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A HISTORY OF ENÄBSĔ SAR MEDER
WÄRÄDA: 1941 - 1991

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A HISTORY OF ENÄBSĔ SAR MEDER *WÄRÄDA*: 1941-1991

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Table of Contents

Contents	Page
Table of Contents.....	i
Maps, List of Figures and Tables.....	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Acronyms.....	vii
Key to Transliteration System.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
GENERAL BACKGROUND OF ENÄBSÉ SAR MEDER WÄRÄDA.....	1
1.1 Geographical Setting.....	1
1.2. Demographic and Socio-Economic profile of Enäbsé Sar Meder <i>Wäräda</i>	4
1.3. Historical Background	9
1.3.1 Origin of the Names Enäbsé Sar Meder and Märtulä Mariam	9
1.3.2. Peopling of Enäbsé Sar Meder <i>Wäräda</i>	11
1.3.3. The Pre 1941 Administration in Enäbsé Sar Meder.....	12
1.3.4. Enäbsé Sar Meder <i>Wäräda</i> During the Italian Occupation.....	14
CHAPTER TWO.....	21
ENÄBSÉ SAR MEDER WÄRÄDA: 1941-1974.....	21
2.1. Administration, 1941-1974	21
2.2. Taxation and Tax Related Peasant Resistance From 1942-1969	27
2.3. Parliamentary Election in Enäbsé Sar Meder <i>wäräda</i> From 1957-1973	34
CHAPTER THREE.....	38
ENÄBSÉ SAR MEDER WÄRÄDA FROM 1974-1991.....	38
3.1. Administration and Reforms of Därg.....	38
3.1.1. Administration, 1974-1991	38
3.1.2. Land Reforms of Därg	40
3.1.3. Development through cooperation Campaign.....	42
3.2. Early Resistance against Derg from 1974-1980	43
3.3. Peasant Association, cooperatives and Villagization.....	48
3.3.1. Peasant Association	48

3.3.2. Cooperatives	50
3.3.2.1. Producers cooperatives/PCs/.....	51
3.3.2.2. Service cooperatives (SCs)	57
3.3.3 Villagization.....	62
3.4. Military conscription in Enäbsé Sar Meder from 1976- 1990.....	63
3.5. Failure and Opposition of Därg.....	69
CHAPTER FOUR	72
SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ENÄBSĚ SAR MEDER WÄRÄDA, 1941-1991	72
4.1 Urban Development.....	72
4.1.1 Märṭulä Mariam Town	72
4.1.2. Dibo Town	73
4.2 Social Services	74
4.2.1 Educational Services	74
4.2.2. Health Servies	77
4.2.3. Water Supply, Electricity and Banking	78
4.3. Transportation and Communication.....	78
4.3.1. Road	78
4.3.2. Telecommunication and Postal Service	79
4.4 Religions	79
4.4.1. Christianity	79
4.4.2. Islam	80
4.5. Conflict Resolution Mechanism	81
4.5.1.Šemegelena/Arbitration/.....	81
CONCLUSION	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86
LIST OF INFORMANTS	91
Glossary of Terms	110
Declarations	

Maps, List of Figures and Tables

Map 1 Map of study area Enäbsé sar meder <i>wäräda</i> . Source: Ethiopian GIS Data Base.....	3
Figure 1. Prince Ras Haylu Bäläw Source: Yäjägenoé Adära page, 29.....	17
Figure 2. A Photo of Fitawrari Ejegu Ewunätu	20
Figure 3. Aphoto of <i>Fitawrari</i> Dämes Alamraw	26
Table 1. the notable PCs, establishment year and members in Enäbsé Sar Meder.....	54
Table 2. the lists of SCs and its member in Enäbsé Sar Meder.	59
Table 3. Schools establishment in the imperial and Därg regime with their distance from Märtulä Mariam town.....	76

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Abstract

This thesis attempts to reconstruct the History of Enäbsé Sar Meder Wäräda from 1941 to 1991. It begins by revealing different developments and settlement of people on the district before the Italian occupation. Besides this, the study tried to assess the patriotic resistance of the region against the Italian invasion.

In the post-liberation period of the imperial regime, the government took measure in restructuring the process of administrative units. In connection with the declaration of land and taxation reforms with mal administration led to open protest of peasants of the wäräda against the government. Moreover, the Derg government effectively implemented anti-illiteracy campaign and land distributon programs. Gradually, the military government lost acceptance due to the implementation of some of his unpopular policies by force. The response of officials for this was to take coercive measures against innocent Märtulä Mariam town dwellers and its surroundings. Finally, development of urban centers, infrastructural progress, religious institutions, and conflict resolution mechanism in the wäräda were incorporated.

In conducting this thesis, primary and secondary sources are utilized. Firstly, secondary sources from the library of Debre Markos University. This paper also deeply assessed archival sources from Haddis Alämayähu archival center of Debre Markos University and 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, analized and interpreted so as to document a history of Enäbsé sar meder wäräda from 1941 to 1991.

Acronyms

ABSHCBDA___Alām Birhan Self Help Community Based Development Agency
ACSI___Amhara Credit and Saving Institution
ACZ___Agro Climatic Zone
AMC___Agricultural Marketing Corporation
APA___Agricultural Producers Associations
ASE___Agri Service Ethiopia
CSA___Central Statistical Agency
EDDC___Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation
ENALA___Ethiopian National Archival and Library Agency
EPLF___Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front
EPRP___Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party
ESBU___Elementary School Building Unity
ESMW___Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*
HAACDMU___Haddis Alämayähu Archival Center Debre Markos University
ID___Identity Card
NGO___Non Governmental Organizations
PAs___Peasant Associations
PCs___Producers Cooperation
PEACE___Poverty Eradication and Community Empowerment
PMAC___Provisional Military Administrative Council
REWA___Revolutionary Ethiopian Womens Association
REYA___Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association
RRC___Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SCs___Service Cooperatives
SIDA___Sewden International Development Agency
TPLF___Tigrrian Peoples Liberation Front
TVET___Technical and Vocational Educational Training
UDA___Urban Development Association
UNAM___United Nations Assembly Mission
UNESCO___United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Key to Transliteration System

The Seven Sound of Ethiopic Alphabets are represented as follows:

Vowels	Symbol	Example
1 st order (<i>ge'ez</i>)	ä	በ ---Bä
2 nd order (<i>ka'eb</i>)	u	ቡ---Bu
3 rd order (<i>sales</i>)	I	ቢ---Bi
4 th order (<i>ra'eb</i>)	a	ባ---Ba
5 th order (<i>hames</i>)	é	ቤ---Bé
6 th order (<i>Sades</i>)	e	ብ--- Be
7 th order (<i>sabe'e</i>)	o	ቦ---Bo

Palatalized Sounds are represented as follows:

A. Consonant

Sounds	Symbol	Example
ሻ	Š ሻለቃ--- Šaläqa	
ቸ	Č ቢቸና ---Bičäna	
ኘ	Ñ ቀኘጌታ ---Qäñ Géta	
ሻ	Ž አሻሻር---Azaž	
ጃ	J ደጃዝማች---Däjjazmac	
ገ	G ግብር---- Geber	

B. Glottalized

Sound	Symbol	Example
ቀ	Q ቁስ---Qésä Gäbäz	
ጠ	ጥ ጦጣ---Moṭṭa	
ጨር	ጭ ቃሹም---Čeqa sum	
አሻ	አሻ---Ašé	

C. Germination sounds always be indicated by doubling

Kabbada Tassama Taddassa

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF ENÄBSÉ SAR MEDER *WÄRÄDA*

1.1 Geographical Setting

The name Gojjam referred to different geographical limits at different times. During the medieval period of Solomonic dynasty particularly accession of Amade Seyon (r.1314-1344), the geographical limit of Gojjam was only the Christian Amhara who came from Şäwa and Amhara Sayent dominated area of eastern part of Gojjam. Later on, following the shift of the political center of Christian Amhara from Şäwa to Lake Tana area the western part of Gojja later Damot evangelized and incorporated as part of early Gojjam. In the second half of 18th century Hailu Yosédéq made a marriage alliance with the Agäw rulers and merged the area with the former Gojjam and created the present Gijjam.¹

East Gojjamis the Eastern part of Gojjam province which is now a day bordered on the south by the Oromia region, on the west by west Gojjam, on the north by south Gondar and on the east by south Wollo; the bend of the Abay River borders the zone's Northern, Eastern and Southern boundaries. Its highest point is Mount Çoqué (also known as Mount *Berehan*).² Now a day East Gojjam has seventeen *wäräda*'s and five town administrations. Namely, Enäbsé Sar Meder, Gonça Siso Enäse, Hulät Iju Enäse, Säde, Enarg Enawega, Enämay, Şäbäl Bäränta, Däjän, Awäbal, Däbay Telat Gen, Basolibän, Senan, Bibuñ, Maçakäl, Däberä Elias, Anädäd, and Gozamän, as well as Däbrä Markos, Däjän, Moţta, Biçäna, and Märtulä Mariam becomes town administration. The geographical limit of the study area is located in the former Gojjam province of Moţta *awrajja* bordered on the south by Enarg Enawega, on the west by Gonça Siso Enäse, on the north and east by Abay River in which the river separates from south Gondar and South Wollo zones. The *Wäräda* is located between 10°45" to 11°37"N latitude and 37°51" to 38 °15" E

¹Abeaw Ayalew, "A History of Painting in East Gojjam in the 18th and 19th Centuries: A Study of the Second Gondarine Style of Painting", (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2002), pp.10-11.

²*Ibid.*,pp.1-3.

longitudes in Gojjam province of North Western Ethiopia situated an altitude of 1300m to 3664m above sea level within the total area of 106,532 hectares or 1065.32 km².³ Hence, the highest peak in the *wäräda* is AbbaMeniwos Mountain which shares 3,664 meter above sea level in Yäqändač *qäbälé*. Märtulä Mariam is the capital of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* that own Märtulä Mariam Monastery with an altitude of 2645 meter above sea level located 191 km far from zonal capital Däbrä Markos, 180 km from regional capital Bahir Dar, and 365 km from Addis Ababa.⁴

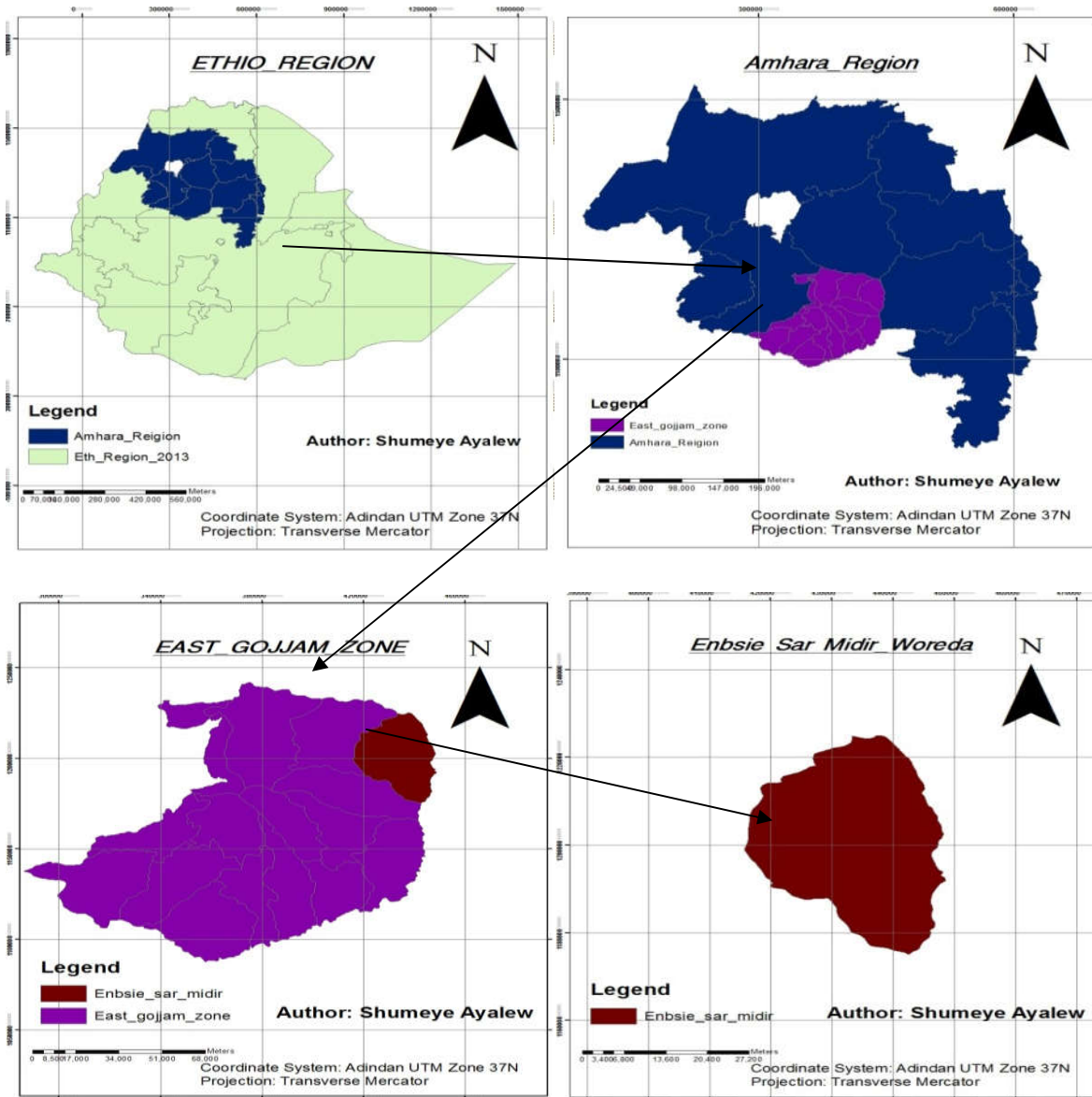
The climatic condition of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* is characterized by *Däga*, *Wäyna Däga* and *Qolla* which shares 14%, 33% and 53% respectively. In fact, the climatic condition of the study area is distinct seasonal weather patterns, namely, the wet season locally known as *kerämet* that extends from June to September and the dry season locally know as *Bäga* that extends from October to May. Hence, the area registered 22.5⁰c-25⁰c of mean minimum and maximum average temperature. In fact, areas in the middle latitude range have favorable weather while the high and low land climates are characterized by cold and hot weather respectively. Such big variation in climate between the lowland and highland areas is observed within 20kms distance.⁵

³Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “ *Yämastawäqiya Şefät bét yä 2008 E.C. Amätawi report*”, (Märtulä Mariam ,2008 E.C.), P.7; Edward Hein and Brigitte Kleidt, *Ethiopia- Christian Africa , Art, Church and Culture*, (Ratingen: Melina Verlag press, 1999), pp.198-202.

⁴Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*Yä Geberena Ena Gäşär Lemat Şefät bét Aṭäqalay Yä wärädaw Gäşeta*”, (Märtulä Mariam, 2008 E.C.), pp.9-21.

⁵Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*Yä gänezüb ena plan Şefät bét Yä 2006 E.C. StaticalMäşehét*”, (Märtulä Mariam, 2006 E.C.), pp.1-43.

LOCATION MAP



Map 1 Map of study area Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda*. Source: Ethiopian GIS Data Base

Rain fall in the study area is characterized by one rainy season. The area is known by having unimodal rainpattern that covers from June to September. Small rains occur in April and October at the beginning and end of rainy season. There is a high concentration of rain fall in July and August. Generally the amount of rain fall varies with altitude. The highland portion of the area

receives rain fall as high as 1200mm to 1400mm while the lowland areas receive annual rain fall between 900mm to 1000mm.⁶

The topographic landscape of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wärädais* characterized 10% of Abyssal, 20% plain surface, 38% Mountainous and 32% of the area is undulation. Indeed, the area has three basic soil types, namely, Red, Black and Brown soil that contributed 60%, 35% and 5% respectively. Moreover, the area has a number of remarkable mountains like Abba Meniwos a height of 3,664 meter above sea level, Ambalay with its height of 3,200 meter above sea level, and Wunçellé with a height of 3,000 meter above sea level which is identified virtually absence of native forests. Infact, as 38% of the area becomes mountainous a number of streams originated from the mountain and form river. Among those: Guansa, Färäsmada, Ṭata, Waṭän, Çäyā, Śotäl Maṭäbiya, and Mäneda. Two crater lakes called *Lay Baher* and *Tač Baher* are also available for water supply in the *wäräda*. All rivers and streams in the highland and lowland catchments drain into the Abay River.⁷

1.2. Demographic and Socio-Economic profile of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*

Based on the 2007 National Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia/CSA/, Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* has a total population of 133,855, of whom 66,239 are men and 67,616 women. According to CSA report, the area has a population density of 124.51, which is less than the zonal average of 153.8 persons per square kilometer. Out of the total population of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* 12,259 or 9.16% are urban inhabitants in the commercial centre of Märtulä Mariam that own Märtulä Mariam Monastery and Dibo, yet the monastery population specifically monks and nuns are vary from season to season due to religious and economic activities.⁸ Religion plays a significance and influence on human way of life in which the majority inhabitants of the *wäräda* practiced Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahido* Christianity and *Qebat* Christians that both shares 98.45%. Whereas, 1.55% of the population are Muslims located in the *qolla* ecological zone of Ezana, Yäṭäfät, Yäsasema, Enäguzi, Därej, Dibo

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*yä gänzäb ena plan şefüt bét yä 2013 stasticalmäşehét*”, (Märtulä Maryam, 2006 E.C.), pp.1- 43.

⁸Central Stastical Agency of Ethiopia 2007 Housing and Census Report (Addis Ababa,2007)

and Islam Amba *qäbällés* who lived scarcely without any mosque. Ethnically, 99.94% of the population of the study area is Amhara and they used as their writing and speaking language.⁹

Economically, people living in this *wäräda* practice farming in combination with livestock raising. Hence, agriculture both crop cultivation and livestock raising remain to be the overall dominant economic activities that inturn are affected by the fertility, equitability and accessibility of land. However, peoples also engaged in small economic activities like handicraft in a small proportion.¹⁰ Infact, from the total area of 106,533.63 Ha or 1,065.33km² of ESMW,31,396 Ha land became cultivated land, whereas, 15,333.03 Ha covered by grassland, 13,299.98 Ha by woodland, 336.87 by shrub land, 34967.13 Ha of land covered by road and house and also 11,200.63 hectar of land becomes underutilized.¹¹

As agriculture is the back bone of Ethiopian economy in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* in particular as 31,396 hectare land of the *wäräda* become cultivated land, farmers in the area had grazing lands and they produced cereal crops/ *Teff*, Barley, Wheat, Millet, Maize, Sorghum/; pulse crops/Horse Been, Field Been, Chick peens, Vetch, Lentils, Fenugreek, and Haricot Beans/; Oil crops/Niger seed and Line seed/; Root crops/White Onion, Red Onion, and potato/, and the study area also convenient for different vegetation. Among the above crops; Barley, wheat, *Teff* and field peas are the principal crops grown in the highlands and mid highlands of ESMW, whereas Sorghum and Haricot bean are widely cultivated in the low land *qäbällés*. However, moisture stress, crop pests, crop disease, poor fertility and traditional farm management system as well as absence of technological advancement in farm activities are seriously challenged crop production.¹²

The principal livestock reared cattle's like oxen(farming assets for plough and also used for meat), cows(milk), sheep(meat), goat(meat), donkeys(transport), and horses(transport) are the dominant and important occupation for many of the farmers that are endowed in the lowland areas of ESMW. However, an enormous part of communal grazing land has been taken for

⁹Yalemzewd Dessie, "A History of Märtulä Mariam Monastery from its Foundation to the Present, (MA Thesis: Aksum University, 2019), p.6.; Amhara National Regional State, "Bureau of Finance and Economic development, 1999 Budget Year Annual Plan Statistical Bulletin", (Bahir Dar: April 2008 E.C.), p.109.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, "Yä Geberena Ena Gäšär Lemat Šefät bét Aṭäqalay Yä wärädaw Gäšeta", (Märtulä Mariam, 2008 E.C.), pp.9-21.

