Ibid*.

³⁸⁶Dawit, p.6 and Wäsän p.35 and Informnts: Bekurä Şeyo, Eşub Ṭbäbä Selassie and Haylä Michael.

by bee. On the other hand, the honey that produced by these bees used as a drug to cure from diseases like asthma and other ailments. A number of aged plants of *Tid* (Juniper) which existed in the court yard of the church are also including as one of immovable attraction site within the church of *Qedus Markos*.³⁸⁷ The commemoration date of *Qedus Markos* is in *Teqemt* 30 and *Miyaziya* 30. In these day large peoples came to Säladingay every year even from far places of Addis Ababa, Däbrä Berhan and from others to celebrate the festival of *Qedus Markos*, and to receive blessing.³⁸⁸

Figure, 5.3. Säladingays *Qedus Markos* Church.



Source; Culture and Tourism Office of Mojana Wädära.

³⁸⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸⁸*Ibid.*

5.4. *Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Monastery*

Meskabä Qedusan Mädehani Aläm Monastery is one of interesting historical site and heritage of Mojana Wädära district. It is located between two small hillocks in Fila Gänät *käbälé* in specific place of Denshq and 4 Km far from Säladingay town in western direction. The exact date when it was founded is not well known. According to tradition, however, the monastery had been founded by *Aba Biru Mäsqäl* during the war of Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim AL ghazi in the 16th century.³⁸⁹

As stated by Täklä Ṭadiq Šäwaräga who made the monastery to take the modern shape and its administrator, during the war of *Grañ Ahmad Aba Beru Mäseqäl*, *Aba Besso*y and *Aba Wärq Agänähu* fled with the Arks and *Näwayä Qedusat* from Gondar and layover in surrounding the monastery to hide from the destruction of the war. Among from those monks, *Aba Beru* hid the Arks and *Näwayä Qedusat* that fled and brought from Gondar within the cave that is traditionally called *Ašmä Qdusan Wašä*, which found close by the present *Felfel Wašä* monastery. Accordingly, as stated by informants the foundation of the monastery had been cast aside with this situation by *Aba Beru Mäsqäl*. Prior to 2008, there were none object that could be seen in the place without a single Juniper and one Wäyera tree which found in brink of west hillock.³⁹⁰

According to the aged informants' description, however, when they moving around the place, they felt flavor incense smelling, heard the sound of drum repeatedly and observed corpse with *mägnäz* materials like cloth, hide and canvas within the cave near to the tree of Wäyera, but the place of corpse from where it was coming is unknown.³⁹¹ In earlier time, the place around the monastery was known and called with the name *Asekärén Waša* due to the existence of *Asekärén* (corpse) in the cave. In the later, at the time of chiseled the cave of the present monastery the place was known as *Yordanos Ašmä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Monastery* (in short *Yordanos Mädehané Aläm*). In present day, the monastery is known as *Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Gädam* which named by *Abunä Ephraim*, the bishop of North Shoa *Hagärä Sebkät* when he blesses the place and visited in and around the monastery. The word *Meskabä* is come from *Geez* that interpreted as *Maräfiya*.

³⁸⁹Wäsän, p.1 and “*Yä Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Anedenät Gädam Tarik* (‘The History of Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Monastery’)”, First Edition, (2004 EC), p.21-22.

³⁹⁰Informant: Täklä Ṭadiq Šäwaräga

³⁹¹“*Yä Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Anedenät Gädam Tarik*---, pp.17-19.

Based on this, to indicate the holiness of the place and the habitation of saints, the bishop has given the name for the site as to known as the land of saints (*Meskabä Qeduasn/Yäqedusan Maräfiya*).³⁹²

The construction of the monastery in new form is built by *Mägabi Täklä Şadiq Şäwaräga*. After discussing and agreed with the surrounding old men, on *Mägabit* 20, 1998 EC/March 27, 2006 he began the construction of the monastery by coordinating the peoples who wanted to take part in this activity. In the same year, one part of the monastery construction could be accomplished. It is the entrance to the main body of the cave. Then, the work of chipping/clutch of the rock to form the cave was beginning in *Teqemt* 1999 EC/October 2006.³⁹³

It was start with the absence of professional advisor and modern building instruments. As a result, the chipping of the cave was chisel by traditional instruments like mattock, peak axe, shovel and etc. The instruments that used to chip the rock are existed as the heritage of the monastery. The work man who took part in the construction were also do not have an architectural profession. Mainly 24 peoples, 12 men and 12 women were participated in the construction of the cave. Those were live in Şadqané Mariam Monastery to sprinkle holy water (*täbäl*) with the purpose to gained healing and blessing. With the absence of resting place in and around the cave, they constructed through shuttling every day/morning and evening from Şadqané Mariam Monastery.³⁹⁴

It is to be interesting that even they had inadequate provision/food when the work man worked in chipping of the rock. They also took part without any payment because as believers/followers to the religion of Orthodox Christian they thought that of earning blessing of body and soul (*bäräkätä segana näfes*), and *rediét* from God. Some of them still live as an ascetic/monk or nun in the monastery. According to the administrator of the monastery, although always various painful scene could be faced in time of digging, the construction of chipping the cave had been completed within 1(one) year and 8 (eight) months.³⁹⁵

Following these, on *Genebot* 27, 2000 EC/05 June, 2008 with the permission of North Shoa *Hagärä Sebekät* bishop the holy house had been blessed by *Abunä Yonas*, the bishop of Afar

³⁹²*Ibid.*, p.20.

³⁹³*Ibid.*

³⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp.26-28.

³⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p.29.

Regional State *Hagärä Sebekät* and the Ark could be entered to the monastery.³⁹⁶ The chisel of the cave has approximately 4,000 m² and consisted 3 (three) chisel temples (*bätä-Mäqedäs*) such as *Mädehané Aläm bätä-mäqedäs* in the middle, *Mäṭemeqä Mäläkot QedusYohannis bätä-mäqedäs* in the right side and *Qedist Arséma bätä-mäqedäs* in the left side within the monastery. Each of them has their own qené mahelét, qedest and mäqedäs for that of fulfilling their service, but there is a big whole with decorative design of the roof on the way of entrance to those of *bätä mäqedäs*.³⁹⁷

The operation of the building of the cave is very interesting and remarkable. The design of the building, the imagery of cross and saints on the wall of the cave are very amazing. The other interesting and unbelievable event that created on the operation of the chipping of the cave is the duration of time that completed within 1 year and 8 months. It is difficult to believe it would be accomplished by this duration of time as to compare the area of the cave, the wide ranging cave and the imagery of cross and saints that carved on the wall as well as the architecture of the construction with the absence of modern professionals. According to describing by informants who live in the monastery, the cave hewed from solid rock by using traditional instruments also made it interesting and remarkable more than human intelligent.³⁹⁸

Many peoples stated that its chipping of rock is to be similar to the rock hewn church of Lalibäla. The present generations reflected the architectural design of our forefathers on the monastery of *Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm*. Based on this the monastery is termed to as *dagmawi* (the second) Lalibäla. This is indicated that our country has its own original (independent from foreign) architectural profession from ancient to this modern period.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p.30 and Informant: Täklä Şadiq Şäwaräga.

³⁹⁷“*Yä Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Anedenät Gädam Tarik---*, pp.31-33.

³⁹⁸*Ibid.* and informant: Täklä Şadiq Şäwaräga.

³⁹⁹Wäsän, p.1 and “*Yä Meskabä sQedusan Mädehané Aläm Anedenät Gädam Tarik---*, p.34.

Figure, 5.4. *Meskabä Qedusan Mädehané Aläm Monastery*



Source; Culture and Tourism Office of Mojana Wädära.

5.5. The Balcony of Wäyzäro Zänäbä Work

The Balcony that called in Amharic *Yä Wäyzäro Zänäbä Wärk Säganät* (the Balcony of *Weyzero Zenebe Work*) is found in Seladingay town. In the town, it located on the western front in the area called *Markos Sefer* (quarter). Although the exact period of its construction is not known, the Balcony (*Segenet*) would believe to be constructed by *Weyzero Zenebe Work* when she became the ruler to the province of Tegulet in the first half of the 19th century. According to the expression of Isenberg and Kraph, *W/r Zänäbä Wärk* was the ruler of Täguät during the reign of Sahelä Selassie (1813-1847) and she built the Balcony.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰Informants: Haile Michael and *Woyzäro Terunäs Abäbayähu*.

Some informants also describe that the Balcony was constructed by her and called by her name as *Yä Wäyzäro Zänäbä Work Säganät* (the Balcony of *Wäyzäro Zänäbä Wärk*). Therefore, these indicated that the Balcony could be expected between 175 to 200 years old.⁴⁰¹ On the western front of the town, there is a hill on which the Balcony of Zenebe Work has been built. The architectural building of the Balcony is attractive because it has been constructed by local materials like stone, soil/mud, straw and tree. This indicates that our forefathers had the profession of architecture. Its design of building is round shape and has ground plus one than the hall and other houses in the *gibbi* of the court.⁴⁰²

The Balcony is surrounded with several walls, and you have to walk through many gates. In the center, there is a court yard, however, which is not equal in extent to that at Ankobar. In the eastern front of this court yard is a place of eminence, where the lady gives judgment to her subjects, as Sahle Sellassie does at Ankobar. Another large room has been selected as the dining-room for her soldiers.⁴⁰³ As to express in the previous chapter, when she was the governor of the province of Tägulät, *Wäyzero Zenebe Work* had lived with in the Balcony by using it as a palace.⁴⁰⁴ According to informants, although the name and numbers of the governors who become following her to administer the province of Tägulät were could not be well known, they used the Balcony as a palace. A numbers of queen mothers were use the balcony as a residence.⁴⁰⁵ For example, it served as the residence for *W/r Bafäna*, the second of wife of Menelik II in the last period of Téwodros II and in earlier reign of Yohannis IV.⁴⁰⁶

Menelik II, the emperor of Ethiopia from 1889-1913, used the Balcony of *Woyzero Zenebe Work* as a temporary residence when he frequently came to Säladıngay for about six months. As stated in chapter two, Menelik turn and back to Säladıngay in order to reconstruct the Church of *Qedus Markos*. By the time, the Balcony of *Wäyzero Zenebe Work* was serve as a temporary residence to Menelik with in these months.⁴⁰⁷ When Menelik II had been reside in Seladingay, the Ethiopian

⁴⁰¹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰²Informants: Asäfa, Berhanu, Terunäsš and Wondafäräw.

⁴⁰³Isenberg, p.295.s

⁴⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pp.294-96.

⁴⁰⁵Informants: Asäfa, Berhanu, Terunäsš and Wondafäräw.

⁴⁰⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷Dawit, pp.19-20.

people who wanted any service from him came to the town from different parts of the country. Therefore, he gave judgment for the people with in the palace of the Balcony.⁴⁰⁸

According to tradition the Balcony also used for a seat to *Abunä Matéwos* about 38 years in the period of Menelik II. He provided holy orders (*Kehenät*) through blessing with the title deacon and priest in the Balcony. Some informants described that the *Abun* had lived in Säladingay only during the construction period of *Qedus Markos* church. Although there is a controversial sources when and how many years lived in Säladingay, the chair of the *Abun* which became an evidence that indicate he reside there existed in museum of *Qedus Markos* church.⁴⁰⁹

Italy occupied Ethiopia from 1936-1941. During this period, the Ethiopian patriots were passed their life with in resistance in different regions to liberate our country from Italian occupation.⁴¹⁰ At the same time, the society who live in Tägulät were involved to struggle against fascist Italian. To strategically arrangement how to resist the Italian fascist, the patriots of Tägulät carried out a meeting with in the Balcony of *Wäyzäro Zänäbä Wärk*.⁴¹¹ The place where the Balcony is found on the top of hill as compared to the surrounding areas. Therefore, standing from there, the surrounding regions are visible. By that time, the Balcony was serve as a fortification for the patriots to the province of Tägulät. But later it was surrender by Fascist Italians.⁴¹²

In the post liberation period, during the period of Hailä Selassie the government improved the decree of tax system. The system of tribute was replaced by taxes payable in cash. Tax collectors were assigned to collect it from each provinces.⁴¹³ At same time in that period, tax collectors in the district of Majana Wädära were sitting with in the Balcony of *Wäyzäro Zänäbä Wärk* and then they collected tax from the society. Therefore, the Balcony used as an institution to collect tax in the province to that period.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁸Informants: Bälätä and Zäwdu.

⁴⁰⁹*Ibid.*

⁴¹⁰Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1855-1991*, Second Edition (London, Athens and Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), p.166.

⁴¹¹Informants: Gäbrä Wold and Wudyé.

⁴¹²Informants: Dästa Yilema and Bälehu.

⁴¹³Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic history of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974*, Vol.1 (CODESRIA Book Series, 1995), p.32.

⁴¹⁴Informants: Bälehu and Haylä Mareyam

The Balcony also gave different services during the period of *Därg*. It was important for public meeting for different purposes. Moreover, someone considered as a criminal person in the province would be capture and taken to Seladingay town and detained with in the Balcony. The criminal person received punishment for his fault in the *gibbi* of the Balcony. Therefore, in this period the Balcony was serve as a temporary jail institution. In the later, when the forces of *Därg* and EPRDF fought each other, it was again served as a fortress for *Därg* soldiers. Finally, the Balcony was fall under the control of EPRDF in 1991. After the down fall of *Därg*, from 1991 to 2002 the Balcony did not give any type of service. However, when the district of Mojana Wädära separated from Tarmabär district in 2002, the Balcony has to be made to use as an office for the District *Bätä Keheñät Şehefät Bét* (Church Administration office). Hence, the *gibbi* of the Balcony stayed by giving its service to the office of Church administration from 2002 to 2008. The society made conservation and protection activity to keep its originality and transferred to the coming generation. It was renewed two times solely the roof material not the building. First, the Balcony was renewed the flap by *Ato Tacbälé* in 1935 and again by the coordination of *Aba Tsegé T/Yohanes* it was renewed in 2009.⁴¹⁵

By present government regime, the Balcony registered as a cultural heritage and historical site by the cultural and tourism bureau of the district. Now a day, with in the Balcony different cultural manifestations of the district of Mojana Wädära such as clothes, shoes, hat, overcoat, and other materials are collected and stored. So, it served as a store to the materials that reflect the district culture.⁴¹⁶ The other house is serving as a *Mäqaño* (temporary church) for St. Gabriel until the modern building construction will be completed. New building for church is set up within the place that considered as the palace in the past.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵Informants: Asäfa, Berhanu, Dästa, Terunäş and Wondafäräw

⁴¹⁶*Ibid* and Informant: Ţirunäş.

⁴¹⁷Informants: Bälätä and Zäwdu.

Figure, 5.5. Balcony of *Wäyzäro Zänäbä Wärk*



Source; Culture and Tourism Office of Mojana Wädära.

5.6. The Big Rock of Säladingay

The rock is used as the origin for the naming to the town of Säladingay. The former name of the areas of the town before it called Säladingay was Tägulät Dägu. For some times, the root for the name of the country, town, river and other places is depended on historical events. Accordingly, the naming of Säladingay has been related to the event of rolling big stone. There was a big stone on the top of the hill in the present day areas of Markos *Säfar* where now the place of Markos church. According to oral tradition, this rock would be used as a sitting chair for the local judge to give judgment for the surrounding residences.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸Dawit, p.7, Mojana Wädära *Wäräda Masetawäqiya Şehesät Bét...*, p.3 and Informant: Wändafäräw.

While one day, bad people were sitting on the stone and telling lies when they give a judgment. Then the rock had been suddenly rolled and moved down to east direction towards Mofär Wuha River. The judge who sit on the stone were died and that others should take their example for a warning.⁴¹⁹ The peoples who observed the rolling of the stone believed that the justice that given on that specific day would be biased. Based on this the peoples said that: “እዩት እማ ይህንን ጉድ ነገር ድንጋዩ እንኳን አውቆ ሰልጥኖ በሀሰት የፈረዱበትን ዳኞች ገለበጧቸው”;⁴²⁰ “*look this amazing event even the stone knows, civilized and overturned the biased judges.*” Based on this historical coincidence event, the place would be gained the name called Säladingay, which means verbally “the jumping stone”.⁴²¹ According to informants, locally the word *säla* means *tänšäratätä* (slide down), so beginning from that time the name of the area become Säladingay.⁴²²

This historical rock is included as one of the heritage and tourism site of the district. It is now located in endways of north east direction of the town. It was fenced by the district of Mojana Wädära culture and tourism bureau in 2002. The fence, however, is not last long. Therefore, it does not obtained much of protection from the society and responsible government office.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹Isenberg and Kraph, pp.294-95.

⁴²⁰ Dawit, p.7 and Mojana Wädära Wäräda Masetawäqiya Shefät Bét..., p.3.

⁴²¹*Ibid.*

⁴²²Informants: Yitbaräk Haile and Wändafäräw.

⁴²³Dawit, p.6.

Figure; 5.6. Black Stone of Säladingay



Source; Culture and Tourism Office of Mojana Wädära.

The district is the home of these mentioned and other which are unmentioned heritages and tourism sites that generated income for the district, in particular and the country, in general. Nevertheless, these heritages and tourism sites gradually deteriorated/lose their originality with two major factors, man-made and natural causes. In the district, that is observed lack of attention and coordination in the process of preservation and conservation of heritages.⁴²⁴ “To conserve heritages from different kinds of destruction, preservation and documentation of heritages are the most important ways.”⁴²⁵ Proper protection and conservation process will needed to keep these heritages originality and transmitted to the next generation. Therefore, the responsible body (both the government and the society) should be actively involve to preserve and protect heritages of the district by creating possible conservation and documentation mechanisms.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴Asäfa, Berhanu, Dästa, Terunäš and Wondafäräw.