¹²*Ibid.*

cultivation that leads to shortage of animal feed, poor management, drought and animal diseases are challenged livestock production of the region.¹³ However, the people as a whole exercised mixed economy from the time immemorial to the present day even though livestock activities show a diminishing level in the current situation from remote past due to environmental and human factors.¹⁴ According to UN Assembly Mission/2002/, ESMW become one of the four districts from East Gojjam Zone along Abay River Valley are chronically food insecure that faced several problems even they received food aid.¹⁵ Basically, food insecurity can be categorized as either chronic or transitory. Chronic food insecurity is a continuous inadequate diet resulting from lack of resource to produce or acquired food that affect house hold to be unable to buy or produce enough food. Whereas, transitory food insecurity is a temporal or seasonal shortage of food because of unexpected environmental or human factor for only limited time like drought, pest attack, flood, deforestation, and overgrazing.¹⁶ Hence, ESMW is characterized by transitory food insecurity. As a result Ethiopian government has given special emphasis to agricultural development strategies and food security programs and in making effort to improve food security situation of the *wäräda*, the government worked with different NGOs like ASE and ABSHCBDA through open their office within the town of Märtulä Marim.¹⁷ The area also endowed with different wildlife species as well forests. In fact in both cases the variety species is reduced in the ongoing of time. Some of the wildlife which still found here especially in the *qolla* climatic zones are *Qäbäro*(common Jackal), *Jart*(crested porcupine), *Jeb*(spotted hyena), *Zenjäro*(Anubis Baboon), *Ṭenečäl*(Abyssinian hare), *Midaqo*(Redduiker), *Anär* (Greval), *Dekula*(common bush), Leopard, and Ape. Bird's family also found in the area like *Qoqe* (ቆቅ) and *Jegera*(ጅግራ) which used as a source of food for the community in the form of meat and egg. But due to deforestations and over population these species became diminished.¹⁸

¹³Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*Yägänezäb ena plan Şefät bét Yä 2006 E.C. Statical Mäşehér*”, (Märtulä Mariam, 2006 E.C.), pp.1-43.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Ejigu Jämbäru Lakäw, “The persistent food crisis in Ethiopia: Cause, government response and household strategies; The cause of Enäbsé Sar Meder district”, (MA thesis indevelopment studies, submitted to Geography department, faculty of social science and technology management, Norwegian university of science and technology, may 2006), pp.42-52.

¹⁶ABSHCBDA, *Enäbsé Sar Meder, Ethiopia, Participatory Innovation Developmenton Preventing the damage of seed from weevil at storage*, (Addis Ababa, Tringo printing press,may 2016), pp. 3-6.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Tasachew Abebe,“The Tewentieth Century Agricultural History of Hulät Iju Inässé *Wäräda*” (MA thesis in history, Bahir Dar, 2016), pp.6-12.

When came to the vegetation covers like other parts of Ethiopia especially in the southern and in some highlands of northern Ethiopia, the district does not have a significant vegetation cover. But according to my informant named Adanä Meheräté, before 1950s the area was characterized by densely forested. However, the forests were deforested by the continuous population increment for the need of farmland and for fire wood as well for housing purpose. Currently the forest coverage can be classified into natural and in most case we find planted one. The indigenous trees for a long period and in some part are found presently around the churches, forest type like *Tid*(Juniperous procera), *Woyra*(*Olea Africa*), *Gerar*(*Acacia African*), *Woreka*(*Gnophalo Caroparansom*), as well *Qäga*(*Sosa Abyssinica*),

Qänṭafa (*Petrolobuim*), *Besana* (*Corton Macrosstachys*), *Qulqual* (*Cactus*), *Aseta*, *Sägäd*, *Keteketa*, *Dädäho*, *Ṭekur Ineçät*, and *Degeṭa*.¹⁹ While the shrubby species are succulents such as *Rét* (*Aloe debrana*), *éeferg* (*side tenuicarpa*), the grasses includes mainly species of *Säredo Sar* (*cynodon dactylon*), *Qoqe Sar* (*panicum pussilum*), and *Sänbälét* (*hayparrhenia*) which is found in the *qolla* part of Enäbssé. In the 1810s during the reign of Emperor Menelik II some exotic tree species like *Baherzaf* was introduced. Some of this species are *Qäye Baherzaf* (*Eucalyptus camaldullensis*) and *Näçe Baherzaf* (*Eucalyptus Globules*) are widely planted which played a pivotal role for both fire wood and construction since then till. But due to difficulty related to the fast growing eucalyptus tree, Iyasu's Minster of Agriculture issued a decree on March 21, 1913. It stated that the old Emperor had introduced the eucalyptus because the area of the capital was virtually treeless. His intention according to the edict was also to introduce of the tree, including mulberry that yielded fruit, while its leaves were edible by livestock and could serve in silk production. The decree stated Lij Iyasu thought that a "tree with such advantages" should be cultivated. The eucalyptus, by contrast, "destroyed the soil", "dried up the land", "sucked the wells dry", and killed other plants.²⁰

Education is the processing of facilitating learning or a method of gaining knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and habits that take place either in formal or informal settings. Historically, until the right time of 20th century, Ethiopian formal education was confined with a system of religious institutions organized and presented under the leadership of Ethiopian Orthodox church

¹⁹Informants: Adanä Meheräté; Gäberé Mäkonnen and Täräfa Alämu.

²⁰*Ibid.*

aiming preparing pupils for clerical activities as well as for other religious duties and positions.²¹ Hence, this was happened in the study area that an active boy starting from the age of six is sent to *yäqés temehert bét*/local priest school/ and even now a day after the completion of this education, she or he is sent to primary school that used as a kindergarten. Those sons or daughters who do not show competence and who are considered as passive will not be sent to either of the schools, rather they remain at home and herd livestock and when they grow older they will become peasants.²² Currently, Ethiopian government used educational accessibility, equitability and quality as a policy. According to *wäräda* education office report, formal education in the study area is traced back to 1942 in which Abräha Wä Ašebeha primary school was formed in Märtulä Mariam. Now a day, the *wäräda* has five secondary schools, seventy one primary schools, one agricultural collage, one TVET college and also two private primary schools and one private business collage named Fana business and Health College.²³

In regarding to Health, Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* has eight functional health centers and one functional hospital named Märtulä Mariam primary Hospital. There are also seven private clinics and five private drug stores in the *wäräda*. The health service coverage in the *wäräda* is estimated at 85%. In general the health service in the *wäräda* is relatively quality and adequate service. The major disease in the area: tuberculosis, typhus, diarrhea, amoeba, hemorrhoid, malaria, pneumonia, intestinal parasites and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS.²⁴ There are a number of traditional medical practitioners who prepare medicines some illnesses like *Šewutta* or *meće*, evil eye, wart and hepatitis.²⁵

Enäbsé Sar Meder has wide ranging historical sites that registered by the *wäräda* tourism office. Naturally, 8 immovable and also artificially, 125 immovable and 3462 movable heritages are registered. Moreover, the *wäräda* has a number of churches and monasteries. Hence, *Re'ese Re'usan* Märtula Mariam monastery becomes the one that endowed with multiple incredible heritages including a relic or the physical remains of a saint or the personal effects of the saint

²¹Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*temehert Şehfä bét Yä 2010 E.C amätawi* report (Märtulä Mariam, *nähasé* 2010 E.C.), pp.2-4.

²²Informants: *Re'ese Re'usan Qomos Abba* Hayeläyäsus Gäberä Märiam and *Abba Şeumäqal* Molla.

²³*Temehert Şehfät bét*, pp.5-6.

²⁴Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, *téna Şehfät bét yä 2010 E.C.amätawi eqed*, (Märtulä Mariam, 2009 E.C.), pp.1-3.

²⁵*Ibid.*

preserved for purposes of veneration and material heritages as a tangible memorial in the study area which estimated its formation as in the fourth century.²⁶

Märtulä Mariam town, the capital of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* has given banking service from Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, Bank of Abyssinia, Bank of Abay and also the town has other financial institutions like ACSI and PEACE. The *wäräda* also available and has given postal and telephone services. Moreover, it is connected with Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Däbrä Markos and Wollo through main road even if the road becomes sandy or not asphalted.²⁷

1.3. Historical Background

1.3.1 Origin of the Names Enäbsé Sar Meder and Märtulä Mariam

According to my informants *Re'ese Re'usan Qomos Abba* Haylä Eyäsus G/Mariam and *Abba* Qaläşedeq Abäbä, Enäbsé Sar Meder took its name around the 16th century. The name Enäbsé derived from *Geez* word Eläbe'esé (ክሉቤኤ) meaning people of God who lived in love and peace. Since, the period of Menelik I when those Israelites and Levites crossed the Abay River that the local people of Märtulä Mariam receive them in a warm reception which leads to give the name of the area. Whereas, the name Sar Meder is added from 16th century onwards due to the fact that the area became rich in savannah grassland locally known as *Yäsar Meder* that used as a roof for homestead home.²⁸

Now adays, the *wäräda* has four urban *qäbällés* and thirty three rural *qäbällés*. Märtulä Mariam is the capital and commercial centre of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* and also the home of ancient Märtulä Mariam Monastery flourished in the 4th century.²⁹ According to historians, writers, oral traditions, recorded church documents as well as chronicles by different clergymen of the state and province of Gojjam in general and Märtulä Mariam in particular as part of it, Kam/Kush, Agäw, Amhara and Oromo peoples settled and lived respectively as a result of different

²⁶Amhara National Regional State of East Gojjam Zone, “Department of Finance and Economic Development, 2008/9 Budget year Annual Statistical Bulletin”, (Däbrä Marqos Janu, 01, 2011 E.C.), p.102; East Gojjam Zone Cultural and Tourism Department, “Partial cultural heritages of East Gojjam”, (Däbrä Marqos, 2007 E.C.), pp. 5-6; and see also *Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder Wäradä*, “*bahel ena tourism beauro, yä 2008 amätawi report*”, (Märtulä Maryam, 2008 E.C.), p.2.

²⁷*Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder Wäradä yä mastaweqia şefet bet yä 2017 amätawi report*, p.9.

²⁸Informants: *Re'ese Re'usan Qomos Abba* Haylä Eyäsus G/Mariam and *Abba* Qaläşedeq Abäbä

²⁹Yalemzewd Dessie, p.4

historical coincidence.³⁰ Basically, Märtulä Mariam changed her name four times from its foundation to present. According to *Re'ese Re'usan Qomos Abba Haylä Eyäsus G/Mariam* those Kam tribes or sons of Kush by following the Nile River penetrated into Ethiopia they began to move one region to the other in this water way. On the way of their movement on the Abay river and when they reached Mäkanä Sälam a province located currently in Wollo province that they saw Gojjam and admire the exuberant vegetation of the region encircled by Abay River which was now a day Märtulä Mariam and they began to settle in the place and gave the first name of the area as Hagärä Egziabehér/ homeland of God/ and they began to settle in the place.³¹ The second name of Märtulä Mariam was given after the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia. In the 4th century the Aksumite twin kings Abereha and Atsibeha with the then bishop Abunä Sälama/*Käsaté Berehan/* put the cornerstone of Tädebabä Mariam and crossed river Abay and reached Märetulä Mariam. After seven days of their travelling arrived at Märtulä Mariam and when they saw the landscape and the Old Testament sacrifice centre, they thought to build the New Testament temple at *Geneb woré/ግንብዎሬ/* 3 kilometers far to the east of Märtulä Mariam. After wards, they began to live in peace without any problem and called the area *Hagärä Sälam/ ሀገረሰላም/* meaning country of peace. The third name was given after Abereha and Atsibeha with *abunnä* Sälama tried to build new testament temple at Mount Abrehi which interrupted by volcanic explosion during excavation. Panicking by the event, *Abba* Sälama demanded God will in constructing the Church through admission themselves to pray for three days. Since, then the place named as *Gäneboré/ bä wäré yäkärä genb/*, to memorize a wall filled with rumors. Agreed with *Abba* Sälama opinion they pray in four directions. On the third day of their praying and fasting, they saw a twelve door light of the tent on which they saw the entrance of many people's that they bow down to the Angel within the tent on the place where an old temple of *Orit* scarification found. In surprising what all of them saw the revelation and they reached the hill top area, they lost a temple of *Orit* that they leave it the place due to preserving its beauty and called the area for the third time as *Şerha Aryam* meaning hall of the sky. Later on, the site for building the new twelve temple church at a place where the *Orit* temple basement was agreed upon by the twin kings Abreha and Aşebha and the then Bishop Fréminatius or *Abba* Sälama. Hence, Märtulä Mariam its meaning Hall of Virgin Mary is the name of the monastery and the

³⁰Abebaw, pp. 3-5.

³¹Informants: *Re'ese Re'usan Qomos Abba* Hayle Eyäsus Tadé and *Abba* Qalä ŞedeqAbäbä

town that she inherit its historical name after *Abba Sälama/Ferémnaṭäs/* inaugurated twelve temple cathedral on 21 January 333 Ethiopian Calendar and named it as *Märtulä Mariam*.³²

1.3.2. Peopling of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*

As already discussed, Kam tribes or sons of Kush were settled in the area of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. Later on during Menelik I those of Israelites and Levites came to the area and were living by intermingling with the existing people.³³

In addition, sources relates that in the 6th century A.D Agaw tribes inhabited south of Tekeze river like Gojjam specifically they settled in Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* that they consider themselves at the earliest one. This was evident that even now a day the *wäräda* inherit many Agäw culture like Agäw tomb/*Agäw mäqaber/*, Agäw trench/*Agäw meseg/* found in Enäbré *qäbällé* of the *wäräda*; Agäw merchant door/*Yä Agäw nägagé bär/* and Agäw wall/*Yä Agäw Kab/* in Tänetä *qäbällé*; Agäw burrow/*Yä Agäw Gudguad/*, Agäw iron melting/*Yä Agäw berät maqeläçal/*, Agäw stone cart /*Agäw dengay gari/*, Agäw cave/*Agäw waśal/* and Agäw goddesses/*Yä Agäw amelkot bota/* are found in Goś Dur *qäbällé* of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* indicated that Agäw inhabitants were settled in the study are.³⁴ However, when power transfer from Zagwe dynasty to Solomonic one, the expansion of Christianity and Amedä Şeyon/r. 1314-1344/ expansion and military campaign to Damot, Agäw and Gojjam taken as a landmark for the newly Amhara settlement as well as the suppression of Agäw by the newly arraying Amhara tribes in Gojjam in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* in particular.³⁵ In addition to Kush, Agäw and Amhara settlers, Oromo also inhabited in Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*. Since, during the Oromo population movement of 16th century and 17th century led by the two Oromo confederacies namely, Borena and Barentu begun a movement from their base to the northern Ethiopia including Wollo and Gojjam. The expansion had a profound impact on the demography as well as the socio-economic and cultural activities in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*

³²*Ibid.*

³³Informants: *Abba Ṭe'umäqal Molla; Qésägäbäz Fäntahun Alämu and Re'esä Re'usan Abba Haile Mariam Tagälä*

³⁴*Ibid.* and see also Abebaw, p.3.

³⁵*Ibid.* and see also Bahiru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopian 1855-1991* Second Edition, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa university press, 2002), p.7.

aspart of Gojjam. This was evident; the *wäräda* inherits different names like Burqa (spring), Fäya(health) and Gufu(obstacle).³⁶

1.3.3. The Pre 1941 Administration in Enäbsé Sar Meder

Governmental administration system in Ethiopia had long history which dates back to 1000 B.C. From this time onwards, administration system strongly inter related with religion of Judaism and Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Enäbsé sar meder as part of Ethiopia its administration had strong ties with Church. As stated above Menelik I brought 12,000 Israelites and Léwaweyans to Ethiopia and assigned them in different parts of his administration. He sent 3000 Israelites and Lewaweyans to the present Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* under the leadership of *Aläqa* Ephrem.³⁷

From the time onwards, *Aläqa* Ephrem administered Gojjam from Enäbsé sar meder as a center as far as the present Damot by assigning his own representatives. He assigned three sons of Eséy/**አሴይ**/Aletäbal, Yäwondäl and Arbacä in Enäbsé, Siso Enäse and Hulät Eju Enäse and the sons of Goyezé/**ጎይዘ**/Däräbé, Säräbé, Mälälö and Sälälö assigned around Biçäna and Debre Markos as far as Damot.³⁸

In the 4th century when Christianity introduced into Ethiopia the Aksumite twin kings Abereha and Ašebeha moved to the Judaic scarification centers to establish Churches and used as temporary political center. The center of Enäbsé sar meder Märtulä Mariam was one of the Judaic scarification center in which Aksumite twin kings with *Abunna* Sälama built a new Christian temple in 341 A.D. *Abuna* sälama appointed the leader of the Church by the rank of *Re'esä Re'usan* both as religious and political power and granted the present day areas of Enarg Enawga, Gonca Sio Enäse, Enäbsé Sar Meder and part of south wollo around Mäkanä Sälam. Until the 14th century Märtulä Mariam was the center of Gojjam administration, later because of Amde Şeyon's territorial expansion the center shifted to Mängisto in Däbay Telat Gen *wäräda*.³⁹

In the last quarter of 18th century *Ras* Hailu Yosédeq of Gojjam appointed *Aläqa* Wädajä to administer Enäbsé sar meder areas. To pacify the instability of Abay gorge *Aläqa* Wädajä

³⁶Aleqa Takla Eyesus Waqejera, *yä gojjam tewuled bämulu kä abay eskä abay*, (AddisAbaba: Addis Ababa University press, 2007), pp26-49; Sergew Gelaw, *yä Ityopiya tarik*,(Addis Ababa: Berhan ena sälam printing press, 1983), p.66.

³⁷Yalemzewd Dessie, p.4.

³⁸Ayele Tariku, "A History of Hulät Iju Enäse Wäräda, East Gojjam (1941-1991)",(MA Thesis: Addis Ababa University, 2011), pp. 4-5.

³⁹Yalemzewd and Informants: *Re'esä Re'usan* Hailäyesus G/Mariam and Täräfä Alämu.

continuously marched through one road and people of the area still called the area as Wädajä *Mängäd* /Wädajä road/. My informant Täräfa Alämu stated that, during *Aläqa* Wädajä's ruling period Qebat sect preached by *abba* Tässäma to the north of Wädajä *Mängäd* and most of the people in the area converted into *Qebat*. *Negus* Tekele Haymanot of Gojjam also appointed *Aläqa* Inderi as governor of Enäbsé Sar Meder. During his ruling time Church of Dima raised question of precedence and rank against Märtulä Mariam. Both Churches sent delegates to Tekele Haymanot to debate about their precedence and rank. Märtulä Mariam delegates were led by *Aläqa* Inderi and he presented his debate by calling though Dima Giorgis preceded Märtulä Mariam, even the father of Giorgis Zorontos was not born during the establishment of Märtulä Mariam.⁴⁰

Tekle Haymanot supervised his local administrators in different times. Enäbsé Sar Meder was one of the territories which was supervised by him. During his stay, he has got son from an ordinary family Wusén Hailu. His son name was Seyoum and later renamed as Hailu Tekele Haymanot. Following the death of Tekele Haymanot in 1901, Gojjam divided into three and later into many. But, *Ras* Hailu by using a systematic approach with local rulers united Gojjam and ruled from 1911-1932.⁴¹ During his ruling time, he built temporary palace and feast hall in Märtulä Mariam. Then, *Ras* Haylu appointed his own officials and imposed various types of taxes and levies. And also he introduced the much hated practice receiving appointment fee from *balabats* to be *meseläné* and Church leaders. The most unpopular tax was the hut tax (*Ṭis Geber*). To perform his goal appointed his nephew *Ras* Hailu Bäläw as governor of Enäbsé sar meder. *Ras* Hailu Bäläw was one of a known patriotic leader during Italian occupation and later appointed as governor of Gojjam by Emperor Haile Selassie. His tax was accumulated in Märtulä Mariam monastery by using pretext to renew the damaged Abereha wo Aṣebeha temple. Through time, *Ras* Haylu became the most serious rival of Täfäri Mäkonän economically and politically. Finally, when he attempted to free Lij Iyasu from Fiche, emperor Haile Selassie detained him and confiscated 30,000 Maria Thresa Thaler which accumulated by him in Märtulä Mariam monastery.⁴²

⁴⁰Informants: *Abba* Haile Mariam Tagälä, *Mägabi* Ayečäw Mäkonnen and Täräfa Alämu.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*

1.3.4. Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* During the Italian Occupation

On 30 October 1935, the Italian force invaded Ethiopia with little opposition. After fruitless diplomatic efforts of Emperor Haile Selassie, the Ethiopia counter offensive started in January 1936. The country offensive failed because of technical inferiority, less number of soldiers, lack of initiative in most of Ethiopia with the Emperor absolute rule, absence or inefficiency of radio communication and by using backward (out-dated) weapons on the Ethiopian side. Moreover, the Italian air force and prohibit mustard gas helped the Italians to demoralized the Ethiopians army and to win effectively. The defeat of Ethiopia at the battle Mayčaw in March 1936, the emperor led to leave the country. On the other hand, the Italians initiated to clear the road to occupy the capital city of the country. At the end, the Italians entered Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936.⁴³ The Italians tried to control the whole parts of Ethiopia by using their viceroys. Nevertheless, during in their attempt of occupy the country; the patriotics resistance movement appeared throughout the country. Indeed Italian rule restricted largely to the towns.⁴⁴

Among the nationwide resistance, one of the remarkable struggles took place in Gojjam by the known prominent patriotic leaders. Like *Lej Bälay Zäläkä* in Bičäna, *Fitawrari Bāzabeh Yemam*, *Fitawrari Ejegu Ewunātu*, *Fitawrari Delnäsa Yehun* and *Fitawurari Hailu Bälāw* in Enäbsé Sar Meder, *Fitawrari Abāša Mājalé* in Gonča Siso Enäsé, *Dājazmač Nāgaš Bāzabeh* in Damot, and *Dājazmač Māngaša Jāmbäre* in Agāw Medir governed their territories and resisted the rule of Italians by leading the local people. The collected taxes for their struggle, appointed administrators under their jurisdiction and gave titles for their loyal followers mainly done by *Lej Bälay Zälāqä*. These patriotic leaders carried their resistance independently without uniting personality or political organization. The emperor's flight had created a serious gap among them. Their interesting common aim on their country was to remove the Italians by beginning from their region by resisting with any means.⁴⁵ (See also appendix I)

⁴³Bahru Zewde, *A History...*, pp.153-159.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp.162-163

⁴⁵Temesgen Gebeyehu, "A History of 1968/9 Peasant Uprising Eastern Gojjam with Particular reference to Moṭṭa and Bičäna", (B.A Thesis Department of History, Bahir Dar University, 2001), p.4.; HAACDMU: Folder No. 143, File No. *ፀ/ጠ-6*.

Soon occupied Moṭṭa and Märtulä Mariam, Italian generals had promised economic security and bright future in one hand, started hunting patriots on the other hand. Patriots, who were victims for Italian propaganda, were killed shortly. So, patriots decided to fight till the end.⁴⁶

On the Grazziani massacre of February 19, 1937, the commander of the air force general Liotta wounded and cut his leg. *Abunä Qérlos*, *Däjazmac* Haile sellasie Gugsä and *Nägaderas Afeworq Gäbrä Eyäsus* were wounded. Then the black shirts had massacred and thousands of people have lost their life.⁴⁷

Since 1937 Italians begun collected armaments through collaborators. In the early Italians try to disarm Enäbsé Sar Meder and the whole Moṭṭa *awrajja* by exchanging with money, but later on they began to disarm the whole people forcefully. Most of the chiefs of the area were firstly submitted to the Italians and used as a satellite. Italians had assigned *Fitawrari* Alämu Asägé and *Fitawrari* Mäläsä Hayelu in Enäbsé Sar Meder, *Fitawrari* Dargé Mäjalé in Gonca Siso Enäse, and *Fitawrari* Tamerat Agäw with *Grazmac* Wäledä Igziabhér in Hulät Eju Enäse. Those collaborators managed the people to collect armaments except five armaments for Däber.⁴⁸

So, on the eve of summer of 1937, the local people especially around Enäbsé Sra Meder and Gonca Siso Enäse wanted to struggle against the Italians. But, the local chiefs in those areas were delayed to accept the demand of the local people.⁴⁹ During this period, *Fitawrari* Bäzabeh Yemam with *Fitawrari* Ejigu Ewunätu and *Fitawrari* Delnäsa Yehun organized the peasants of Enäbsé Sar Meder against fascist Italians. They were the first patriots in the area. Later on, when the people of the area wanted to fight against Italians, some of the former collaborators joined the resistance and became active. The people of Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonca Siso Enäse want to free Moṭṭa and produced a poem

**አሳጠረሽዐአሰካበድንጋይ
ሞጣንዩአባቱአገርአደረገውወይ
በአልቢ ንበምኒ ሽርብሽቦቢ ታጠር**

⁴⁶Manyazizewal Asefa, “A Resistance in Begemider, Gojjam and Wellega”, (B.A.Thesis Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, 1970), pp.7-8.; Informants: *Ato* Abä Kābābāw and *Ato* Getie Kābādā

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p.13.

⁴⁸Muluken Yizengaw, “A Hisstory of Resistance against the Italian Occupation in Moṭṭa *Awrajja*”, (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University, 2018), p. ;Informants: Gété Kābādā, Abä Kābābāw and Abābā Mākōnen

⁴⁹Informants:*Mägabi* Dañā Kassa, *Grazmac* Wāreqnäh Mäläsä and Dāsālāñ Yezāngaw.

ሳናየውስንቀርምምጣየፈረንጁንመንደር።⁵⁰
Paled by wire terraced by a stone
Are you believe that Moṭṭa is your father land
Even, paled by Albin, Meniśer and wire
We will visit Moṭṭa the village of the whites

The resistance in Enäbsé Sar Meder had begun during the summer of 1937. The victory of Bälay Zäläkä on June 15, 1937 over Sämaw Nägäw had taken the attention of Enäbsé to lead the rebellion against the fascists.⁵¹

When Italians collected armaments and egg since the beginning of 1937, the local people of Enäbsé Sar Meder angered and waited a summer to attack Italians. *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam also organized the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder against Italians. During this crucial period, *Lej* Hailu Bälāw was left Amhara sayent and entered to Enäbsé Sar Meder on 9 August 1937. He established his base in a village named Dāmebāza and assumed important local chiefs under *Lej* Hailu Bälāw and *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam to command patriots. The patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder joined with Gonca Siso Enäse patriots.⁵²

After Italians occupied Märtulä Mariam and Moṭṭa, they faced the first attack from the patriots in Märtulä Mariam under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunātu and *Fitawrari* Delnäsa Yehun in a village called Abeni on 12, August 1937 three kilometers to the north of Märtulä Mariam town. Firstly the battle was begun by the use of bullets but later patriots turned into a hand to hand battle by the use of sword. So, patriots won over the Italian force. On the battle, Mängistu Jämbäré of Sar meder was a brave fighter, because of that the people produced a poem for him.

አጨደውከመረውወቃውእንደበራ
የነበዘችውንድምመንግስቱጀንበራ።
ይወለድእነሱይደግይዝማ
የውሃመጎረጊስአናዞእሚቀማ።⁵³
He just sickle, heap and smashed like an ox
Brother of the brave Mängistu Jämbäré
Born in Enäbsé, be grow at Yezema
Snatch a water machine gun by force

⁵⁰Informants: Gété Kābādä, Abä Kābābāw and Abābā Mākonen

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Informants: AtoGété Kābādä, Ato Abä Kābābāw, Mägabi Dañä Kassa and Ato Baša Mäläsä.

⁵³Informants: Ato Baša Mäläsä, Ato Däsälāñ Yezāngaw and Mägabi Täsomä Enäyāw

The local fascists unable to defend the attack of the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonca Siso Enäse, then they requested assistance from Däbrä Markos. Italian troops under De Beaumont with *Abunä* Aberäham and Dästa Gétahun entered Märtulä Mariam to disarm the local people. They began disarm and hunting chiefs and had been killed and imprisoned. Italians made fault by shooting the chiefs of Enäbsé Sar Meder on the street, who submitted for them, these were *Fitawrari* Dässe Alämu and Abäbä Tayä. *Qäñazemaç* Yehun Haylu and other chiefs were punished and imprisoned at Märtulä Mariam. However, the sons of *Qäñazemaç* Yehun Haylu named Käbädä Yehun and Delnäsa Yehun liberated their father and joined the patriotic resistance.⁵⁴

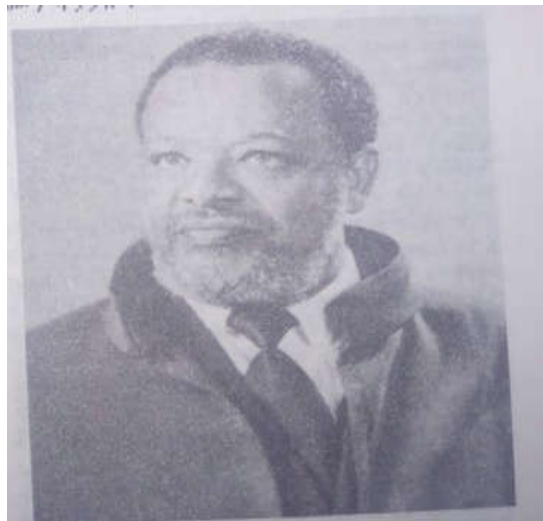


Figure 1. Prince Ras Haylu Bäläw Source: Yäjägenoç Adära page, 29

Italians under general maleti with his collaborators Andargé Alämu and his father Alämu Assägé of Däberäyaqob, the former representatives of *Ras* Hayelu Täkelä Hayemanot tried to transport collected armaments and egg to Moṭṭa. Nevertheless, *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunätu, *Fitawrari* Bäzabeh Yemam and Delnäsa Yehun organized the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder to fought Italians at the battle of Šotäl Maṭäbiya. In the battle patriots captured Italians collaborators *Fitawrari* Alämu Assägé and his son Andargé Alämu and killed them. From the patriots side *Grazmaç* Bälay Wärqenäh, Dañäw Wärqenäh, Ašanäf Bälay and Lägässä Aräda lost their life. Then the disintegrated Italian force retreated to Toraméda and Märtulä Mariam.⁵⁵ Captain

⁵⁴Seleten Seyum, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam: 1936-1941”, (PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1999), pp. 120-121; Informants: Däsaläñ Yezängaw and Abä Käbäbäw.

⁵⁵Informants: *Ato* Gété Käbädä, *Ato* Yohannes Ejigu and *Ato* Dañä Kassa.

Maleti was retreated to Märtulä Mariam, but patriots controlled the stream and fired the Italians at their camp by encircling at night. Then, Captain De Beaumont fled via Çäyā River to Däbrä Markos. In the battle patriots had captured a number of armaments, munitions and other materials.⁵⁶

The next battle was battle of Atälälé held on 17, August 1937. The retreated Italians force to Toraméda with additional Italian officers, Askaris and Muslim troops from Däbrä Wärq and Moṭṭa escaped from encircling of Atälälé. Then Italians reinforce their troops at Toraméda on 17, August 1937, however, patriots encircled and attacked them. Even if, patriots lost large number of friends in the battle they unable to leave the war zone. However, the collaborator chief of Gonca *Fitawrari* Dargé Mäjalé and his son Ambayä Dargé surrendered. Finally patriots became victorious and Italians fled to Märtulä Mariam and Däbrä Wärq through Çäyā. After the battle of Toraméda Italian force who fled to Märtulä Mariam again wanted to disarm the people around Gomet and Selassé. However, the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonca with the support of Semada patriots under Ayu Qämäs in south Gondär defeated the Italians. Then the people of the area produced a poem.

ገዳይሰላሴ
ቆብዮደፋውንክንደመነኩሴ⁵⁷
Killer at Selassé
A man with a cape like a monk

In the battle Meherātu Gobaw of Enäbsé captured five minshir and *Qäñazmac* Terfé Rāta captured machine gun. The most powerful and energetic chiefs of the patriots who led resistance in the summer of 1937 were *Lij* Hailu Bälāw, *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunātu and *Fitawrari* Delnäsa Yehun. The people then produced a poem to them.

አባቀማውሃይለ-የጦርክንደራሴ
ድልነሳአባይመንሰውጣክክነብሴ።።
ጣሊያንቡዳሆኖሲሄድብሌሊት
ኧጅጉአባቀሰቶጋተውመድሃኒት።።
ቆላውንደጋውንክንደአድርገህክረሰው
ነጭሆዳምነውናክንደምአይመልሰው።።⁵⁸
The war commander of Abba qämaw Hayelu

⁵⁶Seletene, p.121.

⁵⁷ Informants: *Ato* Abäbä Mekonnen, *Qésä gäbäz* Fäntahun Alämu and *Ato* Yersaw Mälaku.

⁵⁸Informants: *Ato* Abä Käbäbäw, *Ato* Gété Käbädä, *Grazmac* Wärqenäh Mäläsä.

*Delnäsa abba yemän came from Enäbsé
When Italians march in a night like evil
Ejegu abba qäseto gave a medicine.
Please command the däga and qolla in one way
The whites are strong and we must be united.*

The other battle which held on 7, October 1937 was the battle of Demät Gädäl. The patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder were headed by *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewenätu and Delnäsa Yehun. Enäbsé patriots supported by patriots of Gonća Siso Enäsé under *Grazmac* Dañaw Märeša and patriots of Hulät Eju Enäsé under *Grazmac* Šefaraw Räta. Patriots turned the war from bullet to sword and patriots won the battle. Italians left the war zone and confined at Moṭṭa and Märtulä Mariam. In both sides a number of individuals lost their lives. Kābädä Yehun from Enäbsé, Wärqé Laqäw and *Grazmac* Dañaw Märeša from Gonća were lost their life in fighting.⁵⁹ Grazziani, the viceroy and Pirzio Biroli governor of Amhara had become unable to pacify Gojjam. Then, they replaced by Amedeo Di Savoia, the duke of Aosta with general Malleti respectively in December 1937.⁶⁰ Italians to reinforce their army in Gojjam general Malleti commanded ten thousand troops from Šäwa via Šafarṭaq located between Dājän and Gohaşeyon. Bälay Zäläqä was fought at Šafarṭaq Bridge and Ṭiq on 28, March 1938 and Italians marched to Gonća and Enäbsé.⁶¹

The force of Malleti had been faced strong resistance in Enäbsé and Gonća. One of the battles of Märtulä Mariam took on 22, April 1938. In the battle Italians lost 31 askaris dead and 58 wounded. From the patriots' side 85 lost their life. Finally Italians won the patriots. Patriots of Enäbsé retreated to Abamenyos Mountain and unite together with Gonća patriots under *Fitawrari* Abäša Mäjälé and began to fight heroically against Malleti. Finally after a bloody war patriots became victorious.⁶²

Patriots of Enäbsé, *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam, *Fitawrari* Mäläsä Hayelu, *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunätu, Mākonen Abājä, Berehanu Tadägä and Fäneta Lägäsä who fought bravely against Italians rewarded lofty titles by *Lej* Bälay Zäläqä, but he rewarded for Moṭṭa patriots not more than the title of *Grazmac*.⁶³ On November 30, 1938 patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder fought against Italians at Yebesana Mariam and fascist force totally defeated. Then in the early 1939 when

⁵⁹ Informants: *Grazmac* Wärknäh Mäläsä, *Ato* Abä Kābābāw and *Ato* Mäleké Kābädä

⁶⁰ Seletene, p.137.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.139-145.

⁶² Informants: *Ato* Abä Kābābāw, *Ato* Gété Kābädä and *Grazmac* Wärknäh Mäläsä

⁶³ Informants: *Ato* Abä Kābābāw, *Ato* Yersaw Mälaku and *Ato* Gété Kābädä

LejBälay Zäläqä fought in *Däberä Wärq*, *Enäbsé Sar Meder* patriots under *Fitawrari Ejegu Ewunätu*, *Fitawrari Delnäsa Yehun* and *Fitawrari Berhanu Tadägä* fought bravely and killed 16 whites and large number of askaris and collaborators and brought large number of booty of armaments like 12 Bazantin machinegun, 50 tärse machinegun and large number of Albin and Menişer with large number of bullets at *Yägosa Giorgis* in *Enarg Enawga wäräda*. The patriots of *Enäbsé* fought against fascist force with *Bälay Zäläqä* as far as the battle of *Ṭiq* around *Däjän*.⁶⁴



Figure 2.A Photo of Fitawrari Ejegu Ewunätu

Source: Photo copy during field work from his son Yohannis's house

⁶⁴Informants: *Ato Yersaw Mälaku*, *Ato Gété Käbädä*, and *Ato Abä Käbäw*

CHAPTER TWO

ENÄBSĔ SAR MEDER *WÄRÄDA*: 1941-1974

2.1. Administration, 1941-1974

Before Italian invasion, there were 34 administrative units in number or overlapping the smallest unit on the others.⁶⁵ Soon, Emperor Haile Selassie returned to Addis Ababa in May 1941, he engaged into centralize administration in the country and strength his power. To fulfill these purposes, the state structure was reorganized based on the constitution. According to administrative decree No.1 of 1942, Ethiopia divided in to three administrative units called *Awraja*, *wäräda* and *Meslänè*.⁶⁶ As a result of this administrative regulation, the state was reorganized into 12 *Awrajas*, 60 *wärädas*, 339 *Meslänès* and 1,176 *MeketelMeslänès*.⁶⁷

In March 1942, Haylu Bäläw, the governates- general of Gojjam re-organized his administrative provinces into seven *wärädas* until 1947. These were Däbera Markos, Bičäna, Moṭṭa, Däga Damot, Qolla Damot, Agäw Meder and Bahir Dar *wärädas*. Enäbsé Sar Meder was made as *Meslänè* under Moṭṭa *wäräda*. Within Enäbsé Sar Meder *Meslänè* three *MeketelMeslänès* namely, Sar Meder *MeketelMeslänè*, Enäbrè *MeketelMeslänè* and Werya *MeketelMeslänè* were established.⁶⁸ In 1946, in the place of Haylu Bäläw, *Däjjazmač* Käbädä Tässäma was appointed. He was the second šäwan ruler next to *Ras* Imiru by replacing the traditional hereditary governor of Gojjam. *Ras* Imiru and *Däjjazmač* Käbädä replaced *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot and *Ras* Hailu Bäläw in 1932 and 1946 respectively.⁶⁹

The 1942 proclamation was amended by 1946 proclamation. To this end the country was divided into 13 *Täqlay Gizat*, 87 *Awrajas*, 387 *wärädas* and 1086 *meketl wärädas*. Based on this proclamation, *Däjjazmač* Käbädä tried to recognized the administration of Gojjam *Täqlay Gizat* by dividing into five *Awrajas*: Däberä Markos, Bičäna and Moṭṭa became one *Awraja*,

⁶⁵Teshale Tibebe, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1896-1974*, (Lawrence Ville: The Red Sea Pressing, 1995), p.115.

⁶⁶*Nägarit Gazeta*, “Administration Regulation”, Proclamation Number 1 of 1942.

⁶⁷Nebyu Eyasu, “The Administration History of Gojjam, 1941-1974.” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2004), pp.47-48.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p.49.

⁶⁹Nebyu, p.52, Temesgen Gebeyehu, *Peasant...*, p.3.

Mätäkäl, Agäw and BahirDar (emerged as in one Awraja) and QollaDäga Damot. These *Awrajas* again organized into 32 *wärädas* and 93 *Meketl Wärädas*. Enäbsé Sar Meder was ruled by *Mesläné*, but transformed into *wäräda* based on the 1946 administrative proclamation and the three *MeketlMeslänés* became *Meketl Wärädas*.⁷⁰

Around at the end of 1956, Gojjam governate general was also divided into seven *Awrajas*. From these, Moṭṭa was one of the *Awrajas* and divided into four *wärädas*. Enäbsé Sar Meder, Hulät Eju Enäsé, Gonca Siso Enäsé and Bibuñ. These *wärädas* were also further sub divided into *meketel wärädas*. According to this arrangement, Enäbsé Sar Meder had two *Meketelwärädas* and one Churh administrative based on 1942 proclamation. These were Sar Meder *meketel wäräda*, Enäbrémeketel *wäräda*, Wäreya *meketel wäräda* or Märtulä Mariam monastery administrative office. The dupties of the *wäräda* were controlled by *Wäräda* governor who was directly appointed by the emperor. Those *meketel wärädas* of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* probably lasted upto 1970s. The reason why *meketel wärädas* in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* in particular and in Moṭṭa *awraja* in general and in some Gojjm *wärädas* until that time were the absence of road which connected with the main *wäräda* make difficult to protect the security of the area. Latter, it incorporated into Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*.⁷¹ (See also appendix II)

From 1948 to 1956, Fäläg Berehan was the seat of Moṭṭa and Bičäna *Awraja*. Then Wäfit was changed into Fälägä Berehan in this time. In other word, Wäfit was the former name of Fälägä Berehan. At least 9 years serving of political center of this *Awraja* Fälägä Berehan developed from village to small town. The governor of this *Awraja* was *Däjjzmač* Haylä Eyäsu Felaté. Beginning from 1948 onwards, some people of Enämay and many people of Šäbäl Bäränta asked to move their political center from Fälägä Berehan into Bičäna. Around 1955 people of Šäbäl Bäränta strongly opposed the center of *Awraja* to fix with Fälägä Berehan. The main reason for this was the distance to reach for their trial and other activities to accomplish easily. During this period not only in Šäbäl Bäränta but also in Enämay as far as Moṭṭa, Bibuñ and Enäbsé the passangers were threatened due to the prevalence of bandits. These bandits engaged in murder, theft of animals and looting the property of the passangers. The governor of Bičäna-Moṭṭa *Awraja* did not ensure peace and in the street and areas in general. This opposition

⁷⁰Alula, pp.71-72.; Informants: *Grazmač* Worqnäh Mäläsä and *Ato* Däsaläh Yezängaw

⁷¹Informants: *Grazmač* Worqnäh Mäläsä, *Ato* Yersaw Mälaku and *Ato* Däsaläh Yezängaw; NALA, Folder No:17.1.11.13, File No:17.1.11.13.01

led to the split of Bičäna-Moṭṭa *Awraja* into two. To this end, *Fitawrari* Šefäraw Rāta became governor of Moṭṭa sub-district and *Šaläqa* Ayälä Tadässä for Bičäna sub-district.⁷²(See also appendix III)

Based on article 7 of the decrees of 1942, all government employees were to be paid monthly salaries. This payment of salary for appointed officials was probably part of the emperor reforms to minimize the power of the gult holders and to abolish free labor services. Indeed, in Moṭṭa *Awraja* nine workers participated to perform the government administration. For their services, the government paid from fifteen birr up to four hundred latter it raised into five hundred birr. The governor, principal secretary, archivist, vice archivist, two messenger secretary, and two messengers were paid 500, 125, 50, 40, 25 and 15 birr (for each) per month respectively in *Awraja* level. In the *wäräda* level of Enäbsé the governor and his principal secretary were paid 100 and 50 and the vice governor of *wäräda* and his secretary were received 40 and 25 birr per month respectively in 1959. According to archive sources, the governor-general and *Awraja* governor had allowance starting from 1960. The governor-general of Gojjam paid 1500 birr per month with 310 allowances. The allowance of Moṭṭ and other *Awraja* governors were 170 birr per month in addition to their salaries of 500.⁷³

Däjjazmač Šähayu Enqu Selassè, the third and the most oppressive governor general of Gojjam had great impact on the people of Gojjam in general and Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* in particular. Of course, during his period little achievement appeared for the time being. When *Fitawurari* Dämes became governor of Bičäna *Awraja*, he tried to control banditry activities and devoted for the expansion of modern education.⁷⁴

Despite, the period of Šähayu was characterized by corruption, mal-administration and oppression. At that time, the 1947 proclamation introduced *Aṭbiya-Daṅa* (local court) in every *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* to provide justice and to solve disputes in their areas and made to acquire half of the fee obtained from litigation. This proclamation pushed these *Aṭbiya-daṅas* into the major source of income for them. Irresponsible behavior of *Aṭbiya-daṅa* continued during in the above period. The state did not take any kind of measurement on *Aṭbiya-daṅas*

⁷²Informants: *Ato* Abä Kābābāw, *Grazmač* Worqnäh Mäläsä and *Ato* Yersaw Mälaku; NALA: Folder No. 17.1.11.16; File No.17.1.11.16.02.