⁴²⁵Yemeserach, p.20.

⁴²⁶Bäkurä, Ešub, Hénok and Terunäš.

Conclusion

Many historical developments accomplished in the district. This helped the district to have good image for the peoples of Ethiopia. The district of Mojana Wädära was the center of the Christian Highland Kingdom in Medieval period as a result great event were accomplished in the place like the Church Council of Däbrä Meṭmaq to solve the question of Sabbath. Some kings seated their court in the district when they had been used a mobile capital. The district also called the country of queen mothers. For instance, W/r Zänäbä Work had lived in the district for long period of time and she built a balcony as a logy to administer the province of Tägulät. The district is the birth place of King Sahlä Selassie.

In the district, Menelik II had left unforgettable historical event that is the construction of *Qedus* Markos Church. When he reconstructed the Church by shuttle, Menelik had been used the district as a provisional residence for six months. It does not mean that the district served as a capital for Menelik about six months rather it was serve as a residence when he move and back frequently until the completion of the rebuilding of the Church. During the reign of Menelik, *rist* and *gult* systems applied in the district and they affected on agricultural economy of the society. The agricultural economy of the district also affected by natural disasters, war and custom of the society. Before 1941, the district society paid tribute to the state in the form of kind. So there was no formal tribute payment system. During the Italian occupation period (1936-1941), some parts of the district, particularly the town of Säladingay fall under the control of fascism. At that time, the peoples of the district showed a national feeling with paying immense sacrifice to struggle against fascism. The patriots of Shoa carried out an oath in the district under the tree of acacia to dislodge the Italians from their country.

In the post 1941, Haile Selassie's government made major changes in the fields of administration issue and economic aspects of the district. The major aim of re-establishing strong centralized political power and confirming the government's economic foundation was to attend dynamic tasks of existing administrative as well as land related issues. The policies and reforms of the Emperor had been influenced on the life of the society in political, social and economic aspects. Regarding to land holding systems, *rist* and *gult* systems were exercise in the district. After 1941, *rist* land become an absolute private property. Privatization of land highly expanded in the district.

Most lands were concentrated on the hands of land lords/feudal. Most people become tenants who cultivated the land of lords. The peasants were suppressed by the land reform of the regime. Because most people's become land less and become servants to the lords. In the post liberation period, the government issued the decree of land tax. The previous collecting system of tribute in kind was changed to pay in the form of cash. Formal tax payment system was established in related to fertility rate of the land. Nevertheless, taxation brought a burden on the peasants.

The *Därg* government started to strengthen the authority by bringing various programs which are linked with economic, political and social related issues in national level in general and in Mojana Wädära district specifically since 1974. Among the programs of *Därg* land reform, which was the main question that brought revolution and down fall of the imperial government. Therefore, the *Därg* responded to the peasant requests by introducing the land reforms, peasant association, and cooperatives like service cooperatives. From this land reform is better than the other in the district. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the *Wäräda* were antagonized these policies. Most of the program were put in to action without the willingness of the society. So the government faced an opposition from the society of the district when it tried to implement these programs. Consequently it accounted to the collapse of the *Därg* regime. In time of *Därg* regime, the economic development did not brought fundamental changes.

Many natural and cultural heritages have existed in the district. These heritages are mostly religious sites. A large number of peoples have been flooding to the district with various purposes. This movement of people brought an economic development in related to trading activity. But the government and the society are negligence to maintain the originality of the heritage of the district. The heritages of the district could not be protect effectively from danger. Therefore, the tireless efforts of the governments and the societies should be needed to keep the originality of the heritage as well as to transfer them for the next generation without losing their origin.

Glossary

<i>Abba</i>	A title of Monks/priests in Ethiopia Orthodox Churches
<i>Abéto</i>	A Showan rulers title after the 16 th century
<i>Abun</i>	Head or the supereme title of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
<i>Afä negus</i>	Literary ‘mouth piece of the king’, the highest judge under the king
<i>Aläqa</i>	Head of Monastery/Church or a title granted for educated in the Church
<i>Addbarat</i>	A churches ruled by <i>Aläqa</i>
<i>Aqeni abbat</i>	Founding father of <i>rist</i> land
<i>Aṭebiya-dañä</i>	Local ruler above <i>Chiqa-šum</i> during the imperial period
<i>Ato</i>	Mr. /A civil title given to ordinary people
<i>Balabat</i>	Local rulers/individual with the hereditary owner of rest land
<i>Balambaras</i>	Commander of fort
<i>Ĉeqa-šum</i>	A last village chief, representative of peasants in government hierarchy
<i>Däjjazmač</i>	Roughly equivalent to generl/ a military title below <i>Ras</i>
<i>Enjära</i>	The stable food in much of highland Ethiopia
<i>Fitäwrari</i>	Commander of the vanguared/title below <i>Däjjazmač</i>
<i>Gäbäz</i>	The secular over lord of a church
<i>Gäbbar</i>	One who pay tribute/tax
<i>Gaša</i>	A unit of land equivalent to 40 hectares
<i>Gibbi</i>	The imperil palace, generally used in connection with royal compounds
<i>Gerazmach</i>	A commander of the left wing army
<i>Käbälé</i>	Local administrative unit
<i>Liqä Kahen</i>	A clergy title of priest, leader of the clergy
<i>Liqämänbär</i>	Head of the administrative unit of <i>käbälé</i>
<i>Mälekäña</i>	The commander of the army during the conquest of the southern region
<i>Märed Azmač</i>	Shawan title, higher than <i>abéto</i> and lower than <i>negus</i>
<i>Qänazmch</i>	A commander of the right wing army
<i>Qés</i>	Priest
<i>Ras</i>	Commander of the army/head of the highest military title under <i>negus</i>
<i>Tsehafé te’ezaz</i>	Royal secretary/Chronicler of the king’s order
<i>Wäyzäro</i>	Mrs. /Lady

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List of Informants

No	Name of Informants	Title	Age	Interview		Remark
				Date	Place	
1.	Adamu Däbäbä	<i>Ato</i>	53	04/05/2020	Säladingay	He is the guard of Commercial Bank of Ethiopia in Säladingay town and formerly he was the soldiers of <i>Därg</i> . He has an ample knowledge about the district in the period of <i>Därg</i> .
2.	Admasu Hailu	<i>Ato</i>	90	12/05/2020	Säladingay	He is the native person of the district and know live in Säladingay town. He has some information about the administration of the district in the period of H/Selassie and the conflict between the two sub-district of Moja and Wädära.
3.	Asäfa G/Selassie	<i>Hamesa Aläqa</i>	80	13/05/2020	Säladingay	He is the residence of the district. In the period of H/Selassie, he was soldiers in the period as <i>Näç- Läbaš</i> . He has a good insight about the administration, tax system and land tenure of imperial period.
4.	Ayälä Gäbrä Şadiq	<i>Ato</i>	72	13/06/2013	Sasit	He is the previous farmer and now the merchant in the small town of Sasit.
5.	Bäkurä Şeyon Berhanu	<i>Yänéta</i>	76	26/04/2020	Säladingay	He is a teacher of church school in the department of <i>Aquaqum</i> with in the church of <i>Qedus Markos</i> . He has a better insight about traditional education of the district and how it was expanded and retarded in the district from earlier period to the recent time.

6.	Bälaynäh Wärké	<i>Ato</i>	75	26/04/2020	Säladingay	He is the resident in Säladingay town and he provided a service to the peoples of the town to fetch clean water by opening water container. He briefly describe about the history of Däbrä meṭemaq Şadeqané <i>Mareyam</i> Monastery and <i>Qedus</i> Markos Church.
7.	Bälätä Asfaw	<i>Märi géta</i>	75	25/04/2020	Säladingay	He is the resident of the district and he stayed by giving different service of the church like church music. He was also the leader of Mojana Wädära district <i>bétä kehenät</i> administration. He has a good information about the district in relation to the establishment of church and monastery.
8.	Bälehu Mäkonnen	<i>Mäm her</i>	55	10/12/2018	Säladingay town	He lives in Säladingay for several years by serving in profession of teaching in field of Geography and he has a general knowledge in relation to expansion of education in the district.
9.	Béṭä W/Kiros	<i>Ato</i>	60	14/05/2020	Säladingay	He is an employee in bus station and live in the district for long period. He give oral information to land reform, taxation and Ethiopian Workers Party of the military government.
10.	Berhanä Habtä Wold	<i>Ato</i>	73	30/04/2012	Fila Gänät <i>Käbälé</i>	He is the resident and farmer of the district. He live in Fila Gänät <i>käbälé</i> . He has a good insight about the administration, villegization program, land reform and tax system of the <i>Därg</i> administration.