⁷³John Markakis, Ethiopia ...

⁷⁴Gäbäyāhu and Nābeyu; Informants: *Ato* Yerdaw Kassa and *Ato* Yersaw Lägässä

lacking of mechanism to control their day-to-day activities. *Meselänés* were administrative structures at the bottom level of the imperial government. They were judges and military leaders by receiving directions from the *wäräda* governor.⁷⁵

The mal-administration and corruption activities in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* had direct relation with *Däjjzmač Šähayu* and *Fitawurari Dämes*. There were security problems in Gojjam in general in Enäbsè Sar Meder *wäräda* in particular. The main agents for this insecurity and violence action were bandits who lived far from common people in uninhabited areas. They killed people, burnt their houses and looted properties. The security problem of the province was hindered to administer provincial, sub provincial and *wäräda* governors to lead in a peace way. Ofcourse the government tried to abolish banditary living style by preparing decree. Moreover, to ensure peace and order in different local areas, the government exercised the traditional method of identifying criminals from the community in the form of *Aweçaçeñ* or *Afärsata*.⁷⁶

However, the above mechanism did not get tangible solutions to eradicate the bandits. Then, *Däjjzmač Šähayu* selected *näç läbaš* (local militia) from the peasants who were paid 15-birr salary per year. In addition to this, they got free labor service for their farm areas from the local people for their task of taking care of the security in a particular area. The *näçläbaš* were supported by *Léba adem* who were appointed by officials to catch thieves and had a right to take any kinds of measurement on the thieves. *Däjjzmač Šähayu* appointed *Dämes Alamräw* to be *léba adem* in *Moṭṭa Awraja* in general and *Berhanu Tadägä* in *Enäbsé Sar Meder wäräda* in particular. *Berhanu Tadägä* lost his life when he tried to catch a known bandit *Zänäbä Beru* in the low land region of *Enäbsé Sar Meder* at a village called *Feyälyä*. Immediately the follower of *Berhanu Tadägä*, *Bamlaku Ayälä (Aba Gion)* killed *Zänäbä*. During this time the local people of *Enäbsé* and its surroundings expressed the situation by a verse:

ምንክንናኛቸውብሬውንክበሬ
ልጅዘነቡብሩክባሽርብብሬ።።
What made them to meet the hero to hero?
Son Zänäbä Beru Aba twist Beré
እኒህደጃኛቸወሐይክሁንነውያውቁ፣

⁷⁵Alula, pp.74-75. Informants: Täräfä Alämu and Yersaw Mälaku

⁷⁶ Temesgen Gebeyehu, Peasant..... ,p.5.; Nebyu, p.65.; Informants: Zäwedé Mulualäm and Yebälte Yetayäw

ሌባውንከሌባኢያስተናገቁ።⁷⁷
Däjjmač Šähay is now aware
Making the thief fight one another

The above expression indicated that to maintain peace and security in a local area it was a better measurment to appoint the former thief on others thieves. Meaning before apponitng Dämes and Berhanu, they were thieves, so, they knew about the ways and mechnism of their former friends and they were easily handed by them. As soon as when Dämes appointed *Léba adem*, he did his home work effectively. As a reward, Dämes became the governor of Däbay Ṭelat Gen *Wäräda* and then, he continued eliminating of theives in this *Wäräda*. Due to the stablizing of the securing and eradication of theives the happyness people of Enäbsé Sar Meder encouraged him by this way:

ደምስሐላምረውያሌባውመጋኛ
አንተ ደከምህ እንጂ በሬ እንቅልፋን ተኛ።⁷⁸
Dämes Alameräw fighter of thief,
Even though you got tired, ox slept quite.

Däjjzmač Šähayu followed apolicy of promotion when he liked and demotion those whom he disliked.*Fitawrari* Ayalew Däseta governor of Moṭṭa *awraja* which own Enäbsè Sar Meder *wärädawas* liked by the people. As a result, *Däjjzmač Šähayu* removed from his position and transformed to Illubabor. In the place of *Däjjzmač* Ayalew, Dämes was appointed the governor of Moṭṭa sub province with the title of *Fitawurari*.⁷⁹ The following verse shows his promotion by the help of the governor of Gojjam.

ደምስ አላምረው አበዛው አበዛው፣
ጨያን ተሻገረ ሞጣንም ሊገዛው።⁸⁰
Dämes Alameräw has expanded more and more
He has crossed Čäyä to govern Moṭṭa as well.

Fitawurari Dämes implemented any kinds of order which came from *Däjjzmač Šähayu* to show his allegiance in the people of Moṭṭa *Awrajain* general and Enäbsè Sar Meder *wärädain* particular. Like that of *Däjjzmač Šähayu*, Dämes removed those whom he disliked and appointed his relatives and liked men. *Fitawurari*Mäläsä Bāzabeh dismissed from his postion Enäbsè Sar Meder *wäräda* and shifted to Guagusa.*Fitawurari*Mäläsä was the son of *Fitawurari*Bāzabeh

⁷⁷Informants: Ato Asenakāw Aläleñ, Ato Mulate Täsomä and *Qésä gäbāz* Täsomä Enäyāw

⁷⁸Nebyu, p.67.; Informants: *Qésägäbāz* Dañä Kassa and Ato Zäwedé Mulualäm

⁷⁹ John Markakis, Ethiopia....., p.35. ; Temesgen Gebeyehu, Peasant....., p.5.

⁸⁰ Informants: Abä Kābābāw, Mulate Täsomä and Täräfä Alämu

Yemam one of the followers of Bälay Zäläkä and leader of Enäbsè Sar Meder *wäräda* patriots during the Italian occupation period and also the people of Enäbsè liked him.⁸¹



Figure 3. A photo of *Fitawrari* Dämes Alamraw

Source: Gashaw Gobaw; *Yä Colonel Mengstu Haile Mariam ena yä Derg Gämänawoç* (Addis Ababa: Far East Printing Company, 2015), p.106

Däjjzmač Šähayu governor general of Gojjam since 1960 had been the main source of political dissatisfaction among the people. In his impoverishing policy towards the common people and the policy of appointing officials outside the Gojjam nobility, he also hated and refused to accept his governorship. At least he was transferred to Kaffä provinces in August 1968 because of peasant uprising. In his place, the fourth Šäwan governor, *Däjjzmač* Däräjä Mäkonän was appointed and lasted up to 1974.⁸²

Enäbsè Sar Meder *wäräda* governors from 1941-1974 were Käbbädä Yehun, Musé Tädela, Däbäb Wädajä and *Grazmač* Mälässä Bäzabeh. *Grazmač* Mälässä Bäzabeh was ruled Enäbsè Sar Meder for two terms from 1967-1968 and 1972-1974. He assigned as governor of the *wäräda* because of his father *Fitawrari* Bäzabeh Yemam contribution in patriotic leader during Italian occupation. During his period of rule *Grazmač* Mälässä Bäzabeh also contributed for the expansion of education and health in the *wäräda*. He granted more than two hectares of land for

⁸¹ Informants: *Re'ese Reusan* Hailä Eyäsus G/Mariam, *Qésägäbäz* Dañä Kassa and Abä Käbäbäw.

⁸² Informants: *Ato* Yersaw Lägässä, *Ato* Abä Käbäbäw, *Ato* Täräfä Alämu and *Ato* Mulaté Täsomä

the construction of school and clinic in Sar Meder *meketelwārāda* particularly in Dämbäza *qäbällé*.⁸³

2.2. Taxation and Tax Related Peasant Resistance From 1942-1969

Taxation was the other occurrence that the imperial regime gave due consideration. To achieve that the government worked hard on the task of introducing administrative changes and proclaimed different taxation systems. Through time, land taxation and maladministration led the peasants and the government officials into disputes. Lack of immediate solution from the central government the peasant revolts were widespread in different districts of Gojjam including Enäbsé Sar Meder *wārādä*.⁸⁴

The peasants of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wārādä* started their uprising during the period of *Ras* Haylu Täklä Haymanot. *Ras* Haylu was introduced a new type of appointment fee and taxation system. Then, both political and church officials had resisted his attempt to exploit the people of Gojjam in general and Enäbsésar meder in particular and accumulated wealth. At the end, only monks of Märtulä Mariam monastery supported him because of his commitment to renew the damaged Abereha wo Aşebeha temple.⁸⁵

In 1941, the government proclaimed that all payments were made in cash and attempted to breakdown the traditional pattern of taxation. In Enäbsé Sar Meder, in the *rist* holding region persistently opposed any attempt to bring a change in the *rist* holding system. This proclamation became the source of contradiction and unity among the peasants. Because of contradiction between the peasants and the government, the decree did not implement in Moṭṭa *awraja* in general and in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wārādä* in particular and other parts of Gojjam. Another land proclamation was issued in 1944. According to this decree, the taxpayer divided into land tax and *asrat* (tithe). Therefore, peasants were taxed in such a way. The peasants again opposed this types of taxation strongly. In June 1944, religious leaders of the Monastery of Märtulä Mariam,

⁸³Informants: Başa Mälässä, Yersaw Mälaku and *Grazmac* Workenäh Mälässä

⁸⁴Shiberu, p.64.

⁸⁵Informants: *Ato* Alä Kassa, *Qésä Gäbäz* Dañä Kassa and *Re'esä Re'usan* Hailemariam Tagälä

Däbrä Worq Mariam, Moṭṭa Giorgis and Dima Giorgis petitioned to the emperor for the restoration of their rights to collect taxes and judgments fees from the *gult* under their control.⁸⁶

Since 1946, the appointment of *Däjjazmač* Kābādä Tässāmaover Gojjam aroused the resentment of the people. He gave an order of his relatives and officials at different administrative levels in the province to conduct land assessment and classification in their areas. Its main purpose was to allocate taxation in the classified land. Others who hated Kābādä due to his attempt to put into practice the 1951 new land tax reforms, aroused deep suspicion among the people of Gojjam in general and Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* in particular. The propaganda told in Märṭulä Mariam and other towns of Gojjam about the proclamation of 1951 an attempt to abolish *therist* system (traditional land use) and to introduce *qälad* system, which happened in the southern part of Ethiopia.⁸⁷

The revision of the land tax schedule in 1951 led to an uprising in which the overall local peoples of the province including Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. People of this *wäräda* first asked their problem in civilized style by electing delegation of elders from Enäbsé and neighbouring Gonca siso Enäse to Addis Ababa to appeal the emperor to pay the tax in the old ways and not to implement land measurement and the *qälad* system. At the end, the central government was forced to exempt peasant's taxes and the new land reform because of popular revolt especially in Enäbsé Sar Meder.⁸⁸

The greatest popular revolt in Gojjam broke out in 1968. First, it was started in Moṭṭa *Awraja* particularly in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* due to the area is too far from the political center Debre Markos and expanded into different places of Moṭṭa, Damot, and Bičäna. To show its strong uprising, Abä Kābābāw told this one as the most earth-shaking revolt took place in 1968 as militant reaction against tax levies on agriculture.⁸⁹

The basic causes of the 1968 uprising were mal-administration and corruption of *Däjjazmač* Šāhayu Enqu Selassie. He was appointed as the governor general of Gojjam in 1960

⁸⁶ Temesgen Gebeyehu, "The History of the", pp.9-10. Informants: *Re'esä Re'usan* Hailäyäsus G/Mariam and *Qésä Gäbäz* Fänetahun Alämu.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Peasant., p.3

⁸⁸ Temesgen Gebeyehu, "The History of the.", p.11.; Informants: *Abuhay* Yirsaw Lägässä, *Ato* Täräfa Alämu and *Ato* Gäbäyaw Alämayähu

⁸⁹ Informants: Abä Kābābāw, Mulaté Täsomä and Yebälté Yetayäw

and immediately, he began to reverse the conflictatory approaches of the emperor and continued to rule the province by introducing his own system of administration what *Däjjzmač* Kābādā failed to do so. The very closest relationship with the emperor gave him over confidence in his power and began to do any measurement in the provinces. To promote *Fitawurari* Dāmes Alamerāw, *Däjjzmač* Šāhayu removed *Däjjzmač* Ayälä Taddäsä from Bičāna *Awraja* and *Fitawurari* Ayalew Dāsta from Moṭṭa *Awraja* and appointed him. Delegation from Moṭṭa *Awraja* and Bičāna *Awraja* were sent to Addis Ababa to appeal this and other mal administration to the emperor. The charges against *Däjjzmač* Šāhayu were not given a fair hearing by the emperor.⁹⁰

His hated action extremely disappointed the peasants and made them fanatic move to Moṭṭa *Awraja* mainly in Enäbsé Sar Mederwārāda, Gonca Siso Enäse and as far as Bičāna *Awrajato* avenge him when the uprising started in 1968.⁹¹

The conditions in Gojjam in general and Enäbsè Sar Meder in particular moved from bad to worse when the government required all citizens to have their own guns registered up on payment. Using the public insecurity as a pretext Šāhayu ordered people of Gojjam and Enäbsè Sar Meder *wārāda* as part of it for the registration of all weapons to be carried out within three months otherwise give up their property or confiscating weapons. The hasty manner of the enforcements soon became a source of public outcry. It was clear to the people that the real intention of the government was to disarm the population and to bring them for total submission. Hence, this repressive policy soon became initiated the local people to unity and fight the government. Because, they lacked positive response for the registration of weapons which forced to pay two birr as registration fee.⁹²

Moreover, the other agitations of Enäbsè Sar Meder peasantry to revolt against the emperor and Šāhayu were men of churches and monasteries. When the petition to the emperor was not received a formal hearing, leader of churches began to spread anti-Šāhayu sentiment. Before the Italian invasion, Church lands were not under any control authority. The churches did not even pay tax. However, after the restoration of emperor, he proclaimed the Church administration regulation in 1942. This decree forced to centralize Church on come to the central treasury.

⁹⁰ Temesgen, "The History of the...", p.14., Informants: *Abuhay* Yirsaw Lägässä and *Ato* Mulaté Täsomä

⁹¹ Informants: *Ato* Abä Kābābāw, *Ato* Täsomä Enäyāw and *Abuhay* Yirsaw Lägässä

⁹² Temesgen, "The History of the", p.15.

When the opposition increased in related to this decree, the emperor again allowed each church to collect tax. This tax right of the church continued for some years. After such years, *Däjjazmac* Şähayu appointed secular governors over the areas under the Church jurisdiction in 1964. Church administration offices of Märtulä Mariam, Dima and Moṭṭa giorgis opposed the above governor side by side, these church leaders motivated rebels to fight with Şähayu and Dämes.⁹³

Due to those problems, the people of Enäbsé Sar Meder hated and refused to accept the governorship of both Şähayu and Dämes. Then, the opposition continued. On the other hand, the government proclaimed the new agricultural income tax in 1967. It became an immediate cause for the 1968/69 peasant uprising in Gojjam ingeneral and in Enäbsé Sar Meder areas in particular.⁹⁴

My informant Abä Kābābāw and some written documents agreed the first uprising brokeout in eastern part of Gojjam which were Moṭṭa, Enäbsé Sar Meder, Gonça, Dābay Ṭelat Gen and Enarge Enawga *wärādas*. The revolt of Enāmay peasants was strictly controlled by *Fitawrari* Dämes's force. The reason that he controlled uprising in Bičāna was not to unite with others. In this area hanging and other mal administration became common. So, the victim peasants moved to Enarg Enawga and Dābay Ṭelat Gen to fight with him. Some peasants from Yādaguat Mariam, north of Bičāna went to Addis Ababa to stop land measurement. How ever, they did not return back to their orginal place because of negative response. On Sunday 9 March 1968, the local governor began to measure aplot of land in Yāda *qābälé*, near Anbär. Temesgen indicated this place in Bičāna, there was no any village or *qābälé* named by Yāda. According to informants told me the uprising starting *qābälé* found in Anbär.⁹⁵

This measurement of land brought the conflict between a few policemen and the local peasants. This marked the outbreak of the uprising and soon, expanded the news of new agricultural income tax practically stared in Yāda. At the time, the rebels of Enäbsé Sar Meder whose leader was *Fitawrari* Yelema Tayä organized the people of Gonça Siso Ennäse and Hulät Eju Ennäse and Enärg Enawga, whose leader was Bamlaku Ayälä later Bamlaku *Aba Giyon* started to move

⁹³*Ibid.*;p.7. ; Informants: *Qésä gābāz* Fäntahun Alämu and *Re'esä Reusan* Hailä Eyäsus G/Mariam

⁹⁴Temesgen, "Peasant Resistance.....", p.6., Nebyu, p.70.

⁹⁵Temesgen, "The History.....", p.20.; Andargachew, p.175.; Informants:Abä Kābābāw and Mulaté

in the birthplace of *Fitawurari* Dämes, Kuy town, destroyed houses of his supporters, and looted their property. In different areas, rebels elected their leaders from village level, *Yä Gobāz Alāqa* (chief of the brave). Kābādä Yehun became chief of brave in Yezema. Then, Enäbsè and Gonča areas became the center of uprising because of its geographical area and far from the political centers of province and sub province.⁹⁶

The first protest in the form of petition and appeals through delegation failed, the rebels turned to violent tactics. For this tactics, different rebels' leaders agreed to expel all state officials mainly *Däjjazmač Šāhayu* and *Fitawurari* Dämes boycott government courts and weapons. After rebels oath they began to chase away the local officials like *Aṭbyia daña* and *Çeqa šum*. Instead of them, the rebels made appointments among themselves. When the rebels of Enäbesé Sar meder, Gonča, Moṭṭa and Enarg Enawga marched to Māngesto, a place in Ṭelat Gen district to set free the prisoners and to punish Dämes.⁹⁷

On April 6, 1968 more than three thousand rebels included the above ones and people of Moṭṭa *Awraja*, Bičāna *Awraja*. About 7kms short of their destination, Māngesto the rebels were stopped their march by a combined force of regular troops and police. Rebels fought with those soldiers. At the battle of Qān Abo, near Māngesto *Fitawurari* Kābādä Zālākā governor of Šābāl Bārānta was wounded and sent to Addis Ababa by helicopter, later he lost his life. And again, deputy of Dābay Ṭelat Gen *wārāda* was killed. The government troops retreated to Māngesto and then Dābrā work. *Fitawurari* Dämes was escaped from peasant troops targeted narrowly by retreating to Māngesto Kidanā Mehret church.⁹⁸ His retreating to the church, the rebels ironically insulted him by the following couplet.

የመንግስቶቹ እንዴት ታደሰሻል ፣
 ፊታውራሪ ደምስን አቃቢ አግንተሻል።⁹⁹
 How lucky is Māngesto's
 You have got *Fitawurari* Dämes as a servant

To solve the problem *Däjjazmač Šāhayu* Enqu Selassé sent *Abunä* Markos, an arch bishop of Gojjam around Māngesto area. Because of the intervention of bishop, peace was restored for the

⁹⁶Andargachew, pp.170-171.; Informants: Yerdaw Kassa and Yersaw Lägässä

⁹⁷Nebyu, p.79.

⁹⁸Gebre Tareke, *Ethiopia Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: The Red Sea Press, 1996), p.188.; Andargachew, pp.170-178.

⁹⁹Informants: *Ato* Märša Gété, *Qésägäbāz* Täsomä Enäyāw and *Abuhay* Yersaw Lägässä

time being. The peasants were voluntary for peace for the dedication to their religious leader. To this end, the central government sent three commissions between May and July 1968. The first commission reached on 10 May to Mängesto and requested the rebels about their causes of rebellion. After hearing the complaints of the rebels, they selected seventeen elders and elaborated the objective of new agricultural income tax. The elected elders from Moṭṭa and Bičäna went to Addis Ababa to submit the grievances of the people to the emperor. The representatives presented peoples' grievances in gold and wax in the following way.