11.	Berhanu Mäšäša	<i>Ato</i>	90	14/05/2020	Säladingay	He is a native and elder man in the district. He was a land owner during the reign of H/Selassie. Provided oral sources in relation to land tenure system and taxation as well as the administration condition of the district during the imperial period. He also give oral information about the land distribution to landless peasants during the military government of <i>Därg</i> .
12.	Dästa Yelma	<i>Ato</i>	44	11/12/2018	Säladingay	The government employee and well-known merchant in the town of Säladingay. He provided oral sources to the general history of the district of Mojana Wädära.
13.	Ešätu Awäqä	<i>Ato</i>	40	08/03/2020	Säladingay	He is a civil servant in the institution of agricultural office of the district. He well informed oral sources about the economic activities; in agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation as well as the growing plants and crops.
14.	Eşub Ṭebäbä Selassie	<i>Mäm eher</i>	42	23/03/2021	Säladingay	He is the present administrator of Qedus Markos Church and has some information about Qedus Markos Church.
15.	Eseṭifo	<i>Qés</i>	52	23/06/2013	Sasit	He is the priest in Sasit Kidanä Meherät and has a good knowledge about the fighting between the patriots and fascist army in and around Sasit.

16.	Gäberä Wold Endalebaba	<i>Ato</i>	95	12/05/2020	Säladingay	He is the dwellers in Säladingay town. Though the person did not remember the exact date of the event, he expressed the Ethiopian patriotic resistance movement in five year Italian occupation period.
17.	Gerema ፒጎላ	<i>Ato</i>	63	13/05/2020	Säladingay	He live several years in the district and he also the judge of <i>Eder</i> in the town of Säladingay. He give us good oral sources in the history of the district regarding to the regime of H/Selassie and <i>Därg</i> as well as the Church of <i>Qedus</i> Markos.
18.	Gétačaw	<i>Ato</i>	67	15/04/2020	Säladingay	He is a well-known merchant in the district. He is the son of land lords/ <i>rist</i> owners. He express the land redistribution to the landless peasants during <i>Därg</i> period as well as the nationalization urban land and houses.
19.	Haile Michael Zäwdé	<i>Qés</i>	75	23/03/2021	Säladingay	The dweller of the town of Säladingay and he served in Qedus Markos Church as a priest in the previous time. He has a better insight about the history of the Church and the district in general.
20.	Hailu Nägäsä	<i>Ato</i>	37	11/05/2020	Säladingay	He is a native person and representatives of <i>Amhara Development Associations</i> in the district. He collected many historical sources from elders and written materials regarding to the history of the district. Though he is amateur in data collection system, he collected many stories of the district.

21.	Harägua Habtä Wold	<i>Wäye zäro</i>	78	30/04/2020	Säladingay	She live in Säladingay town as a merchant of local crafts. She provided good information about the history of H/Selassie in related to land tenure and taxation system.
22.	Hénok Berhanu	<i>Yänét a</i>	45	19/09/2020	Säladingay	He is a traditional church school teacher of <i>Qené</i> (Church poet) and New Testament scripture at the Church of Marqos in Säladingay. He explained several church words and how the church school expanded and retarded as well as why several students move from one region to other region.
23.	Käfälän G/Şadiq	<i>Ato</i>	71	11/05/2020	Däbrä Meţmaq	He live in Däbrä Meţmaq and employee a day money receiver in Däbrä Meţmaq <i>Şadeqané Mareyam</i> Monastery. He was the leader of District Peasant Association in the <i>Därg</i> military government. He give a brief oral information to peasant associations, reforms, cooperatives and villagization program of <i>Därg</i> .
24.	Mulunäş Yelma	<i>Wäye zäro</i>	63	30/04/2020	Säladingay	She is a woman merchant in the district center, Säladingay and gives oral information about the infrastructural development of light and the land proclamation and nationalization of extra urban house in the period of <i>Därg</i> .
25.	Näga Woldä Giyorgis	<i>Qés</i>	75	23/06/2013	Sasit	He is the priest in Sasist Kidanä Meherät Church and has a detail information about the attempt of Italy to destroy the Church. He

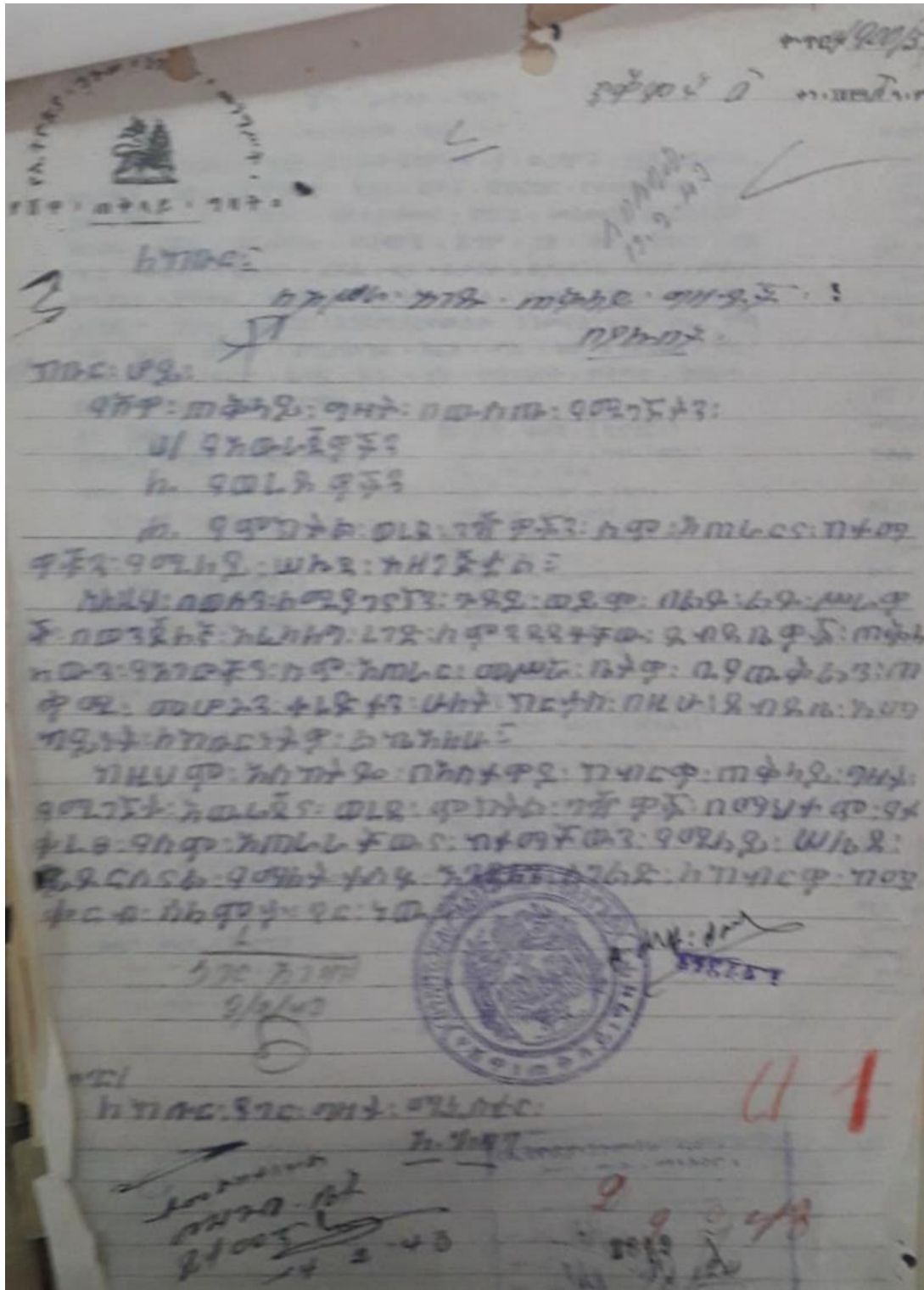
						has also a good insight about the patriots struggling against the fascists in Tägulät.
26.	Nägaš Käfalän	<i>Ato</i>	49	15/10/2020	Säladingay	He is the dweller of Säladingay town and he provided good information to me about Coopratve service institution of the <i>Därg</i> period.
27.	Şäga Woreq Alämu	<i>Ato</i>	42	11/5/2020	Säladingay	He is government civil servant and he is good oral informant on the history of Markos Church, the Balcony, Şadeqané Mareyam Monastery and the big rock of Säladingay.
28.	Täklä Berhan	<i>Aba</i>	61	23/10/2019	Bägoç Gağ in Mäsqälé <i>Gädäm</i>	The administrator/abbot <i>Mäsqälé Mädhäéaläm</i> Monastery. He explained briefly the history of Monastery how and when it was founded and its former livelihood.
29.	Täklä Şadiq Şäwaräga	<i>Mäga bi</i>	55	15/05/2020	Waşa Mädehani Aäm	He is the head /abbot of Rock Hewn Monastery of <i>Meskabä Qedusan Mädehanä Aläm</i> and also he has been founded the Monastery in new shape in 2007. He well informed about the history of the Monastery regarding to its establishment, chiseling of rock as well as the problem that faced when they carve the Rock Hewn.
30.	Täsäma Bogalä	<i>Ato</i>	67	04/05/2020	Säladingay	He is government employee in office and the native of the district. He explained the general history of the district, 1941-1991.