*በደምስ ተደመሰስን
በፀሐይ ተቃጠልን።¹⁰⁰*

*Dämes has destroyed us
Şähay has burnt us*

The angered emperor did not accept their grievance on opperessive and corrupt nature of officials as well as the fear of the people about *qälad* land tenure. Rather than positive response, the emperor warned to stop their rebellion and gave directions to teach the people did not follow the rebels' activities.¹⁰¹

After returned back to their home, the elected elders told responses, renewed their revolt by solemn oath to strength their unity, and expanded their organization into different areas. Like Bahiru, informants Abä Käbäbäw and Mulaté Täšomä that the source and center of uprising was the highlands of Moṭṭa *Awraja* and then expanded to Bičäna, Däga Damot and others parts of Gojjam. Bahiru stated his interpretation as “The uprising was centered in the districts of Moṭṭa and Däga Damot and was led by veterans of Resistance.” As Schwab’s expressed its opposition seems like this:“--- following its success in Moṭṭa and Bičäna, the‘organization’, which had increased to some 3,000 to 4,000 members, moved west into the sub provinces of Däga Damot, which became the toughest center of the resistance.” From this, I can conclude, the resistance stared in eastern part of Gojjam at last it expanded into west. Then Moṭṭa and Däga Damot became the center of peasant uprising upto Bahirdar because of their geographical area like forests and far from the seat of Gojjam governor, Däbrä Markos.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Temesgen, “The History....”, pp.21-22. Informants: Yersaw Lägässä and Dañä Kassa

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Peter Schwap, *Haile Selassie I: Ethiopians Lion of Judah*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1979), p.132.; Bahru, A History..., p.217.; Informants: Zäwudé Mulualä and Dässaläñ Yezängaw

The rebels' organization in most parts of Gojjam frightened *Däjjazmač* Şähayu and his officials. Then he reported to the central government to send additional military support to prevent rebel's opposition like Moţta, Bičäna and Däbrä Markos. In the mean time, the central government sent the second adhoc commission on 1 June 1968. The commission recommended military means to end the problem. Suddenly, violence started between June 18 and 20. In this clashes both the government and rebels sides suffered heavy casualties. Following their report, the government deployed 900 troops into Fälägä Birhan, between Däbrä Wärk, Enäbsé sar meder and Moţta. Moţta and Bičäna towns were put under military administration. The reason for this was that the governor of Bičäna had already left to Däbrä Markos. However, the rural areas were controlled by rebels.¹⁰³

The third and the last commission sent to Gojjam arrived at Däbrä Markos on 5, July 1968 to have direct talk with the rebels. There after, the delegation travelled to different villages and towns for about more than two weeks. They discussed not only rebels of towns like Märtulä Mriam, Moţta and Bičäna but also remote areas. The commission submitted a comprehensive report to the emperor. Because of this report *Däjjazmač* Şähayu and some *Awraja* officials including *Fitawurari* Dämes were transferred to Kaffa and different places.¹⁰⁴

A few days later, a general pardon was declared, rebels were ordered to put down their arms and return to their farms. Moreover, all farmers were made free from all penalties for past failure to pay tax. Following the above declarations, new governors were appointed *Däjjazmač* Däräjä Mäkonän became governor general of Gojjam. In the case of Moţta the governor had been govern early in the 1960s and the new appointment to Bičäna was a former governor of the area namely, *Däjjazmač* Ayäléw Dästa and *Däjjazmač* Ayälä Taddäsä respectively. Both of them were popular choices and their bases were from their sub distinct.¹⁰⁵

At the end, the rebels of Moţta *awrajain* general and Enäbsé sar meder *wärädain* particular laid down their arms and returned back to their peace way of life. Question of peasants got the answer. Meaning, land measurement was abandoned and the new tax decrees were postponed. Because of these peasants were happy. The rebels did not take counter attack measurement on

¹⁰³ Temesgen, "The History....", pp.24-26.; Temesgen, Peasants..., p.7.

¹⁰⁴ _____, Peasant Resistance..., p.27.

¹⁰⁵ Patrick Gilkes, *The dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization Ethiopia* (Julian Friend man Publishers, 1975), p.185; Andargachew, p.178; Nebyu, p.80.

the government posts. On 12 May 1969, the emperor visited Gojjam. Churches and monasteries were his destination. In Märtulä Mariam, about 40 elementary school students and 20 clergy men received him. The students and clergy men got one birr by kissing the emperor's shoes. The coin contained the image of emperor on one side of face and image of lion on the other face. In his visiting, he gave promotions and feasts and awarded titles and medals, which was intended to please the gentry and the clergy. During that time, *Lij Wärkenäh Mäläsä* transformed to the rank of *Grazmač* and the emperor put the cornerstone of Märtulä Mariam clinic. In general, after uprising, farmers of the province were freed from paying tax arrears for the previous 19 years (1950-1968).¹⁰⁶

2.3. Parliamentary Election in Enäbsé Sar Meder wäräda From 1957-1973

The 1931 constitution approved to established parliamentary system, which had two houses, Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The senate was composed of *Mäsafent* and *Makuanent*. This was directly elected by the Emperor. The Chamber of Deputies was constituted through indirect elections. The Chambers of Deputies became the landed gentry, which was the main criterion to elect them in addition to loyalty. Rich merchants neglected to become Member of Parliament in relation with their properties. The people did not participate actively in the political process of parliamentary formation.¹⁰⁷

The emperor appointed the crown council. In the constitution, the duties of the crown council were not defined. However, the appointments of high dignitaries to this body were announced occasionally. The crown council closely supervised the deliberation of the drafting committee who appointed by the emperor to revise the 1931 constitution.¹⁰⁸ For this extent, *Däjjazmač* Delnäsa Rāta, governor of Gonča and *Ras* Haylu Bälāw became members of crown council around 1943-1945 and 1946-1950 respectively.¹⁰⁹

The other crown council duty was to evaluate persons who would be elected in the house of a Chamber of Deputies in their local area and they gave information about candidate to the

¹⁰⁶Gizchew Tiruneh (Dr), *Nāfes Aden Ruča Bāabay Šälāqo: Yä EPRP Abal Bānābārkuñ Gizé Yādāräsäbeñ Seqay*, (Addis Ababa: Afro Yāhitmāt Sera Dirjit, 2007 E.C), p.22; Temesgen, *Peasant Resistance...*, p.9.

¹⁰⁷Bahru Zewde, *A History...*, p.141.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 206.; John Markakis, *Ethiopia...*, p.277.

¹⁰⁹Informants: Yersaw Mälaku, *Grazmač* Wäreknäh Mälässä and Yersaw Lägässä.

emperor. The help of the above crown council elected Mälakä Mälak Musé Wäрку elected for the second time from Moṭṭa *Awraja* in 1944. He was the leader of Qāraniyo Mädehanialem Church, near Moṭṭa. His indirect election approved by *Ras* Haylu Bäläw's signature.¹¹⁰

In the revised constitution of 1955, the provisions for an elected Chamber of Deputies and the introduction of universal adult suffrage became unique features that of the first constitution issued in 1931. The senate again appointed by the emperor from the nobility and high officials. However, the people elected the deputies. Both the Senate and deputies had fixed term of office in the constitution at six and four years respectively.¹¹¹

The first election in the history of Ethiopia held in 1957. In this election, 597 candidates competed for the 210 seats. At this time Gojjam province represented by twelve candidates and Moṭṭa electoral *awraja* represented by Delnäsa Rāta governor of Gonča from Enäbsé Sar Meder and *Qāñzmac* Bayeh Tässäma from Moṭṭa. Delnäsa Rāta was the first person to be elected for the Deputies from Enäbsé Sar Meder. My informant *Grazmac* Worqenäh Mäläsä stated, *Qāñegéta* Aläbačäw Kassa was the first elector in Enäbsé. However, most informants did not agree with his expression. They believed that Aläbačäw was elected in the second, third, fourth and fifth terms of election in 1961, 1965, 1969, and 1973 for four successive electoral periods.¹¹²

The second parliamentary election held in 1961 in all over the country. The number of candidates rose 940. From Moṭṭa electoral *awraja* of seven candidates Enäbsé represented by two candidates *Qāñegéta* Aläbačäw Kassa and *Geragéta* Tämäsegän Bogalä. From this electoral *awraja* *Qāñegéta* Aläbačäw Kassa from Enäbsé and *Ato* Delnäsa Rāta from Moṭṭa were the winners. In the third election, 1965 probably the number of deputies increase into two in each *wäräda*. During this election, the number of candidates rose to 1300 and Moṭṭa electoral *awraja* represented by *Qāñegéta* Aläbačäw Kassa from Enäbsé and *Ato* Admasu Alaba from Sädé. In Enäbsé *Wäräda* 4 candidates *Ato* Gälayä Yebäyen, *Ato* Damté Berhanu, *Qāñegéta* Aläbačäw Kassa and *Ato* Zäwedé Alämu participated in 1969 election. From four candidates, *Gerazmac* Aläbačäw Kassa became the first winner and appointed him president of the Senate and *Ato*

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹Nebyu, p.207. ; John, p.278.; Informants: *Ato* Yersaw Mälaku and *Grazmac* Wäreknäh Mälässä

¹¹²John, pp.279-281.; NALA Folder No. 17.1.11.22, File No. 17.1.11.22.06; Informants: *Ato* Yersaw Mälaku, *Grazmac* Wärqenäh Mäläsä and *Qāñegéta* Ayečäw Mäkonnen.

Ademasu Alaba became the second winner. The symbol of Ademasu Alaba was horse. Two of them took their seats in Addis Ababa. *Grazmac* Aläbačäw Kassa's electoral symbol was hut. He was the president of Moṭṭa *Awerajja* courthouse. This helped to become first in the election.¹¹³

The fifth and the last deputy's election held in June 1973. During this period, the number of candidates rose to 1500 and the size of the chamber of deputies was raised to 250. In the election four candidates participated from Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* for two seats. *Grazmac* Aläbačäw Kassa his symbol Hut, Dameté Berehanu his symbol Umbrella, Šemäles Mulualäm his symbol Dove, and Alameré Tägäñä his symbol Hat were the candidates. They prepared pamphlets for active in the form of poem and statement. The contents of the pamphlet were limited to an introduction of the candidate and a short explanation of his willingness to serve the local people, the country and the emperor. As an example in 1973 Damté Berehanu was one of the candidates of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* and in his pamphlet the following proverb was incorporated. I the competent Damté Berehanu have character aggregated knowledge with politeness and merit with soundness of judgement. So, if you elect me, I will have served you with volunteerism.

In the above election *Gerazmac* Aläbačäw Kassa and Ademasu Alaba won to become first and second rank respectively. *Gerazmac* Aläbačäw Kassa raised different peasant issues in the parliament discussion. He was graduated BA in law and served the president of Moṭṭ *awrajja* court house. This helped to elect him for four times.¹¹⁴

The salary of members of parliament at the beginning was 380 birr. Through time, it was raised to 750 per month. So, the candidates worked strongly to become the member of it. To fulfill their goal, the candidates rely on their own resources and the assistance of relatives and friends. Moreover, the candidates spent their time approaching local leader's mostly local chiefs, priests, nobles and landowners seeking their endorsement. Because of the non-existence of political parties, the number of candidates reduced and their competition and popular participation became low to minimize the financial expenses.¹¹⁵

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴Informants: *Ato* Zäwedé Mulualäm, *Ato* Däsalän Yezängaw and *Ato* Mäleké Käbädä; NALA: Folder no.17.1.11.03, File no. 17.1.11.03.02

¹¹⁵John, pp.282-283.

There were not specific criteria to participate in the Chamber of deputies. In short, both sexes' literate and illiterate citizens without consideration of their occupation, religion and economy had the right to be elect and elected. Markakis demonstrated the overall condition of electoral system of the country in such a way. Although most of the members seek re-election, in 1965 eighty- seven were elected and 1969 eighty one. Former government employees including teachers, form by far the largest group elected to the lower house. The second largest group is made up of landowners. The educational background of those elected in 1965 was as follows: illiterate 4, traditional church education 160, primary School attendance 40, secondary school attendance 40, college graduate 1, the Muslims among those elected numbered 38 in 1957, 33 in 1965, and 38 in 1969, representing primary Hararge, Eritrea, and Wollo provinces. Two women were elected in 1965, and five in 1969.¹¹⁶

From what I mentioned in the above, it is possible to conclude that in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* persons who had moral assistance and financial capacity participated in the election of Deputies. Candidates did not restrict in occupation and economy. To show as evidence, the members of parliament in Enäbsé *wäräda* consists their educational background from modern and traditional church education *Grazmac' Aläbačäw Kassa* up to president of courthouse.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p.284.

¹¹⁷Informants: *Ato Täräfä Alämu*, *Ato Yersaw Mälaku*, *Ato Däsalän Yezängaw* and *Ato Mulaté Täsomä*

CHAPTER THREE

ENÄBSĔ SAR MEDER WÄRÄDA FROM 1974-1991

3.1. Administration and Reforms of Därg

3.1.1. Administration, 1974-1991

In 1974 the Provisional Administrative council (*Därg*) took power. The *Därg* government dismantled the former governors of *wäräda* and *meketelwäräda* and replaced by new officials. In this time, *Ato Agonafer Täklè* became the first *Därg* appointee to administer Enäbsè Sar Meder *wäräda*. In 1975, *Därg* had removed approximately 300 of the 550 *wäräda* administrators. The newly appointed administrator tended to be even younger, 25 to 40 years of age. Their educational performance were secondary school graduates or above. More over many experienced school directors and community development workers also secured appointment to *wäräda* administrator post.¹¹⁸

Then, the *Därg* government changed the administration style of Ethiopia in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* in particular. The two *meketelwärädas* and one church administration managed by one *wäräda* as Enäbsé Sar Meder. The former administrations became *qäbälés*. Based on this, 67 *qäbälés* established in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*.¹¹⁹ These *qäbälés* were called by the peasant association. In the imperial period, they were called *aṭebiya daña* who presided over each *qäbälés* and was known as their *ṣeqa sum*, who served as security officers of the *qäbälés*. However, the *Därg* government named them chairman and militia respectively. The chairman was the major task of the *qäbälé* to protect their environment by providing a serious of lectures.¹²⁰

Administrators of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* were Agonafer Täkelé, Berehanu Täräfa, *Baša Zäwedé Tässäma*, Şähay Säwasäw, Gaşaw Ṭäna, Eyasu Däjäné, Tayä Mängesté and Abäbä Tayä respectively. Berhanu Täräfa and Şähay Säwasäw were prominent rulers in Enäbsé Sar Meder.

¹¹⁸John M. Cohen and Peter H. Koehn, *Ethiopia Provincial and Municipal Government: Imperial Patterns and Post-revolutionary Change*, (Michang: Michang State University, 1980), p.278; Teshale, p.13.

¹¹⁹Informants: *Ato Mäleké Bantidär*, *Gäbäyaw Alämayähu*

¹²⁰Gizachew, p.146. Informants: *Ato Zäwedé Mulualäm* and *Ato Asenakäw Aläleñ*

During Berhanu Täräfä period of rule 1977-1980 the boundary of Märtulä Mariam town and 67 *qäbällés* were demarcated. This situation created a fertile ground for the establishment of *qäbällés* PAs in the *wäräda*. Until now a day while, border conflict erupted between *qäbällés*, arbitrators remembered as *yä Berhanu denbär*. Şähay Säwasäw was also another prominent governor who ruled Enäbsè Sar Meder *wäräda* from 1981-1984 and sbuilt a magnificent administrative office, Abereha wo Aşebeha primary school and Abereha wo Aşebeha high school by encouraging the people to contribute money.¹²¹

In the 1980s, the reform was markedly different in size and content than at the beginning forms of the *Därg*. On 29, December 1988 the second national assembly of PMAC held on. In this meeting five heads/ *ras gäze/* and 27 administrative areas were approved. Accordingly, Gojjam divided into three administrative areas of east Gojjam at the capital of Däbrä Markos, west Gojjam at the capital of Bahir Dar and Mätäkäle at the capital of Pawi. In the same year onwards, Gojjam's seven sub provinces and 37 *wärädas* transformed into new reform. In this reform provinces were set up under some improvement, but *wärädas* were torn down. As a result, the eastern Gojjam administration considered on the sub province of Moṭṭa, Enäbsé-Gonca/Enässé/, Enarg Enawega, Biçäna, Däjän, Awäbal, Baso Libän and Maçakäl. This new structure was valid for only two years. Anemut Kindé was appointed the chief executive officer of this new eastern Gojjam administration area. In this reform, Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonca Siso Enäse were merged together and form Enäse *awrajja* by separating from Moṭṭa *awrajja* and Abäbä Tayä became the first governor from its center Märtulä Mariam.¹²²

During this administration some successes registered in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. One was related to green development. In 1979 president Mängistu Hailemariam discussed with the minsters of Ethiopia regarding the decrease of forest coverage in Ethiopia and agreed for the aforestation and re-aforestation of non-cultivated areas. The chairman ordered each *awraja* and *wäräda* administrators to plant and protect their areas. In Enäbsé Sar Meder, non agricultural areas were covered with trees. Cambo just north west of Märtulä Mariam town, Qäga Maräfiya and Islamo isolated on the west and north cornors of Märtulä Mariam town were some areas which covered with forests. The officials of the seven sub provinces of Gojjam discussed the

¹²¹Informant: Däräsä Şägaw, Bamlaku Asemarä and Aseçänäk Bälaçäw.

¹²²Andargachew, p.422; Informants: Asenakäw Aläleñ, Däräsä Şägaw and Bamlaku Asemarä

planting of trees along the main road, but it was not successful in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* and most east Gojjam sub provinces. The tree lined highway from Däjän to Däbrä Markos road especially in Yätnora *qäbälé* was the result of this discussion.¹²³

3.1.2. Land Reforms of *Därg*

The *Därg* government introduced important reforms in the political, social and economic field of the country to overcome the prevailing discontent of the peasant crisis. The best and surprising change of them was land reform. The feudal and land tenure system was practiced in Ethiopia until the 1974 revolution. The old regime land tenure system changed by the land reform proclamation issued in March 1975. All forms of private land ownership were abolished. The proclamation prohibited the sale, lease or mortgage of rural land. After this proclamation, the provisional military administrative council engaged on the task of ensuring the equitable distribution of land among the peasants. Land distribution for landless tenants had direct impact in abolishing the feudal tenant relationship and gave opportunity to have an access to agricultural land.¹²⁴

The proclamation stated that any *rist* holder had to possess not more than 10 hectares of land. Extra amount of land (above ten hectares) confiscated and put under the control of *qäbälé* peasant associations. For this confiscated land, the proclamation debarred compensation was paid for rural land or any tree-crops or forests on such land. Therefore, local gentry, the most beneficiary bodies of the old regime lacked their land and lost their privileges based on this reform. In the entire Gojjam province including Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* these bodies highly opposed land reform proclamation and nationalization of financial institutions and private commercial and industrial enterprises. In July 1975, the government implemented the nationalization of urban land and extra houses from individuals and institutions like church. These and other reforms created a serious problem between the government and the beneficiary bodies.¹²⁵

¹²³NALA: Folder no.17.1.11.03; File no.17.1.11.03.08; Informants: Adanä Mehräté and Gäbäyaw Alämayähu

¹²⁴ Mengistu Woube, *Problems of Land Reform Implementation in Rural Ethiopia: A Case Study of Däjän and Wälämära Districts*, (Uppsala: Motala Grafiska AB, 1986), p49-55; Bahru Zewde, *A History...*, p.242.

¹²⁵ Mengistu Woube, p.50; Informants: *Ato* Asenaqäw Aläleñ, *Ato* Täsomä Şähay and *Ato* Zäwedé Mulualäm; NALA: Folder no. 17.1.11.02, File no. 17.1.11.02.03

Like many parts of Gojjam, the age old feudal dominated land tenure system has been abolished and the new land distribution process began to be implemented in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. In Enäbsé Sar Meder, land was under the possession of *balabats*. Despite this, the land reform was issued by the *Därg* began to dispossess the *balabats* and granted land for the *wäräda* inhabitants of landless Muslims, artisans and ex-slaves. Further more, land of all salaried civil servants was confiscated and it became under the control of peasant association. This activity brought real change to eradicate the traditional institution of the *rist-gult*, and was engaged in the activity to distribute the land through peasants association. In most parts of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda qäbäles*, officials became corrupted to redistributed privately owned rural land to people who were willing to cultivate their holding personality. That, corrupted action could be expressed by the people as follows:

ባለመቶ ድብልዝ ሞልቶ
 ባለሃምሳ መርጠህ አንሳ
 ባለአስር ሾተላይ ጠርስ
 ባለ ቡና አድረህ ና
 ባለወፍ ዝምብለህ እለፍ።¹²⁶
You who grab hundred, I give you fertile land
You who hold fifty, take as your preference land
You, who hold ten, take unfertile land
You who have coffe (five birr), come tomorrow
You who with a bird (one birr) pass with silence

From the above expression, we can understand people who gave one hundred birr in the form of bribe; they got a very fertile land. When their bribes became fifty birr, they had a right to select better land for theirs. However, farmers who did not gave bribe or gave ten birr and less than, they got unfertile land and its distance became far from the inhabitants village.

The proclamation challenged *Mofär Zämät Erša* in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* which had been conducted by rist holders by travelling distant places. The establishment of *Qäbälè Gäbrè Mahbärat* (*Qäbälè Peasant Association*), the geographical extent of *Qäbälès* was demarcated and strongly affected *Mofär Zämät Erša*. *Qäbälè Gäbrè Mahbärat* and students played a significant role for the implementation of such policies of the *Därg* by persuading the people.¹²⁷

¹²⁶Informants: Täšomä Şähay and Däsälän Yezängaw.

¹²⁷Tefera, p.152.

3.1.3. Development through cooperation Campaign

In November 25, 1974 the *Därg* proclaimed Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work Campaign (usually called *Edegät Bähebrät Yä Ewuqät Ena Yä Sera Zämäčä*) as one of its revolutionary measure for bringing growth and development by disseminating the idea of revolution from the previous urban centrism to nation wide.¹²⁸ To accomplish the campaign, students who were grade 11 and above including university and college students, teachers and other educated persons participated for at least two years. The main tasks of these campaigners were to create awareness about the concept the philosophy of Ethiopian *Tiqdäm* for the eradication of illiteracy, the teaching of health care in the rural areas, and consolidating political awareness to redistribute land to peasant associations. They tried to create equality among the community by teaching the importance of avoiding bad culture like neglecting of artisans from the community and denying the contributions of them in the local economy. A total of 50 million birr allocated for this program in the country level. Development through Cooperation Campaign ended on 6, July, 1976. At the campaign became effective by organizing 25 million peasants in seven thousand *qäbales*, land to the tiller slogan implemented, feudal tenant abolished and millions of peasants educated. Despite the above fact, 92 participants died from about 56,000 campaign participants. Andargachew wrote by increasing the number of campaign participants to 60,000.¹²⁹

To this end, students including Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* from grade eleven and above dropped out of school in order to eliminate illiteracy in rural Ethiopia. The anti-illiteracy campaign continued in each year. By the 12th round of training in 1980s it was a remarkable result. About 12 million of the 17 million adult students passed the standard examination and *Därg* government awarded by UNESCO.¹³⁰

Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* people got benefit from this campaign. Because of anti-illiteracy program, adults who were in the period of *Därg* were no longer finger printed. They can read and write as much as possible. The reason for this was all over 15 years of age obliged to learn in their learning center of local areas. For this evidence, *Ato* Yetbaräk Tamänä chairman of Aluša-

¹²⁸Informants: Asenakäw and Gäbäyaw

¹²⁹Mengistu Hailemariam (Colonel), *Tegläcen: Yä Ityopia Hezeb Abiotawi Yätegl Tarik Qesl*, (Şähay Asatami, 2004 E.C), pp.283-284; Andargachew, p.198; Mengistu Woube, p.52; Gizachew, p.41.

¹³⁰Muluken Tariku, *Yä Ityopia Tarik* (Addis Ababa: Alta Matämia Bét, 2016), p.279; Andargachew, p.198; Gizachew, p.42; Informants: *Ato* Däräsä Şägaw and Zäwdé Mulualäm

Gäbätema *qäbäle* arrested house wives in relation to the campaign. Along with their education campaign adults also studied health and agriculture. For example, they were given special education in drinking water, washing clothes in a regular basis and promoting to producers cooperatives. It was at that time, they expressed the importance of their teaching in this poem.

አስተምረኝ ልማር፣
 ተምራ ላስተምር።።
 በአካል በመንፈሴ የዳበርኩኝ ጀግና፣
 ይበልጥ አምራኝ ልሁን በሉ ልማርና።¹³¹
Teach me let me learn
Let me teach after being taught
Physically and spiritually improved hero
Let me become more productive after learning Bä Bu.

Other than green development and anti-illiteracy campaign Därg was known in land reform proclamation. This helped tenants and landless peasants. In relation to the land reform was that it provided the smugglers bulls which were the poor to plough on. In Däbrä Berhan *qäbälé* seven to eight individuals who had no oxen were bought bulls.¹³²

To sum up, *Edegät Bähebrät Yä Ewuqät Ena Yä Sera Zämäčä* played significant role in disseminating the idea of socialism to the rural population, to have revolution in rural areas and to implement different agrarian reforms of the *Därg* and expanding literacy among the rural community of Gojjam in general and Enäbsè Sar Meder wäräda in particular.

3.2. Early Resistance against Derg from 1974-1980

Local *balabats* and former officials of Gojjam started an armed opposition against the *Därg* to reject its reform policy. Therefore, they motivated powerful bandits mainly in Moጥጥ, Bičäna and Damot *Awrajas*. These bodies were mostly beneficiaries of the old regime and able to incorporate landlords, judges and local governors of the imperial government. Then, conflict brokeout in different areas between the local rebels and the government troops. At last, the *Därg* government took military measurement on the rebels and their helpers. At that time, Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonca Siso Enäse were the beginners and organisers of many districts’ rebels and these rebels controlled the towns of east Gojjam except Däbrä Marqos. This was the main cause for the destroying of east Gojjam rural and town areas and the robbing of Märጥulä Mariam. To

¹³¹Informants: *Ato* Yetbaräk Tamänä, *Ato* Gäbäyaw Alämayähu, *Ato* Asenaqäw Aläleñ and *Ato* Mulaté Täšomä.
¹³²*Ibid.*

this end, the government force assassinated dwellers of the towns and others.¹³³ After 1975 land proclamation, the beneficiaries of the former government (*balabats* and local officials) organized the local peasants and bandits of Enäbsé Sar Meder and its neighbouring areas. Their reasons to initiate the known bandits were by using half truths on the military government in such a way. Damté Berhanu the treasurer of Fenotä Sälam Municipality was terminated his work and moved to his birth place Enäbsé Sar Meder. Damté called Enäbsé peasants at Mäçäfäriya in Gunaguna *qäbälé* and discussed about the ideology of Därg. Därg opposed our religion both Christianity and Islam by saying the burning of Bible and Quran together will abolish disease from our country Ethiopia. Churches and Mosques will be store room of cereals by using mechanized agriculture. As you know, Därg rejected the emperor without the interest of the people. This indicated that Därg is the enemy of our religion, crown and *rist* land, so we should fight against *Därg*.¹³⁴

In the early of June 1975 Damté mobilized peasants of Enäbsé against governor of Enäbré *meketelwārāda Ato Andargé Ayälä* and controlled its center Dehinbo Kidanämeherät. Then Damté created forefront with *Fitawrari Terfé Rāta* of Gonéa Siso Enäsé and by trapping Gendäwoyen town government officers surrendered peacefully including *wārādagovernor Grazmac Wärkenäh Mäläsä*. Afterwards, Damté and Terefé in the mid of August 1975 marched against *Därg* in Moṭṭa, but they unable to defeat the government force and returned back to Märetulä Mariam and trapped officials in the town. On 3, September 1975 in the morning Märtulä Mriam town and its surroundings bombarded by Jet to free the trapped officials and by the situation Alämu Habäša died. In the same day afternoon six government soilders landed by helicopter at Abeny 3km to the north of Märetulä Mariam to free the trapped officers in the town. By the situation all the government soilders were killed and from the rebellious group Käbädä Yehun wounded. After three days on September 6, 1975 the government arbitration group arrived Märtulä Mariam under the leadership of *Abbuna Markos* and *Abba La'ekä Mariam*. After two days of negotiation the arbitrators brought freed officers and dead bodies of six soilders by helicopter to Debre Markos.¹³⁵

¹³³ Temesgen Gebeyehu, Peasant Resistance....., pp.22-23.

¹³⁴ Informants: Abä Käbäbäw and Yerdaw Kassa

¹³⁵ Informants: *Ato Mälké Käbädä*, *Ato Täsomä Şähay* and *Ato Zäwdé Mulualäm*

Derg considered as bandits who initiated by the local *balabats* and officials were Damté Berhanu(Enäbsé Sar Meder), *Fitawrari* Terfé Rāta(Gonča Siso Enäse), Bamlaku Ayälä(Enarg Enawga), Wubälä Tägänu (Šäbäl Bäränta) and *Mäto Aläqa* Manayä (Enämay). Abä Kābābāw and Māleké Kābādä did not agree about Terfé and Damté as listed to bandits. They told me *Fitawrari* Terfé Rāta was a former governor of Moṭṭa *awraja* who retired from power and respected person in Gonča and Enäbsé. Damté also was a respected person in Enäbsé Sar Meder and was head of Fenotä Sälam municipal treasury instead of bandit and he was one of the richest man. His *wäräda* EnäbséSar Meder people insisted him to be the leader of resistance. When he showed his willingness to do, they rewarded him by the following verse.

አወይ አተኳኮሽ ወይ አደጋገኑ ፣
ግንባር የሚመታው ዳምጤ ብርሃኑ።¹³⁶
How he shut gunfire how he points at
Who hits forehead Damté Berhanu.

On September 28, 1975 *Fitawrari* Terfé Rāta wrote a letter to the people of Bibuñ to get support by representing the people of Gonča Siso Enäse, Enäbsé Sar Meder and Hulät Eju Enäse. In his letter explained to the *Mäkuanents* and *Mäsafints* of Bibuñ about Derg administrative change regarding the religion, *rist* and wealth of our people. You heard our heroic struggle against Derg, So to free from the yolk of new government oppression join with us to struggle in a united way. Further more, town dwellers were also another initiators to fight those opponents and peasants towards *Därg*. They promised to give rifles and money. People of Däbär Work collected 50,000 birr to support rebels and sent into Bamlaku and again people of Bičäna town collected money and sent it with contributors' names to Wubalä. At the same time, the rural people decided to cost their life and continued to elect their leaders. Baybel Engdasaw, Šefäraw Mälaku and Bayä Täräfä (Däbay Ṭelat Gen), Çané Alamerāw (Enarge Enawga), Mäläsä Ewkātu and Gulelat (Awabal and Sinan) were the elect rebels' leaders' in addition to Terefé Rāta and Dameté Berehanu.¹³⁷(See also appendix IV)

Terefé Rāta, Dameté Berehanu, Bamlaku Ayälä and Wubalä Tägänu made an oath at Däbrä Iyäsus, North of Kuy. And they planned to block Abay Bridge, which was responsible to give

¹³⁶Informants: *Ato* Abä Kābābāw, *Ato* Māleké Kābādä and *Mägabi* Täsomä Enäyāw.

¹³⁷Temesgen Gebeyehu, *Peasat Resistance...*, p.22; Informants: Zāwudé Mulualām; NALA: Folder no.17.1.11.18, File no.17.1.11.18.08

Wubalä Tägänu and *Mäto Aläqa* Manayä. The rebels' leaders were encouraged by local people by the following verse.

*ተርፌ ግፉ ግፉ ዳምጤ ግፉ ግፉ ባምሌ ግፉ ግፉ ፤
እኔንም ጎጆ አውጣኝ አንተም ዘውድ ድፋ።¹³⁸
Terefé March forwards Dameté March forwards Bamlaku March forwards
Let me be independent and you crowned.*

At the same time, all rebels' leaders and their followers started to fight with the government troops. When Terefé and Dameté went to Däbrä Markos, Wubalä travelled to Abay Bridge through Däbét. Unfortunately, the government solidiers declared war on *Mäto Aläqa* Manayä forces at Dibisa, south of Bičäna. In this enagement, many solidiers of the resistance were killed. Other rebels' parts of Šäbäl Bäränta fought with government solidires at Däjän.¹³⁹ In Bičäna, 250 government solideres camped at Haylu Yosédäq School. However, these solidiers did not prevent the entering of rebels. On Thursday morning, other local rebels who were led by Bamlaku Ayälä entered to Bičäna. When Kassa Gété shot, the local rebels entered into the town of Bičäna by four directions. On the other hand, the rebels of Enäbsé Sar Meder, Gonca Siso Enäsé and highland of Däbay Ṭelat Gen peasants met at Kuy and travelled Däberä Markos. When they destroyed the bridge of Enäberga, suddenly the goverment troops attacked them. Many rebels were killed and the rest retreated to Enajema (boarder of Däjän, Enämay and Ṭelat Gen *wäräda*).¹⁴⁰

To support the siege government solidiers at Haylu Yosédéq School, the government sent hundred of troops to the town of Bičäna under the command of Major Endalä Tässäma from Ogaden. These troops did not enter into the town because of rebels' fought. Zäwedédid not accept the command of troops who listed by Temesgen. He called the name of the command by *Šambäl* Täsefa from Harar. Following this, the helicopter visited Bičäna town in each day. When local rebels shot at it, the helicopter returned to other areas. One day evening, the helicopter visited the town. However, no one was shot at it. This was the mehanisim to check the rebeles' movment in the town. Immidately that sending troops entered to the town without strong resistance and met

¹³⁸Informants: Zäwudé Mulualäm

¹³⁹Informants: Mulate Täsomä and Täsomä Šähay.

¹⁴⁰Informants: *Abuhay* Yersaw Lägässä and *Ato* Gezačäw Biyazen

with the siege soldiers at the school. This army started its campaign by setting fire to houses and shops of town dwellers.¹⁴¹

Elders were conciliated *Mäto Aläqa* Manayä and Wubalä and their followers with the government. In the course of the reconciliation, process 4 oxen slaughtered at Säqäla and also 4 oxen slaughtered at Bičäna. After the reconciliation, Mähari Yohanes of Dima was appointed for governor of Bičäna *Awraja* in the place of Yeresé. The former rebels' leaders received Mähari Yohanes at Mängesto. To this extent, *Fitawurari* Terfé Räta and Dameṭé Berehanu sent their followers to Enämay to punish *Mäto Aläqa* Manayä and other the former rebels by opposing the reconciliation process and making of peaceful agreement.¹⁴²

No conflict took place on each side. Following this on December 1975, the peasants of Bičäna *Awraja* including *Mäto Aläqa* Manayä and Bamlaku marched to Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonča Siso Enäsé. This march led by Mähari Yohannes together with the government army. Peasants of Bičäna and Kuy wanted to march into Enäbsé Sar Meder (Märtulä Mariam) to fight with rebels. Hence, peasants, soldiers and government troops marched to Märtulä Mariam. This couplet expresses the extent of peasants' occupation of the following areas.

**እነሱ እነሱ ጎነቻና ሳርምድር
እኛም እረገጥናት አይቀር የሰው ብድር።¹⁴³**
*Enäbsé Enäsé, Gončo and Sarmeder,
We have arrived as it probable for debt to be paid.*

This verse indicated that the people of Enäbsé, Enäsé, Gonča and Sarmeder destructed and looted the area of Bičäna *Awraja* especially Kuy town during in the period of *Fitawurari* Dämes (peasant rebellion of 1968). Now, we people of Bičäna sub province came to you revenge your destruction and looting in the former time. To this reason, peasants of Mähari Yohannes and Bamlaku Ayälä looted and destructed the areas of Märtulä Mariam by staying a week. The march ended and peasants' of Enämay and Kuy (robbers) tried to return back to their base area on 24 January 1976. On their travel, unexpected fighting took place at three places. These were Ṭewa, Toraméda and Çäyä. Most of Mähari Yohannis peasants' force lost their life at Çäyä by the

¹⁴¹Andargachew, p.179; Temesgen Gebeyehu, *Peasant Resistance...*, p.29, Gizachew, pp.32-33;
Informants: Zäwedé Mulualäm

¹⁴²Informants: Zewdé Mulualäm and Mulaté Täsomä

¹⁴³Informants: Abä Käbäbäw and Täsomä Enäyāw

rebellious population of Enäbsé sar meder. On this moment, the rest peasants' forces retreated to Märtulä Mariam. Then surrounding areas of Färäs Méda and Yezema bombed by helicopter two times. By the action six houses with the owner of houses and families in Yezema and more than ten houses with full of money in Färäs Méda burnt. Then, peasants' force of Kuy returned back to Bičäna and their leader, Mähari Yohannis travelled into Däberä Markos by helicopter.¹⁴⁴

While *Fitawrari* Terfé and Damté Berhanu made a discussion about future time at Godguadit in the highland area of Enäbsé and Bamlaku Ayälä come to participate in the meeting. But, Bamlaku and his son shot by Terfé soldiers because of his betrayal at Mängesto.¹⁴⁵ Hence, Damté moved to Soma and joined with Wubalä Tägänu and stayed until 1978. The government force continuously tried to surrender Damté, Terfé and Wubalä but failed. On 9, October 1978 the force of the government and the rebellious group under Damté Berhanu fought at Sāño Gäbäya 20 km far to the south east of Märtulä Mariam and within an hour the government forces defeated and retreated to their center. After two weeks on 26, October 1978 Damté and Wubalä discussed with their followers at Dihinbo Kidanämeherät to control Märtulä Mariam. But, after an hour they fought against the government force at Armaz Wänez 3km far to the west of Dihinbo Kidanämeherät. At the battle of Armaz Wänez from the rebellious group Damté Berhanu shot by unknown person and died after a day and Wubalä Tägänu narrowly escaped. From the government side Wondačäw Täfära and Fäntie Bälay died; Mäkonnen Adisé, Alemaw Šumeyä and *Qäñazmač* Näga Bušu also wounded.¹⁴⁶ (See also appendix V)

3.3. Peasant Association, cooperatives and Villagization

3.3.1. Peasant Association

The formation of peasant associations (PAs) was one of the most significant typical features of land reform. After the revolution, the state started to form peasants' organizations under PAs all over the country. In this case, peasants, who were 18 years of age and above, allowed becoming members of *Qäbälé* peasants associations. The powers and functions of the *qäbällé* PAs were established first by proclamation 223, article 15, of 1982. The first objectives of PAs were

¹⁴⁴ Temesgen Gebeyehu, *Peasant Resistance...*, p.37.; Informants: Mulaté Täsomä, Abä Käbäbaw and Yerdaw Kassa

¹⁴⁵ Informants: Täsomä Šähay, Bamlé Tämäsegän and Yerdaw Kassa

¹⁴⁶ Informants: MälkéKäbädä, Zäwedé Mulualäm and Täsomä Enäyāw; NALA: Folder No, 17.1.11.13; File No, 17.1.11.13.02.

initially to implement the land reform proclamation and the rebuy land was redistributed for peasants of PAs. Secondly, to followup and supervise the proper tilling and development of land. Thirdly, to hear and settle disputes with in their own areas and at least, to implement directives, decisions and orders transmitted from high organs and submit operation reports to higher association.¹⁴⁷The main administrative organs of *qäbällè*PAs were the general assembly, the executive committee and the inspection committee. Of all administrative organs, the general assembly was the highest decision making organ of the *qäbällè*PAs. Similar structures provided in the PAs of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. In every executive committee, this comprised the Chairman, secretary and treasurer. The inspection committee is an organ whose members elected by the general assembly of the *qäbällè*PAs. Its duty was to check whether *qäbällè*PAs use their power and fulfill duties properly, to ensure the property, and to ensure the proper use of collective property owned by *qäbällè*PAs.¹⁴⁸

Peasant associations were organized at all administrative levels. PAs were created at the *qäbälé* (village), *wäräda* and *Awraja* levels and later in 1978 at the provincial (*Ṭäqelaygezat*) and national levels. In all these, there existed a clear chain of command and hierarchy. In Eänäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*, PAs were organized at *qäbälé* level. In each *qäbälé*, PA was organized for every area of 800 hectares (20 *Gaśas*) an included all peasant household in this area. PA was not the size of the population but the size of the land. *Qäbällè*PAs had a congress assembled, excutive committee and inspection (later the peasant court). Each peasant association sent one or more representatives to *wäräda* peasant association. From the representatives *Ato* Alämayähu Yebälṭal elected as head of *wäräda*, *Awraja*, *Ṭäqelaygezat* and central government peasant associations respectively.¹⁴⁹

In most *qäbälés* of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*, peasants were not reluctant of the peasant associations. They opposed this kind of living styles. However, gradually in some *qäbälé* PAs were established and developed into cooperation. From 67*qäbälés* of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*, 23 of them were organized into peasant producers' co-operatives.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷Mengistu Woube, pp. 80-81; Tefera, p.162.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.* ; p.83.