31.	Ṭeruneš Abābayāhu	<i>Wäye zäro</i>	35	30/11/2018	Säladingay	She is the Cabinet of the cultural and tourism bureau of the district of Mojana Wädära. She has some oral information to the district.
32.	Wondafärä w W/Amanu'e l	<i>Hame sa Aläqa</i>	77	05/05/2020	Säladingay	He live long period in the district. He was the soldiers of H/Selassie with a title <i>Hamesa Aläqa</i> . He is better a source of oral sources. Except remembering the exact date of the event when it was happened, he express in deeply the history of the district in all fields from 1889 to 1991.
33.	Wäldä Giorgis Kätäma	<i>Aba</i>	55	20/04/2020	Däbrä Meṭmaṭ	He is the head of Däbrä Meṭemaṭ Ṣadeqané Mareyam Monastery. He express the general history of the Monastery.ss
34.	Wudyé Tägétä	<i>Ato</i>	53	12/05/2020	Säladingay	He is now a cabinet for security administration office of the district and he was the vice-head of the district from 1991-1993. He has better insight about the military administration of <i>Därg</i> and its land reform and socio-economic development of the period. He also express the war between the army of <i>Därg</i> and EPRDF and how the former fail down and the later take the power.
35.	Yähualašät Lämma.	<i>Ato</i>	75	29/06/2013	Anqälafñ	He is a farmer and son of patriot in the district around Anqälafñ Méda. He has better knowledge about the confrontation between fascist army and the patriots in the district. He has also detail information about the formation of Ethiopian Patriot

						Association and its aim that established in Anqälafin under the tree of Andit Gerar.
36.	Yetbaräk Haylé	<i>Ato</i>	50	10/12/2018	Säladingay	At present, he is the cabinet for rural road service institution of the district. But in earlier time, he was civil servant in the institution. He is well informed oral informant about the history of the district particularly in related to infrastructural development of <i>Därg</i> .
37.	Zäwdu Bälätä	<i>Liqä Kahe n</i>	45	07/12/2018	Säladingay	He is the leader of Mojana Wädära district Bätä Kehnät ('House of the Clergy') Institution. He was also the head of the Church of <i>Qedus</i> Markos. He is a good oral informant to the history of Church education and construction of <i>Adebbarat</i> , small Churches and Monasteries.

Appendix

Appendix.i,



A letter that sent from ministry of interior to the province of Shoa in 1950.

ሸዋ ፡ ጠቅላይ ፡ ግዛት ፡
 (ጥሃ ፡ ህጥግው ፡ ከፊሪ ፡ ከፊሪ ፡)

የሸዋ ፡ ጠቅላይ ፡ ግዛት ፡ ጌ ፡ አውራጃዎችና ፡ ሃ ፡ ወረዳዎች ፡ የግዛት
 ወረዳዎች ፡ አሉት ። ስማቸውም ፡ ከዚህ ፡ በታች ፡ በዝርዝር ፡ የተመለከተ
 አውራጃዎች ፡ ተራ ፡ ቁጥር ፡ ተስጥቷቸውና ፡ የግርጌ ፡ መስመር ፡ ተደ
 በጉልህ ፡ ፈደል ፡ ታትመዋል ። ወረዳዎች ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ያለ ፡ ተራ ፡ ቁ
 ግርጌ ፡ መስመር ፡ በጉልህ ፡ ፈደል ፡ ብቻ ፡ ይታያሉ ። በያንዳንዱ ፡ ወረ
 የሚገኙት ፡ ምክትል ፡ ወረዳዎች ፡ በረቂቅ ፡ ፈደል ፡ ሆነው ፡ ይገኛሉ ።
 አንባቢው ፡ ሁሉን ፡ ያለችግር ፡ እንደሚያስተውላው ፡ እንመኛለን ። ግም
 ትል ፡ ወረዳ ፡ ለማለት ፡ የሚያገለግል ፡ ከራሱ ፡ ታል ፡ ነው ። የጥገዛ
 ከተማ ፡ ወይም ፡ ፍርድ ፡ ቤትና ፡ አገረ ፡ ገዥ ፡ የሚገኙበት ፡ ምቅግጥ ፡
 ለጥቆ ፡ በቅንፍ ፡ ተከቦ ፡ ይገኛል ።

<p>ክኛ ፡ አውራጃ ፡ ተጉለትና ፡ ቡልጋ ፡ (ደብረ ፡ ብርሃን ፡)</p> <p>ወራና ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ልቺ ፡) - ዛጅራ ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረጌ) ፡ - ጥሻ ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረጌ) ፡ - ወግና ፡ ም. ወ. (ጉባዳ) ፡</p> <p>ባሶ ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (አታክልት ፡) - ባቂሎ ፡ ም. ወ. (ላገንገሮ) ፡ - ረረሰ ፡ ጥናር ፡ ም. ወ. (አባት) ፡ - ፋረ ፡ መሀን ፡ ም. ወ. (አራ) ፡</p> <p>አንጉለላ ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ማማ ፡) - አንቺ ፡ ም. ወ. (ማንገሳ) ፡ - ጠረ ፡ ም. ወ. (አልዘና) ፡</p> <p>ቅምብዘት ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ሸፍ ፡) - ወገኔ ፡ ም. ወ. (ሰጥቦ) ፡ - ማኔ ፡ ም. ወ. (ግልት) ፡ - ጌላ ፡ ም. ወ. (ጋዳይ) ፡</p> <p>ዋረት ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ደንባ ፡) - ፖራ ፡ ም. ወ. (ፕራር) ፡ - ጥፎ ፡ ም. ወ. (አንባቢዎር) ፡ - ሳፍ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ም. ወ. (ጉባት) ፡ - ገላ ፡ ም. ወ. (ሙዳ) ፡ - ጊዳ ፡ ም. ወ. (አንባቢ) ፡</p> <p>ከሰም ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ኮረማሽ ፡) - ግዳ ፡ ም. ወ. (ወረ) ፡ - ሙረራ ፡ ም. ወ. (ገላ ፡ ያይ) ፡ - ሙረ ፡ ግርግጥ ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረ) ፡</p>	<p>አሳግርት ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ጊናዝር ፡) - ተራ ፡ ኦሪር ፡ ም. ወ. (ግንባር ፡ ወን) ፡ - ጌራ ፡ ም. ወ. (ገሙ) ፡ - ህትም ፡ ጠባቢ ፡ ም. ወ. (ጌር) ፡ - ባረከት ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረ) ፡</p> <p>አንኮበር ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ጉረቤላ ፡) - ጉላ ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረ) ፡ - ጊብ ፡ ም. ወ. (አልወገን) ፡ - ቆዩ ፡ ም. ወ. (አር ፡ አምባ) ፡ - ቆራፊ ፡ ም. ወ. (አልደ ፡ አምባ) ፡ - ጠር ፡ ም. ወ. (ቀለም ፡ ዘር) ፡ ። ። ።</p> <p>ይኛ ፡ አውራጃ ፡ መንዝና ፡ ይፋት ፡ (ደብረ ፡ ልኛ ፡)</p> <p>ማማ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ምዳሌ ፡) - ላሎ ፡ ምድር ፡ ም. ወ. (ዘቦር) ፡ - ጌራ ፡ ምድር ፡ ም. ወ. (አይም) ፡ - አረጋግ ፡ ም. ወ. (ጌራት) ፡ - ቀፍ ፡ ም. ወ. (ጌረ) ፡</p> <p>ግጸ ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ራቤል ፡) - ጭር ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረ ፡ ሳት) ፡ - ጭራ ፡ ዘር ፡ ም. ወ. (ግምገማ) ፡ - ጊል ፡ ም. ወ. (ቀለም) ፡ - አንባቢ ፡ ም. ወ. (ጌራ) ፡</p> <p>አንገራታ ፡ ወረዳ ፡ (ከራቆሬ ፡) - ግርግጥ ፡ ም. ወ. (ደብረ) ፡ - ጭማ ፡ ም. ወ. (አረባ) ፡ - ጭራ ፡ ም. ወ. (ግምገማ) ፡ - ጊል ፡ ም. ወ. (ግም) ፡</p>
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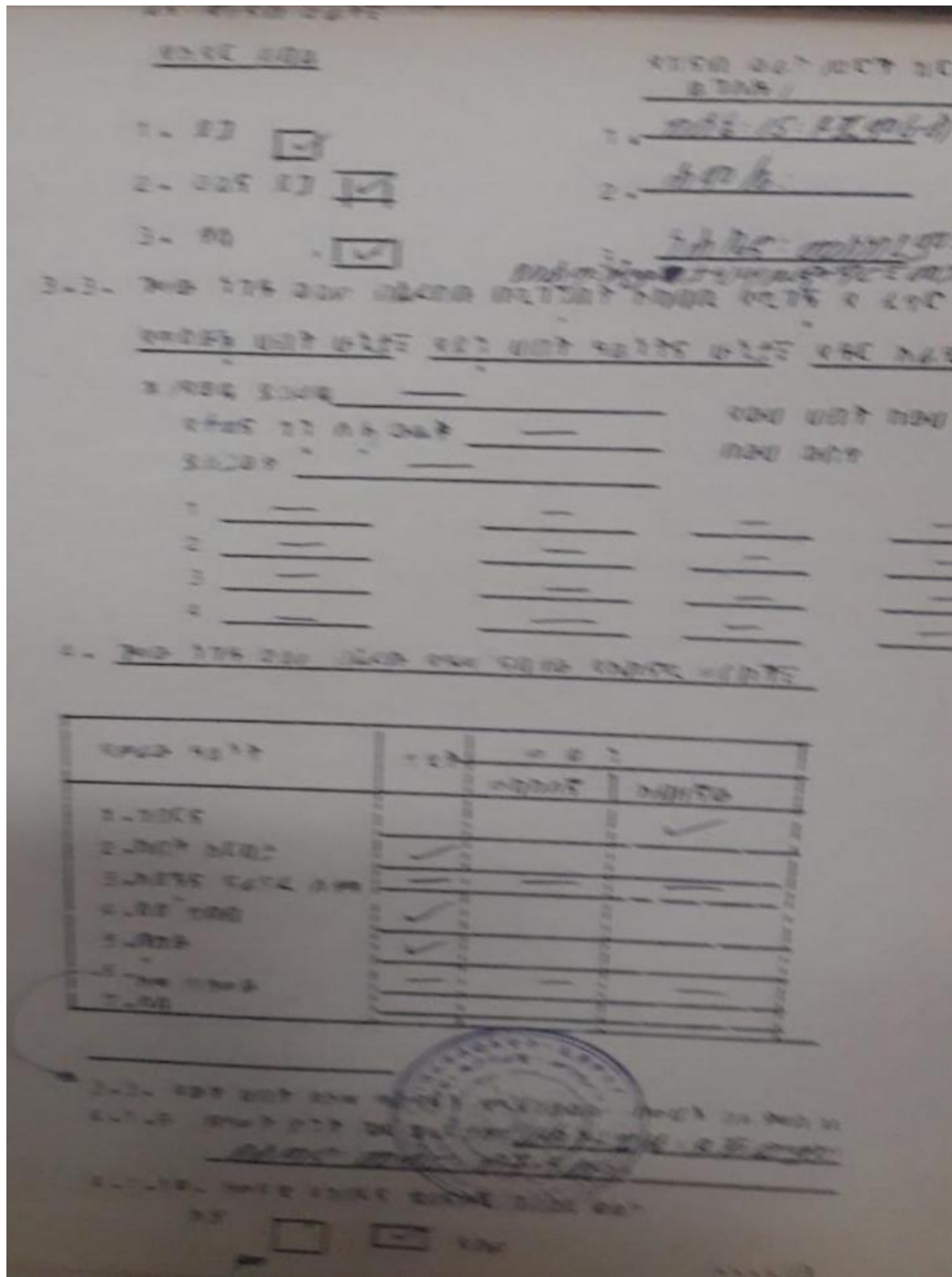
- 8 -