¹⁴⁹Temesgen Teka (Dr) and Tennassie Nichola(Dr), *Rural Poverity All Eviation: The Case of Ethiopia*, (Rome, 1984), p.83.; NALA, Folder No. 17.1.11.12,File No.17.1.11.12.04

¹⁵⁰Informants:*Ato* Gäbäyaw Alämayähu, Mulaté Täśomä and *Ato* Asenaqäw Aläleñ

Peasant association in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* played a significant role in directing the society in road building, tree planting like in Qäga Maräfiya, cambo, Islamo and soil conservation programs in their areas. The associations had also facilitated villagization, cooperation and the land redistribution process of 1979 in their locality.¹⁵¹

3.3.2. Cooperatives

The formation of co-operatives began in the mid twentieth century when the capitalist system was growing. Cooperatives, which were established prior to 1974 in Ethiopia, were very small and they served rich farmers and merchants, not those of small economies. After revolution, many cooperatives were established.¹⁵²

These were peasant producers' cooperatives, service cooperatives, handicraft cooperatives, and professional and consumers' cooperatives. Professional cooperatives were different from others. It did not use sex and age as criteria for their formation. Professionals were trained in a particular profession (doctors, teachers, and journalists). While respect for the welfare of their members and their professional development efforts, it was given to the community's common development.¹⁵³ Consumers' co-operatives were an organization that provided consumers with access to essential goods for their members, and generates tailor-made products for their members and voluntary contributions to the community. The first workers and peasants' co-operatives expanded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century primarily in England, then France, Germany, Italy, and other countries. The consumer union first started working for laborers in industry, and expanded into farmers.¹⁵⁴

Professionals are an independent organization that produces and monitors their own procurement tools, partly or fully voluntarily in public ownership and under one structure. For the first time, handicraft producers' cooperatives were established in France in 1871, in the history of collective action activities. It was during the Paris commission. This was short lived. In the period of the soviet revolution, from 1917 to 1945 a few cooperatives were established. Since 1945 however, it had been able to establish and expand the handicraft producers in eastern European countries, employing handicraft producers, cooperatives. In our country, thousands of Ethiopian handicrafts

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

¹⁵²*Yämarklism Lenninism Mäzegäbä Qalat*, (Addis Ababa: Kuraz Matemia Dirjit,), pp.31-33.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, p.73.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p.173.

had been instrumental in making the necessary household appliances, clothing, agricultural goods and furniture. In July 1978, the handcraft producers' cooperatives directorate was prepared regulation and engaged in the field of handcraft (pottery, leather, wood, weaving and metal) production cooperatives.¹⁵⁵

In Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* hand craft producers' cooperatives were established based on July 1978 regulations. Mainly pottery and metal were produced in Däbrä Birhan *qäbälé*. Leather, pottery, weaving and metal production cooperatives were formed in Märtulä Mariam town Abereha wo aşebha *qäbälé* and produced wood and metal works like sickle, axe, plough and other farming instruments for the peasants.¹⁵⁶

3.3.2.1. Producers cooperatives/PCs/

The government of the *Därg* proved that a state controlled collectivization of agriculture resulted in economic retardation and was globally denounced. To agriculturally and socially transform the rural mass of Ethiopia, the government authorized the PAs /under proclamation no.71/1975/ to organize the peasantry into producers cooperatives (PCs).¹⁵⁷ To better change the life of the peasants in particular and the whole population in general, the government made many attempts which include, among others, supplying agricultural inputs and developing extension programs. All these moves couldn't bring the expected outcome in transforming the life of the mass. Thus, collectivizing agriculture through the PCs was what the government of *Därg* engaged in latter.¹⁵⁸

Thus, till 1980, the PCs were unknown to Enäbsé Sar Meder. But the peasants were not out of its influence. It was in 1978 that the first PC was established in Moṭṭa *awraja* under the name-Dimät Gädäl Producers' Cooperatives. Since the members at the beginning were urban unemployed and daily laborers of Moṭṭa town, they hadn't ox to bring for plowing and food grain to consum. It was through all encompassing community participation that the Dimät Gädäl PC was set. Almost

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p.341-343.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*;Informants: Ato Mäleké Bantidär and Kassahun Aseräs

¹⁵⁷Desalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of Africa Studies, 1984), p.38.

¹⁵⁸Ayele Tariku, "A history of Hulät Iju Enäse *Wäräda*, East Gojjam: 1941-1991 (MA Thesis in History, AddisAbaba University, 2011), p.45.

all the fulfillments of setting a PC were vested on the shoulders of the rest of the peasants of the *Awraja*-within which Enäbsé Sar Meder belongs.¹⁵⁹

Thus, when the 1975 land reform proclamation prohibited the peasants to engage in other than additional means of livelihood/for example, farming and trading/, the peasants were requested to choose either. Those peasants who chose trade than land were their oxen taken and given to Dimät Gädäl PC. *Ato* Damṭé Gétahun, *Ato* Mäläsä Zägäyā, *Ato* Bäläy Aduñña and *Ato* Ijig Takälä, who preferred trading to agriculture, have forcibly given 2 to 3 oxen to Dimät Gädäl PC. Latter, taking Dimät Gädäl PC as a model, the establishment of the PCs began to spread to Enäbsésar meder and the surrounding *wäräds*. The PCs were first exercised in Enäbsé sar meder in another cover- Social Development or '*Mahbarawi limat*'.¹⁶⁰

In 1980 in an area in Gunaguna PA, collective farming was attempted through the whole community participation. They cultivated an amount of 4 *gotärs* of *teff*/nearly 40 quintals/. Taking this as a warming up and as a means of social connection, in the year to come by 1980, the Gunaguna PC was set. It was initially started by seven members. Next, the members grew to 40 and the PC has been granted a legal recognition. It was delimited to about 50ha area of land size. The establishment of PCs like any of the 1975 land reform proclamations was not welcomed and spreading from outside of Gunaguna was not as such easy.¹⁶¹

Out of the interest of the mass, it was the individual resentments which resulted in their formation. The task of establishing the PCs is not a simple process. Since many of the peasants opposed it, these individual resentments may be suppressed by the mass and in some areas like Yebsana and Yebraza, it was left unreal. To see the case in Yebsana, in 1982, resented individuals and people of different interest initiated the establishment of PCs. The elders, the clergy and the mass begged the initiators not to establish a PC in the name of the Cross by which Jesus Christ was crucified. They, however, ignored the Cross and went to the *wäräda* coordinating office to get recognition. Then, there at the *wäräda* office, they were post phoned

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.* ; Informants: Gäbäyāw alāmayāhu and Asenakāw Alälēñ

¹⁶⁰ Informants: Asenakāw Alälēñ, Yebäleté Yetayāw

¹⁶¹ Informants: Gäbayāw Alāmayāhu, Yerdaw Kassa

and being ashamed of their first failure they had never attempted latter. The local people associated this failure with the reason that any one ignoring the Cross will not be successful.¹⁶²

The ups and downs in Yebsana to and not to establish the PCs had a different pattern. Few resented individuals used to intimidate the local people that they would establish PCs unless their safeties were kept. Once the adolescents raise the question of land and if not positively responded by the committee, they will set a PC, the local committee met together and discussed. They gave land to the adolescents from a commune land. Another surprising issue in Yebsana is that an individual Tazäbäw Däsé, formerly a chairman of the PA was his authority taken and under the disguise to arm him with a gun, he wanted to establish a PC. Then the local people collected money and bought him gun. Next, he said that having gun is not enough, he need to have some sort of authority to enjoy, otherwise, he will initiate the establishment of a producers' cooperative in the PA. Thus, he was allowed to be the chairman of the Färäs Méda Service Cooperative, in 1986.¹⁶³ Though similar attempts not to establish PCs were made in different areas, sooner or later, the PCs were established in different *Qäbälés* of Enäbsé which could be summed up in the following table.

Table 1 the notable PCs, establishment year and members in Enäbsé sar meder.

No.	Name of the PC	Initial members	Area of land at inception.	Year of establishment
1	Gunaguna	40	50ha	1980
2	Yebsana	46	60ha	1982
3	Yeberaza	38	40ha	1984
4	Boräbor-Bétämeder	74	70ha	1986
5	Śola-Woneçär	46	52ha	1986
6	Śäguat	65	68ha	1987
7	Jangäbäya	70	84ha	1988
8	Aluśa-Gäbätema	90	120ha	1986
9	Goräf	54	60ha	1988

¹⁶² Informants: Hailemikael Asäfa, Yerdaw Kassa and Yebälté Yetayäw

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

10	Domma	63	76ha	1986
11	Debo	82	108ha	1986
12	Yezema	94	126ha	1985
13	Enäjārār	36	120ha	1976
14	Gulet	30	80ha	1987
15	Yesabāba	42	48ha	1986
16	Zemtit	66	72ha	1984
17	Gādāb	70	115ha	1986
18	Yāguç	54	68ha	1986
19	Enäberé	42	60ha	1986
20	Täneta	61	80ha	1987
21	Däbrā Mädehanit	52	63ha	1988
22	Enésa	48	64ha	1987
23	Wäreya	46	52ha	1988

Sources¹⁶⁴

As it can be deduced from the table, the number of initiators of the PC and the size of land delimited to them is not on a calculated manner and it's dependent on the context of each PA.

But from among all the PCs no one was as an important figure as the Gunaguna producers' cooperative. It was established by giving many favors for the future members at the expense of private farmers. For example, at its establishment, the *teff* produced in the name of social development and stored in a peasant's house was given for the PC members to sow. Due to such government rewards and promises, the members were increasing across years. By 1984, the PCs began to enclose almost all of the Gunaguna Peasants Association. They were very productive. For their efforts of taking the role model for the rest of the PCs in the *wäräda*, the Gunaguna Producers Cooperative was rewarded a tractor from the government in a long years payment in

¹⁶⁴ Informants: Mäleké Bantidär, Asenakāw Alälēñ

work. *Ato* Endaläw Jämbäru and *Ato* Wudu Adamu were respectively main driver and assistant driver of the tractor taking six months of training in Agarfa.¹⁶⁵

Membership in PCs is at free will. Having two oxen and his individually owned land of a peasant is enough. If he had no ox, a specified amount of money 300.00 ETB for one ox was to be paid. If he hadn't any, a peasant is requested to pay being calculated in a dividend at work. Though theoretically membership is at free will, there were indirect pressures from both the government and the PCs forcing the private farmer to join it. The government made favors to the PC members. Indeed, it is to be treason to fail to express the government support to encourage the private farmers. Locally, farmers identified as "very poor" or "የደፀ ደፀ" who are unable to buy ox to plow their plot of land were given an ox whose cost was to be paid in lease agreement. The parameter to decide the very poor is not put in white and black but made mostly in local context. Since the ox was given for only plowing, the government made a serious follow up on the peasants not to sell the ox or slaughter it. To better control it, the ox was specially marked having ear ring as a stamp. But the favors made to the PC members were incomparable. The PC members were allowed to take a large and fertile land if they wished so. In delimiting the boundary of their land, they intentionally outreached to the gates of the private farmers' houses not to have an outlet-ins and outs for working for their cattle and their families. Foreexample, in 1988 the people of Jangäbäya, Yebsana and Gunagunawere presented their grievance to the ministry of the interior of Ethiopian peoples democratic republican government. Their objection was while the three *qäbälés* producer cooperatives demarcate their boundary, incorporate the whole peasants land with out the proclamation of the government. By the situation more than 800 peasants were out of cultivation. But the government bodies neglected peasants protest and continued by force without their willingness.¹⁶⁶(See also appendix VI)

Particularly, after 1986 when the great majority joined the PCs, the private farmers were very much exploited and the exploitation was mainly in utilizing their labor force. They were responsible in helping in the harvesting of the crops of the producers cooperatives. They did this not on a legal ground nor in ignorance but only to their future fate. PCs had their own land to cultivate and pasture to graze for their animals. If a private farmer's cattle ate the crop or the

¹⁶⁵ Informants: Gäbäyaw Alämayähu, Däsalän Yezängaw, Haile Mikael Asäfa.

¹⁶⁶ ENALA, Folder no.17.1.11.13; File no.17.1.11.13.04; Informants: Gäbäyaw Alämayähu and Haile Mikael Asäfa.

pasture land of PCs, then the peasant is requested to pay *Afälama*-money which a private farmer is needed to pay to the PC members for the lost crop or pasture. The peasants' cattle remained detained and made to hunger if the owner doesn't pay the *afälama* or if he is not available. It is for such lean days that the private farmers were forced to serve in the producers' cooperatives.¹⁶⁷

Considering the productivity of the PCs, it is contextual to the specific area. Some like the Gunaguna PC and the PC in Yebsana established respectively in 1980 and 1982, the members made a large scale productivity growing 2 to 3 times a year using irrigation. They produced crops like *teff*, wheat, and bean and vegetables like carrot, beet root, cabbage, onion, garlic, and to sum up, it was from their base in the PC that many individuals transformed themselves economically from not haves to rich men. To the opposite, the APA/PC/ in Aluša-Gäbätema, established in 1986, were not productive and their economy lagged behind the private farmers. It seemed that the members were not from a heartfelt will. They used to plow by the opposite side of the plow, which has never been experienced before. Their threshing floor has never seen a sack to handle and a donkey to carry meaning that they produced too little so that the dividend was made on their cloth */gabi/* and taking home was by their shoulder. It witnessed that by 1989, the agricultural inputs sow and fertilizer exceeded the output¹⁶⁸.

PCs have 3 stages. The elementary level of the PCs is known as *Mälba*. Its requirements for establishment are pooling land for communal holding and members must be known to be inhabitants of that PA. The *Mälba* stage allows a land size of about 2000 m² to be privately owned for construction of individual houses and yard. The stage also allows the draught animals and agricultural implements to be privately owned. The cooperative will pay rent for the owner of those draught animals. The second stage which is also known as the advanced stage of the PCs is *Wälba*. It involves the pooling of all land for communal holding. It needs all draught animals, agricultural implements to be transferred to the cooperative. It only leaves the individually retained land to be about 1000 m². By involving several *wälbas*, the final stage *weland* could be established. It would include individual members of about 2,500 and a land size of 4,000ha.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Informants: Yetbaräk Tamänä and Mäleké Bantidär

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Tariku Degu, "Transformation of Land Tenure and the Role of Peasant Association in Eastern Arsi 1974-1991"(MA Thesis: Addis Ababa University, 2008), p.54.

Though the Gunaguna PC was at a relatively better standard, taking the criteria of a *wälba* stage, it is possible to say that the PC didn't enter in to that stage. My individual informants who were members in the cooperative suggested that it was only their draught animals and agricultural implements which were transferred to the cooperative. They reminded that they were at the stage of being forced to make their cows as the property of the cooperative or an individual has to sell the rest of all animals not to have extra and individually owned domestic animals. “በመጨረሻዎቹ አመታትማ ላሞቻችሁንም አምጡ ወይም ሽጣችሁ አጥፉ ተብለን ነበር።”¹⁷⁰

Whatever the levels or stages they reached, regardless of the differences of their productivity and their exploitation of the private farmers, the PCs began to cease following the introduction of a new economic policy by the government of the *Därg*. The new policy allowed the introduction of a mixed economy. It also allows all peasants to have equal access to farm land. It didn't directly halt the cooperatives but it informed them that they could be perpetuated only on their own plots of land. It gave the legal ground that all land incorporated under producers' cooperatives should be returned to the former holder¹⁷¹. Thus, the PCs began to mushroom. The breaking down of PCs was not of course over night. The members were made in to groups of four. These members were arranged to be on the basis of blood relations or intimacy and consensus. Latter, the four members of the group split them and started to lead the old tradition of private farming. In such a manner the PCs were lost in the last days of the *Därg* rule.s¹⁷²

3.3.2.2. Service cooperatives (SCs)

Among the many agricultural designs which the government of the *Därg* introduced to the rural areas were service cooperatives (SCs). From a wide range of functions of the PAs (in addition to the implementation of the land redistribution), one was to establish the SCs. The SCs were established with the objective of providing valuable services for the peasantry. They are ideal institutions for a local based system of food reserves. Initially, the government set the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission/ RRC/ at the provincial level to indicate early warning information. But, latter the government reached to the conclusion that an early warning system for famine

¹⁷⁰ Informant: Yerdaw Kassa and Yebäleté Yetayäw

¹⁷¹ Getachew Sinshaw, “House hold Access to Farm Land and Socio Economic Statues: The Case of the Wänqa *Qäbälé*, Gozamin *Wäräda*” (MA Thesis in social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies, 2003), p.164.

¹⁷² Informants: Gäbäyaw Alämayähu and Mäleké Bantidär

conditions and natural disasters could be effective if done by involving the peasants themselves for which reason SCs were set. A certain Service Cooperative can consist of about 6 to 8 Peasant Associations. Depending on its topography and size of population, a *wäräda* may have 4 to 6 SCs.¹⁷³

But, Enäbsé sar meder *Wäräda* had by then eight SCs. And each of the SCs were to serve as low as six and as high as nine PAs.

Table 2 the lists of SCs and its member in Enäbsé Sar Meder.

No.	Name of the SC.	Year of establishment	Lists of PAs under each SC.
1	Färäs Méda	1978	Gunaguna, Goräf, Yebsana, Doma, Gänboça, Bét Ṭäbaqi, Egersäbra
2	Qele Méda	1979	Aluša, Šäguat, Anesa, Enäguzi, Jebagäsäna, Yebraza, Aguroc, Çenkur.
3	Anebalay	1978	Dämbäza, Bärlay, Qores, Yäṭäfät, Ezana, Gurib, Känär, Gäsäs, MeṭenaYemaç
4	Zehon Wuha	1978	Yäguç, Enäberé, Debo, Yezema, Enäjärär, Yesaba, Yedog, Gulet, Wänbäreya
5	Šenekurté	1978	Däberämädhanit, Wäreya, Enésa, Zobar, Ameñ, Yemärbunaya, Mäzegäb Yesaba and Yequanda.
6	Sutafé	1977	Bétameder_Boräbor, Därej, Zäman, Jangäbäya, Yäšewa, Laymikael, Zagay, Enäjänbär, Zäwäter
7	Kemer Dengay	1978	Zemtit, Gädäb, Tänetä, Enägäram, Gumär, Getem and Godäfé
8	Wäyen Wuha	1978	Baqélayä, Šola-Wänçär, Gufu-Ṭädema, Däbergomt, Gošedur, Yäqändaç,

¹⁷³Desalegn Rahmato, *Famine and Survival Strategies: A Case Study from North East Ethiopia* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1991), p.221.

Source¹⁷⁴

From the table, it could be deduced that the establishment of the SCs in Enäbsé sar meder *warada* was conducted within three years and further establishment of those SCs was not made latter that may reduce the number of too many PAs being served in the same SC.

The service cooperatives were responsible in giving such population elements like population characteristics in the SC, the geographical distribution of that population, the kind of crops that society is cultivating in that area, the societal food habits, sources of water for agricultural practices including human consumption, and transport accessibilities with due consideration of rural road network, and facilities for stocking food and other emergency supplies.¹⁷⁵

But the major responsibility of the SCs was to provide consumer goods. These include coffee, salt, soap, sugar, match, and oil food. Cloths like polyester, *Aqaqi* and *Combolča* including pillows and blankets were also brought. Cloths were so named probably from the derivation of the area of their production and their material made of. Umbrella and shoes were other items. In addition, farm tools and inputs like sickle and pesticides, insecticides and fertilizers were sold to the peasants. All these items were brought from Däbrä Marqos branch of the Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation (EDDC).¹⁷⁶

They were sold to the peasants in prices relatively lower than the open market. But, this service is provided only to the members. To be a member in SC, 2 ETB for registration and 10 ETB fee for membership is needed. A husband and a wife could be members separately and could enjoy buying at a lower price too. The members are required to show their ID (Identity card). The workers in the institution are peasants elected from among the member PAs. In taking the responsibility of the institution, the peasants showed mixed emotions. Some didn't want to join it fearing the auditing. The others wanted and to be appointed in it, they paid a huge sum of bribe usually selling an ox and may leave unsuccessful. The SCs workers were paid a specified amount of salary. They were paid 2 ETB per each working day. Thus, a worker having two days of working hours in a week is paid 4 ETB.¹⁷⁷ It may not be due to the large amount of money paid

¹⁷⁴ Informants: Asenakāw Aläleñ, Zāwedé Mulualām, Mulaté Täsomä

¹⁷⁵ Desalegn, *Famine and survival strategies*, p.220.

¹⁷⁶ Nurlign Ewunetu, "A History of Enāmāy *Wārāda*:1974-1991", (MA Thesis: Aksum University, 2017), P.64.