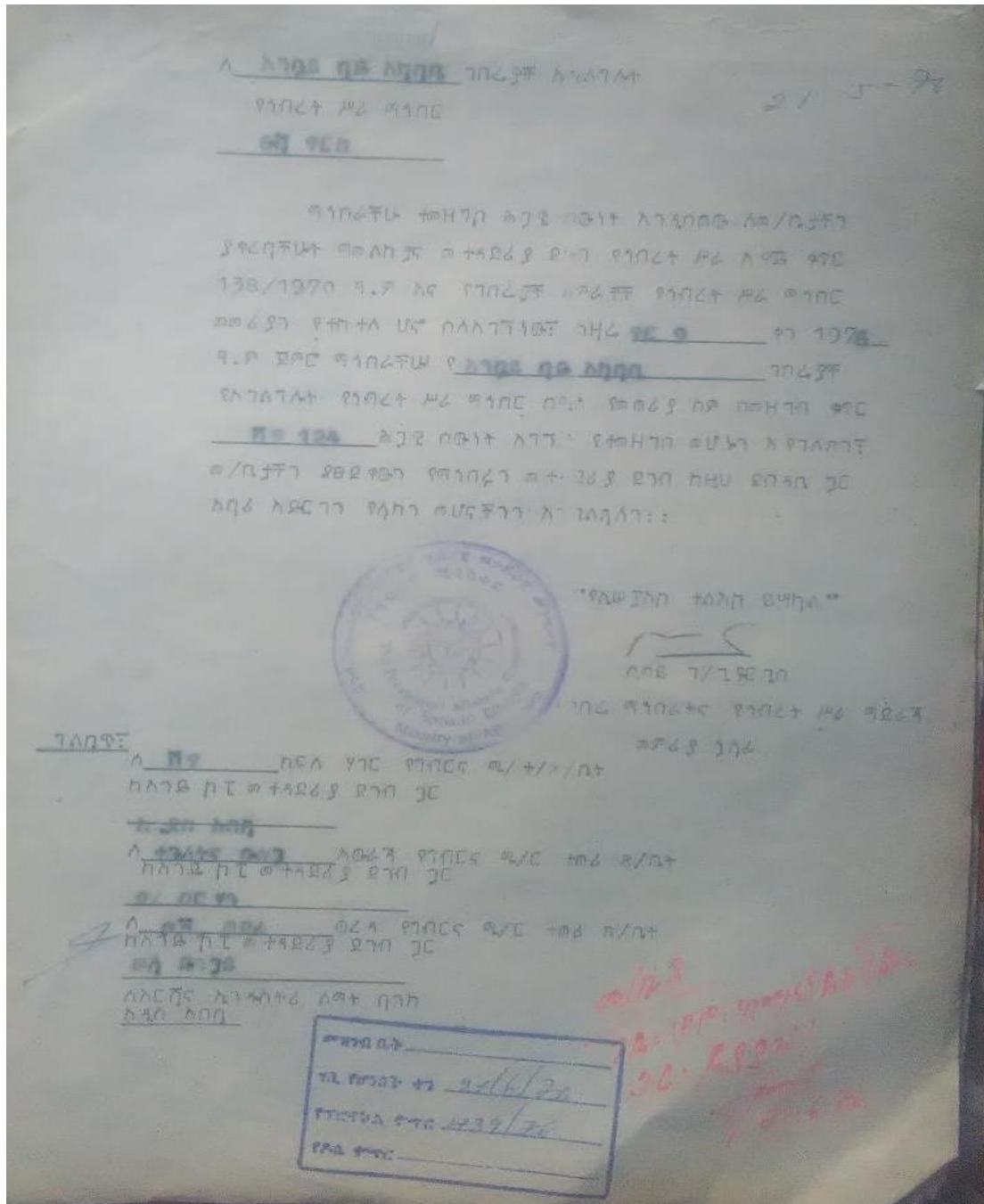
የቆ : ምዕራፍ : ግዛት : ግዛት

<p>ቀወት : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ቀገራ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - የቀገራ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - የቀገራ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ማገገጫ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ግጥም : ወረዳ : (ለርግገጥ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግጥም : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ግጥም : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ግጥም : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ግጥም : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p>ገንዘብ : ለውረዳ :</p> <p>ሙሉወረዳ : ምዕራፍ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <p>ጉሰሌ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ጉሰሌ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ደብረ : ወረዳ : (ለውረዳ : ግዛት)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግዛት : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ግዛት : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ከቆ : ወረዳ : (ግዛት)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ከቆ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ከቆ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ከቆ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ወረዳ : ወረዳ : (ግዛት : ግዛት)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግዛት : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ከረ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ከረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ከረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ወሙክ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ወሙክ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ወሙክ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>የረ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - የረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - የረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ግዳ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግዳ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>እገግ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - እገግ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - እገግ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) 	<p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p>ገንዘብ : ለውረዳ :</p> <p>ሙሉወረዳ : ምዕራፍ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <p>ጉሰሌ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ጉሰሌ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ጉሰሌ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ጉሰሌ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ደብረ : ወረዳ : (ለውረዳ : ግዛት)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግዛት : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ግዛት : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ከቆ : ወረዳ : (ግዛት)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ከቆ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ከቆ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ከቆ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ወረዳ : ወረዳ : (ግዛት : ግዛት)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግዛት : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ከረ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ከረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ከረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ወሙክ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ወሙክ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - ወሙክ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>የረ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - የረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - የረ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>ግዳ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ግዳ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) <p>እገግ : ወረዳ : (ማዘዘ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - እገግ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ) - እገግ : ጉ ል (ማረጋገጥ)
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The board that display the sub-province, district and sub-district with their towns with in the province of Shoa in 1950.

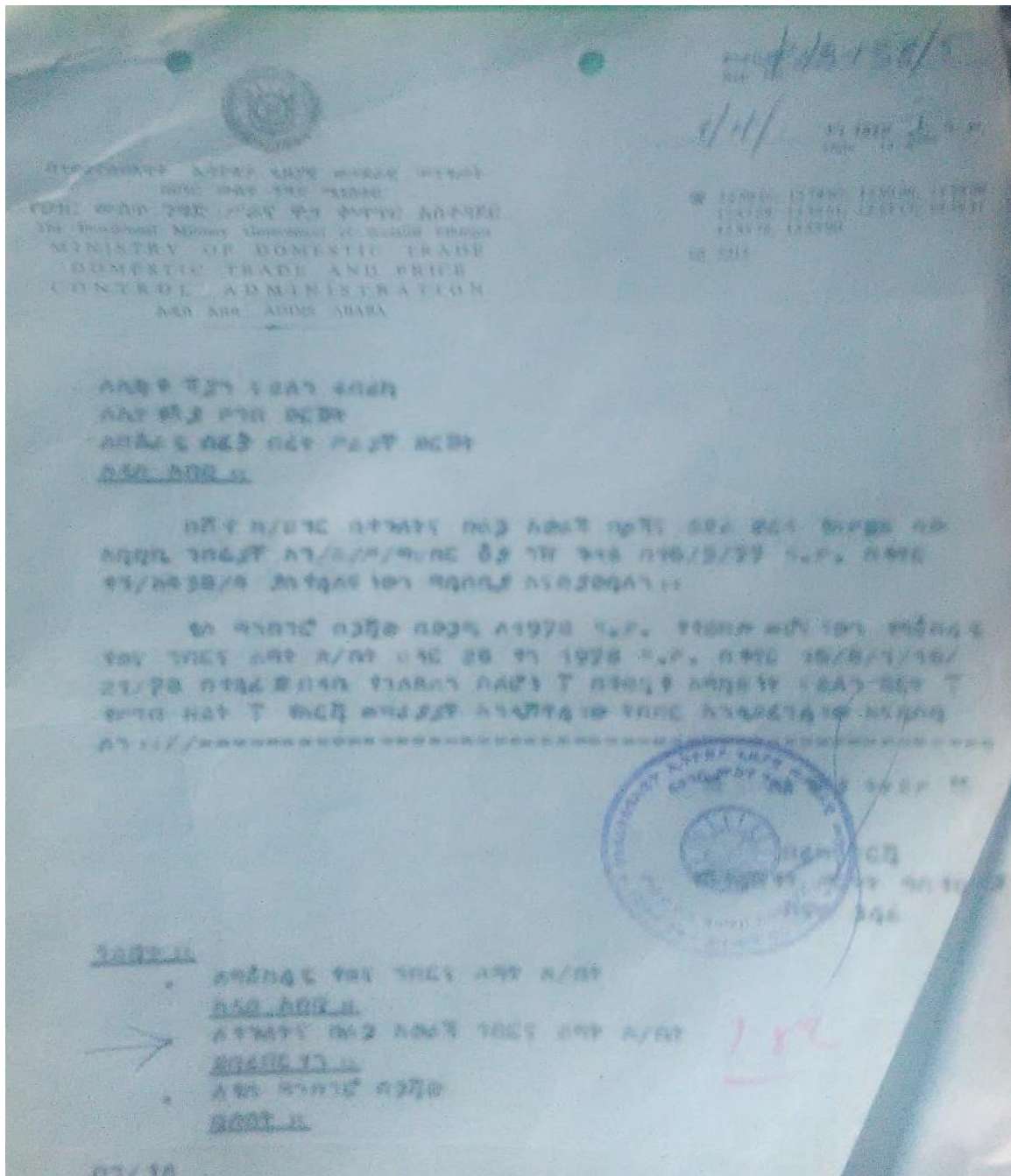
Appendix.iv,





A letter that sent to the service cooperative of Embuay Bad from the cordinators of the cooprtive.

Appendix.viii,



A letter that sent from Shewa sub-province to Teguletna Bulga Awrja that informed to buy materials of blak smith for service cooperative of Embuay Bad in Mojna Wodera district.

Appendix.x,

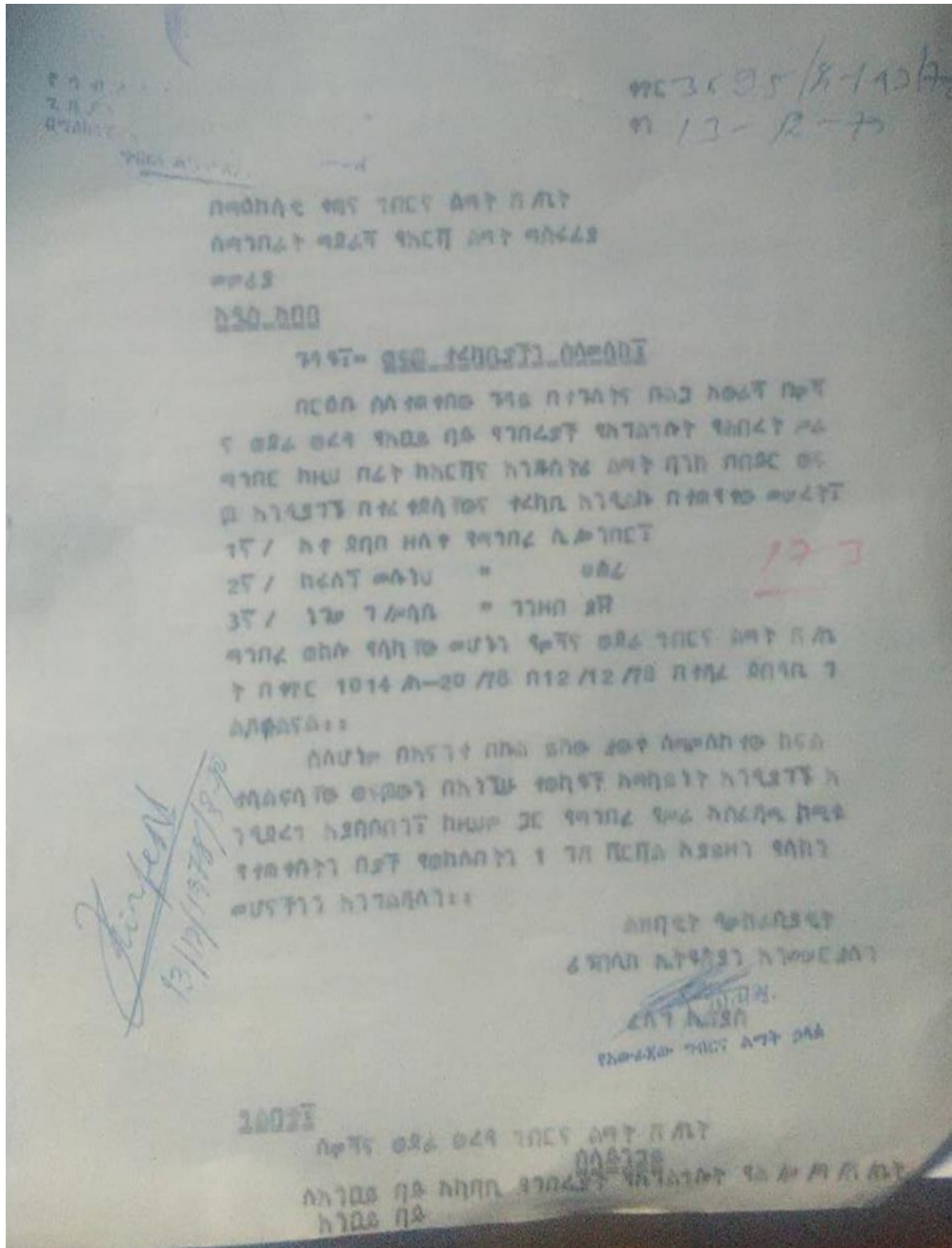
470 98/72
02828-17-43-750 90

Handwritten notes at the top of the page include: "Handwritten notes at the top of the page, including '470 98/72' and '02828-17-43-750 90'." Below these are several lines of text in a non-Latin script, likely Georgian, detailing agricultural or cooperative information.

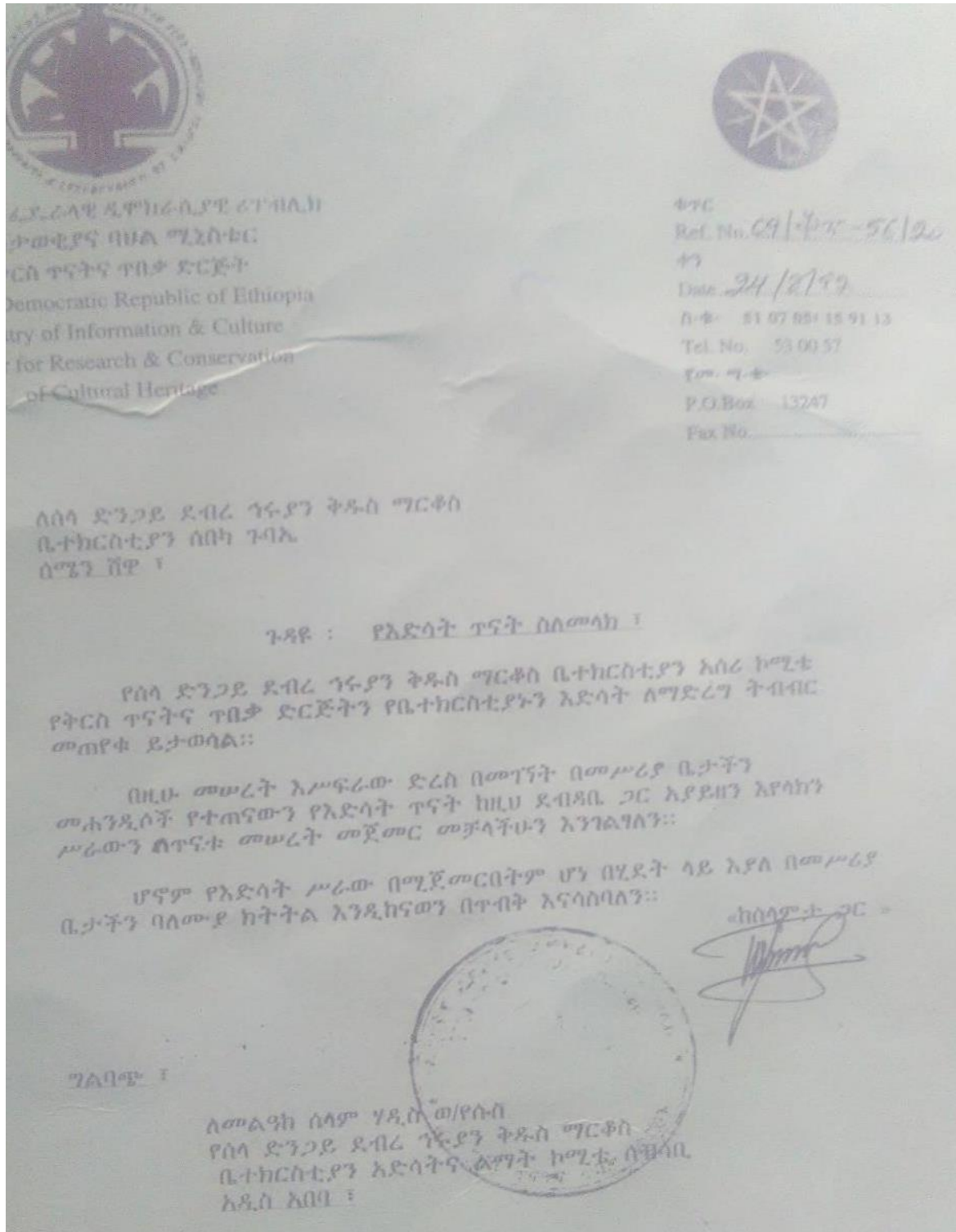
№	Cereal Name	Unit	AMC	Buying Price (from peasants)		Selling Price (to AMC)		Total
				Price	Quantity	Price	Quantity	
1	Wheat	200	25	50	30	60	10	
2	Barley	6100	32	1952	36	2196	244	
3	Oats	2100	28	588	32	672	84	
4	Rye	1600	42	672	47	752	80	
5	Total			3262		3680	418	

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page include: "Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including a list of items and a signature." A circular stamp is visible in the lower right quadrant of the page.

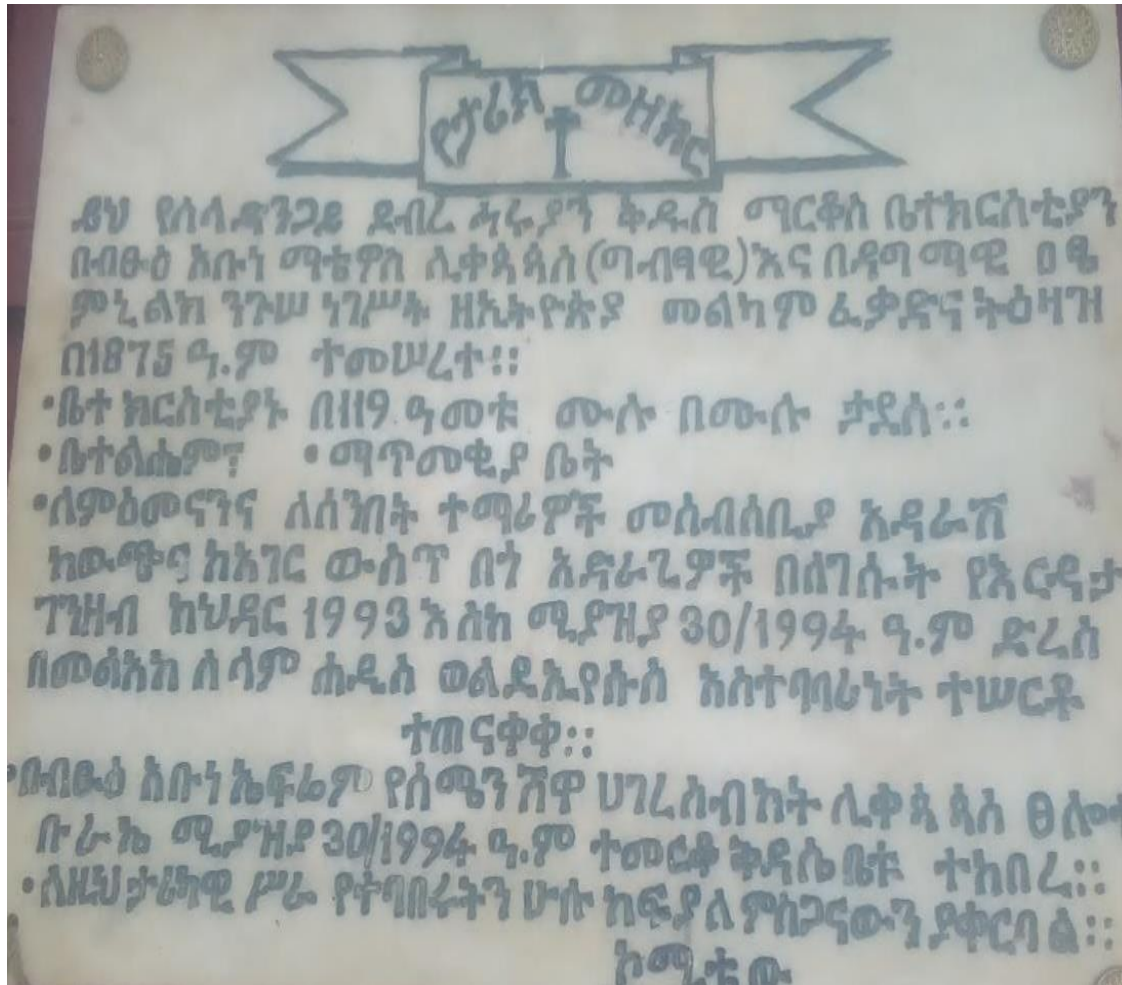
A sheet that contained the list of cereals with buying price from peasants by cooperative service and selling price to the AMC.



The Agricultural Development Office of Täguläna Bulga Awraja send an application letter to the central higher office of Agricultural Development about the name of the person who allowed to to take grinding mill for Embuy Bad Cooperative service.



A letter about the reconstruction of Qedus Marqos that found with in museum of Debre Heruyan Qedus Marks Church.



It prepared by the renewed committee of the Church in 1994 EC/2002 that show when the building of the Church started and when it was renewed. It found on the building of the Church in western front.

Declaration

I, the undersigned declare that the thesis is my own work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all the sources for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name _____ Signature _____ Date _____