¹⁷⁷ Informants: Mäleké Bantidär, Asenakāw Aläleñ and Yersaw Lägässä

as a salary in their working days that some wanted to work in that institutions and pay a large amount of bribe but to prosper themselves in cheating in the institution. Corruption in the SCs was performed in a greater magnitude and there in the *wäräda* there is a consensus that one who worked in the SCs got him rich.¹⁷⁸

This was not hidden of the local people and an attempt was made to expel the corrupt officials. Once the officials in Qelméda SC were identified as corrupt and they were replaced by other new bureaucrats. The new became more corrupt and it's what we say "changing the stove doesn't make the stew any better" and it is only a change from worse to worst, as it could be understood from the verse:

*የቅልሜዳ አገልግሎት እንዴት አማረበት፤
ውሻውን ፈቱና ጅቡን አሰሩበት።¹⁷⁹*
*How Qelméda SC is looking good
Loosen a dog and tied a hyena.*

In return for the items which they bought from the SC, peasants were requested to sell a specified amount of grain in the form of quota. The SC then sold the grain which it bought from the peasants to the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC). The AMC was set in 1976 to buy agricultural produce in the name of regulating home consumption. In between 1978- 1979, the AMC became a key government agency. It tried to regulate domestic trade. At a price very much lower than the market level, prices for agricultural products were set. Through the PAs and SCs the peasants were forced to sell their produce.¹⁸⁰ With a basic objective of providing cheap food to the towns' people and government institutions like schools, hospitals including the army, the AMC forced each peasant to deliver a specified amount of quota grain every year. The price of a grain was to be decided by the AMC bureaucrats mainly in arbitrary way. What brought peasant resentment was that the amount of quota a peasant has to deliver varies across years; usually increasing the price rate of their produce is kept constant.¹⁸¹

In local context in Enäbsé Sar Meder, there was an attempt to classify peasants as 'Rich, Medium Rich and Poor.' Based on this labelling, the peasants were requested to sell a specified amount of

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Informants: Yohannes Ejigu, Abäbä Mäkonnen

¹⁸⁰ Tariku, p.62., Informant: Mäleké Bantidär

¹⁸¹ Desalegn, *famine and survival strategies in Ethiopia*, pp.94-95.

grain to the AMC through their respective PAs and SCs. Accordingly, once for example a Rich was requested a grain amount of quota accounting eight quintals while the Medium and the poor were respectively requested to sell four and two quintals. The peasants were, however, very disappointed by the specified amount of the price which is set by the AMC. A considerable gap between the prices in the SCs and the open market began to be seriously recognized. This problem became significant in the period of the 1984/85 famine. Due to the spread of famine conditions and Wällo immigrants in Enäbsé Sar Meder the price of grain was inflated having a huge increase in the market. The peasants didn't want to fulfill the required amount of grain quota. Thus, the surplus producing peasants conveyed their reluctance to sell to the SCs in the disguise that they don't have grain.¹⁸²

At this critical time, the PA leaders devised a mechanism. Committee was organized and started to round in every peasant's house. By looking at the grain in the *Gotära* of the individual peasant, the committee decided the amount of the grain quota which the peasants are needed to sell to the SCs. Nonetheless, the peasants preferred to sell in the market in a better price. In the period of the 1984/85 famine, there were door to door merchants for whom peasants prefer to sell. The Enäbsé Sar Meder peasants also made journeys involving crossing different PAs and even their *wäräda* where there are better market prices. The areas very close to Enäbsé Sar Meder were preferred as better market centers, for the famine conditions and starvation is coming from that direction from Wällo. But those peasants and merchants obtained guilty of buying and selling grain out of the SCs were considered as criminals and their crop was confiscated. The merchants were requested to show their license and if failed, without trial their properties were taken. The peasants if obtained having grain in a market will their crop be owned by the nearby SCs.¹⁸³

Generally, the AMC, through the peasant Associations and SCs was an exploitative rural government agent with an insatiable appetite by which the peasants were unclear about where the collected amount of grain was to reach and forced them to paradoxically express it as a “government institution set to rob the poor to feed the rich.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Informants: Mäleké Bantidär, Aseneq Yerdaw, Gäbäyaw Alämayähu

¹⁸³ Informants: Mulaté Täšomä, Yetbaräk Tamänä.

¹⁸⁴ Desalegn, *Famine and Survival Strategies in Ethiopia*pp.94-95.

3.3.3 Villagization

Därg planned to collect the scattered settlement in rural areas. To begin villagization program the regime prepared guidelines that contains criteria of the site selection to set up villages and organized committees. The program was directed by a national villagization coordinating committee and bodies of similar structure were setup at the levels from *Keflä hagär* to *wäräda* peasant associations. Based on this structure, Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* peasant association emphasized that new settlement sites had to be in area which were closer to water sources and near fertile land. Moreover, the selection of sites should also take into considerations the overall documents in the future. In this regard, population development, construction of houses with toilets and kitchens, government offices and public institutions listed in the guidelines.¹⁸⁵

Then, the villagization program was scheduled to be launched in 1985 in Enäbsé Sar Meder. At the beginning of the program, the peasants' interests were not taken into consideration. The programme simply directed by the top officials to the provinces and *wärädas*. This kind of measurement raised oppositions among the peasants. Peasants refused to leave their former settlements. Then officials created awareness the aim of villagization in each *qäbälé* of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. The aim of villagization was to collect the rural inhabitants in a village so as to provide school, water supply and Clinic service and road infrastructures. However, the opposition of villagization program continued in most areas of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* in particular and Gojjam in general. At the end, the government used forceful actions to settle in a particular area.¹⁸⁶(See also appendix VII)

Because of this opposition, the *wäräda* surrounded by undulations of Abay gorge and highland areas of mount Abba Mäniwos. There were smaller numbers of *qäbälés* planned for villagization as compare as the lowland neighboring *wärädas*. Forexample, for Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* 23 *qäbälés*, for Enarj Enawga 26, for Gonca Siso Enäse 28 *qäbälés* and for Hulät Eju Enäse 34 *qäbälés* had given for settlement program. Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* planned 1311 straw houses and 1330 corrugated iron houses total capacity 2641 houses in 1985. However, in 10 *qäbälés*, 1311 straw huts (houses) and 1330 corrugated iron houses total capacity 2641 were constructed. The constructed houses took 100% of planned figure. When we compare to the implemented

¹⁸⁵Informants: Mulaté Täsomä, Mäleké Bantidär

¹⁸⁶Andargachew, p. 320.; HAACDMU: Folder no.55, File no. *oo/oo-132*

program from other areas, they were successful. To this end, *wäräda* and province officials continued the villagization program up to 1991.¹⁸⁷

In Enäbsé Sar Meder, the displacement of peasants from previous settlements was a disadvantage. One was economically that means, the alienation of peasants from their previous settlements affected the income they used to earn from the extra land available in the surrounding of their residence. The other was theft increased. Besides these the village residents were easily exposed to communicable disease.¹⁸⁸

3.4. Military conscription in Enäbsé Sar Meder from 1976- 1990

The government of the *Därg* and its seventeen years of reign were characterized by political upheavals, foreign invasion and insurgent activities. The initial weakness of the *Därg* and its disorganization immediately to its coming to power, and its preoccupation with the more serious problems posed by the urban dissidents brought the Eritrean rebellion and Somali invasion. This in turn provided the fleeing of the TPLF/Tigray People's Liberation Front/ with the opportunity of establishing itself.¹⁸⁹ Since 1976, Eritrean and northern insurrection became a serious threat to the wellbeing of the government and till its total down fall in 1991; the government has fought a protracted war. With a plan of marching the peasants to the north, the Ethiopian armed force started a mass conscription beginning from 1976. To raise the number of recruits of the peasant militia who could march to the north, the government was forced to issue the call of the mother land, in Amharic *Yäenat hagär ṭri*.¹⁹⁰

The northern insurrection was then intervened by a foreign invasion of Ethiopia by Somalia. The Somali invasion of Ethiopia by 1977, brought a number of simultaneous military changes to occur which heralded a significant break with the past. These changes include the breaking down of the relationship Ethiopia had with US and the immediate return of the former to the USSR, the massive enlargement and re-equipment of the Red terror, and the undisputed ascendancy of Colonel Mängistu Hailä Mariam.¹⁹¹ Thus, to better calm down the insurgents and suppress the

¹⁸⁷HAAC DMU: Folder no. 55; File no. *oo/oo-132*.

¹⁸⁸Informants: Däsaläh Yezängaw, Märeša Gété

¹⁸⁹John Young, "Peasants and Revolution in Ethiopia Tigray (1975-1989)" (PHD Dissertation in the Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University, 1994), p.393.

¹⁹⁰An African Watch Report, p.288.

¹⁹¹*Ibid*, p.10.

Somali foreign invader, each Peasant Association and UDA were given a quota of recruits which it had to provide.¹⁹²

In the initial years of the Somali invasion, there became a necessity to scale up the number of the military for defense. During this time, probably because our people didn't compromise in the issue of losing even an inch of his motherland, and probably because the largest number of recruits were from the Oromo agriculturalists who benefited from the land reform, the conscription in Enäbsé sar meder was not in a manner of force, but a little sort of will. People were by themselves trying to boost their fighting moral by their own local couplets implying that the war between Ethiopia and Somalia is a war between unequals saying:

*እሳት ቢያንቀላፋ ገለባ ጎበኘው፤
የመንግስቱን ሃገር ሶማሊ ተመኘው።¹⁹³
While a fire slept, a fodder visited it
The country of Mängistu coveted by Somalia*

Mobilizing thousands of peasant militia, together with the support of Yemen, Cuba and USSR, the force of Somalia was broken and Ethiopia defended itself. The local people early predicted that it was Ethiopia which would win the war and they were not surprised as could be understood from the verse that reads;

*የማይሆንላትን ሶማሊ ሸፍታ፤
ታንኩዋን አስወሰደች ከጉዋሮ ተኝታ።¹⁹⁴
Somalia became banditary beyond its capacity,
Its tanks were taken by enemy while sleeping in the yard.*

After crushing the Somali invaders, the government of the *Därg* preoccupied itself in surpassing the insurgent groups. The responsibility of suppressing those insurgents became the activity of the *Därg* now and then, a year and after throughout its reign. When an insurgent is surpassed in the north another insurgency will appear in the south and south eastern section of the country. This made conscription of a fighting force to be the continuing task of the governments respectively through its rural and urban agents called PAs and UDAs. By 1983, when the insurgent groups began to be out of government control, the government introduced the so called the national military service formalized by the National Military Service Proclamation of May

¹⁹²Ibid, p.287.

¹⁹³Informants: Abä Kābābāw, Gābāyaw Alāmayāhu and Mulaté Täšomä

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

1983. The plan was made before two years in 1981 with the aim of organizing the entire working people into a national military service and civil defense. The proclamation was announced in 1983 when the insurgents particularly the EPLF began to have a strong hold in the province of Eritrea.¹⁹⁵

The proclamation made the proposal of conscripting the young and the adults in between the ages 18 and 30. The attempt to fill the quota by volunteers now became unthinkable. One of the worst duties of the PA leaders was seen after 1983. They were told and intimidated to fill the quota or else themselves will join the army. In filling the quota of the conscripts, the PA leaders used a number of methods of conscription. The first thing was to bring the volunteers on unreliable government promises. The other thing and the widely used were to use the pre text of a lottery system. But drawing a lottery was only a cover and it is sons of the poor, the employees or vassals, the weak and those who didn't have relatives from among the government officials at different levels who were forced to join the army. Those young and adults belonging to the rich and the authoritarian members were either left from conscription or released from different gates. A peasant having his son and a vassal, the later was recruited in exchange of his son.¹⁹⁶

The PA leaders made a number of attempts not to recruit their sons and relatives. One is by informing those relatives to be hidden for some time. A certain PA leader may recruit the young from his respective boundary and paradoxically he could serve as a place of shelter for hiding of his relatives from other PAs. Another thing the PA leaders could do for their relatives is by telling the families to bring money for bribing. The money given in the form of a bribe may help to release the recruits from their journey to the *wäräda* or from their tentative camps and from the medical examination in the pretext of labelling them as physically unfit. The corruption performed both at the PA, UDA or *wäräda* and *Awraja* levels is what a child could be ashamed of doing it. In the disguise of a lottery drawing, a certain family may face the chance of losing two or three sons while to the opposite a family having four or five sons contributed not even one. It is money which rotates the turbine. Thus, the economically incapable were forced to pay

¹⁹⁵An African Watch Report, p.289. Informant, Mäleké Bantidär

¹⁹⁶*Ibid*, Informants: Mäleké Bantidär, Yetbaräk Tamänä and Kassahun Aseräs

an amount that could not be compensated in money.¹⁹⁷ They taxed their sons and it is this situation that forced the researcher to say the poor taxed a lot.

Cruelty, selfishness, bribery nature of the PA leaders was not indeed common to all. There were exceptional. Foreexample, chairman of Yedära-Egersäbra *Ato* Negaté Tägäñä was not willing to recruit sons of the poor in his locality and recruited his own son Bayu Negaté and by the situation he divorced from his wife. The rest made corruption their close and conscription was unfair. This resulted in the psychological failure up on the poor, the weak and those who didn't have relatives from the officials. The weak parents lost their productive forces and they were economically deteriorated.¹⁹⁸

Conscription was again more intensified following the ascendancy of the TPLF and other insurgent groups in 1988 and onwards. With the slogan of “everything to the war front” conscription was to be undertaken in six rounds.¹⁹⁹ As a result of this slogan, the pattern and method of conscription was totally changed. A new method of conscription known locally as *afäsa*/sweeping out/press-ganging was launched. Party cadres and member of the police force would roam the country side along the streets and market places, picking up any individual or rounding up any group coming across. *Afäsa* was to be undertaken at any time and place where young sons or adults were available. Because *afäsa* involves taking individuals or groups from anywhere, the targeted age groups between 18-30 and in the later years beyond this age, the sons left home and were forced to spend difficult nights out of home. They were taken from the markets, the churches, the funeral, the working place like in the farmland, the threshing floor, and even from schools.²⁰⁰

Furthermore, the other area of press-ganging was the local holidays like epiphany, New Year, *yä Şäbäl mahbär*, and during visiting relatives. The press-ganging was put in to practice by taking those individuals from wedding ceremonies and the member of the groom's men. By the last

¹⁹⁷ Informants: Mäleké Bantidär and Däsalän Yezängaw

¹⁹⁸ Informant: Asenek Yerdaw

¹⁹⁹ An African Watch report.P.290.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, Informants: Mäleké Bantidär, Märäsa Gété and Yerdaw Kassa

years of the government of the *Därg*, a sign of terror was spread to the *wäräda* and the young and the adults were ready to escape and reached consensus to join with TPLF against *Därg*.²⁰¹

By the time when an *afäsa* was to be taken, the targeted individuals made a number of alternatives. The first of this was to run away, and when this failed the second is harming themselves physically. In one occasion an individual was encircled by the party cadres and the police force. He knew that it was impossible for him to escape running. What he did was to pick up a stone and with it to break his tooth for the reason that he will not pass the medical examination to be labelling as physically unfit. In between 1989-1991, the magnitude of *afäsa* was increased unusually and members of a family including brothers, cousins, and friends were taken in mass. The full reign of the *Därg* in general and its last years in particular were times when a mother giving birth of a son was considered herself as to be cursed. Nothing was worse than being a mother of a son as it could be seen from the following couplets:

*የወንድ ልጅ እናት ታጠቁ በገመድ፤
አሞራ ነው እንጅ አይቀብረውም ዘመድ።።
የወንድ ልጅ እናት ሙች ይሻልሻል፤
አሞራው በላልሽ በለው ይነግሩሻል።²⁰²*
*A mother of a son should fasten your waist with a rope
Not buried by relatives but eaten by avulture.
A mother of a son should die
They told your son eaten by vulture*

The conscripts were vulnerable for different sufferings. Some harm themselves physically. Some others tried to change their natural identity. A male tried to resemble a female by wearing a dress. Spending difficult nights sleeping out of home like under or over a tree, in a threshing floor, and so on became common. Those who didn't escape and conscripted will taste the more bitter aspect of life's hardships. Till the number of quota could be achieved, the conscripts spent days, a minimum of 4/5 days, in tentative camps. It was Zehoh Wuha Service Cooperative which took this responsibility. In the tentative camp the conscripts slept on the floor with no blanket. The food to be consumed was not supplied by government expenditure but by the families

²⁰¹Informants:Asenek Yerdawand *Mägabi* Täsomä Enäyāw

²⁰²African Watch Report, p.299, Informant: Mäleké Bantidär

themselves. During the days of press ganging the conscripts might be taken without the awareness of the families and food may not be brought. Hunger became common.²⁰³

Together with their deep rooted sorrow, the families, usually wives and mothers, were busy in transporting food for their conscripted family members, taking as long as about nine hours in the absence of modern means of transportation. In reaching the tentative camp a mother crying was not allowed to see her child nor to exchange ideas, and if attempted they could be tortured or detained in extreme case. The conscripts made any of the possible measures that could enable them to escape. Only few were successful in falling from a truck during a journey. Very few were lucky to fail the medical examination. Some others were lucky to escape during a toilet. In the last days of the *Därg's* reign, the information about the conscripts whether died, alive or taken as a war captive were totally lost. This action led some of them to join the TPLF by opposing *Därg*. For this reason the *Därg* government bombarded the town of Märtulä Mariam in 1986 for the second time. The government oppressive conscription continued and the people of Enäbsé particularly *Yäqāndač qābälé* openly struggled and government force destroyed the area by using BM and Mortarin 1990.²⁰⁴

Almost all of the mass peasantry was very much affected by the issue of war and conscription. Few of them lost two or three members of their families. Wives were reduced to a status of a widow. Children were left without a caring father. The rest of the whole community were forced to contribute a share of expenditure and labor force to help the families of the conscript based on the government guidelines passed by August 6, 1980. In doing so, the conscript's standard of living was considered. If a conscript is young and unmarried, it was the parents to whom the assistance went. If the conscript is a married one, the community support was given to his wife and children. The community's burden in helping the families of a conscript depended on the number of the campaigners in their respective PAs. If, for instance, the number of campaigners in a certain PA is five, the whole community was divided in to five groups and they were to assist those families in geographic proximity.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Informant: Asenek Yerdaw, Däsälän Yezängaw and Zäwedé Mulualäm

²⁰⁴ Informants: Kassahun Aseräs and Asenakäw Aläleñ

²⁰⁵ Informants: Yebälté Yetayäw and Yersaw Lägässä

The kind of community assistance still depends on the standard of living of a campaigner's family. If economically weak, and in deficiency of a labor force, the community should contribute a specified amount of food grain, and labor service could be given from sowing to harvesting of the family's land. In sowing the land, the community might be requested to fulfill all the agricultural implements. But on the other hand if the families of a campaigner were in a better economic standard, the community was only required to give a labor service. However, the kind of assistance may not be given to the concerned bodies at the right time and in a satisfying manner.²⁰⁶

3.5. Failure and Opposition of Därg

Apart from the above successes, the *Därg* government coincided with many challenges from Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* people. As discussed earlier, in Enäbsé Sar Meder and neighboring districts peasant uprisings were appeared. In this uprising in related to land reform many people were killed. The robbing of Märtulä Mariam was one of them. Märtulä Mariam town dwellers were stolen by rural rebels of Enämay and Ṭelat gen. During the upheaval not only Enäbsé Sar Meder capital Märtulä Mariam but also other areas like Gonca Siso Enäse and Fälägä Birhan were damaged. For example Gonca Siso Enäse treasury was smashed with a hammer and stolen unknown money. When the elderly who held keys of treasury in Enarg Enawga district escapes from thieves, the rebels shook off the tragedy and later stolen more than 200,000 birr from Märtulä Mariam.²⁰⁷

In Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* and other areas were associated with the change in preventing the plundering of churches. During in the first period of *Därg*, there was a high level of theft in district of Enäbsé *qäbälés*. In 1976 Dämbäza primary school and Märtulä Mariam and Dämbäza clinics were robbed by bandits. Government officials had seen this theft in political perspectives.²⁰⁸

Other challenges came from members of EPRP. They stood against the *Därg* by agitating forceful recruitment of youngster's intervention of the government in fixing the price peasant's produce and so on. But, the opposition of EPRP was stopped after the red Terror decree. Again, the

²⁰⁶*Ibid.*

²⁰⁷Informants: Gété Kābādā, Dañā Kassa and Tārāfā Alāmu

²⁰⁸HAACDMU: Folder No.203, File No. *ፀፀ/ፀፀ-114*

government established the Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA) and the Revolutionary Ethiopian Womens Association (REWA). These association helped the government to control productive citizens. A student who was not a member of these associations was subject to revolutionary action. Membership in REYA was one of the criteria for employment in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. There was REYA leadership at every level of recruitment. The first REYA annual festival celebrated in its capital, Märṭulä Mariam from August 30, up to September 4, 1981.²⁰⁹

The following were the main factors that made the *Därg* hated in the rural population. Those were the allocation of quota and villigazation. During villigation program, peasants had abandoned to their garden and moved to a new location. Another was “green campaign.” In this campaign, many farmers of Enäbsé Sar Meder forced to move to Humära during the growing season. They went there to work and died because of malaria.²¹⁰

In connection with the *quota*, Enäbsé Sar Meder farmers complained bitterly and opposed the cooperatives of manufactures. Very strong farmers would like to still a large quantity of cereals. The allocation of quota on members of peasant associations and service cooperatives were not fair. And again, their products sold in fixed prices. In Enäbsé Sar Meder 100 kg of *teff* sold by not more than 40 birr to SC shops. Farmers forced to sell 200kg to 800 kg of *teff* in a year, so, the community opposed *quota* system in the following poem.

*አርሰን አሰሰልሰን ብንዘራው ነጭ
በመኪና ወስዶ በላው ተቀማጭ።²¹¹
Plough soften and sown white
Taken by car eaten by seat oneself*

Peasants, who had not cereals and did not deliver the quota timely imprisoned by PA leader, As a result, they sold their cattle in low price or borrowed money with interest and bought crops from market to sell to SC. Then the peasants of Enäbsé Sar Meder failed to supply milk to their children and lacked butter as before.²¹²

²⁰⁹ Informant: Mäleké Bantidär and Yetbaräk Tamänä

²¹⁰ Informants: Täsomä Şähay and Mäleké Bantidär

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Informant: Mäleké Bantidär

The fourth and the most challenged situation of *Därg* government both in rural and urban center of Enäbsé Sar Medser was the 1983 national military service or recruitment proclamation. All the above reforms or policies like recruitment, villagization, and producers' cooperation and so on had some factors to hate the *Därg* government.²¹³

²¹³Aman Walle, "A Socio Economic Conditions of Peasants in Gonéa Siso Enäsé *Wäräda*, 1974-1991" (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University, 2018), p.68.; Informants: Yersaw Lägässä, Yerdaw Kassa

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ENÄBSĚ SAR MEDER *WÄRÄDA*: 1941-1991

4.1 Urban Development

In Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*, there were some of the earliest towns or places of kingship and religious centers. Such as: Märṭulä mariam and Dehinbo. There was not known exactly when Märṭulä Mariam and Dehinbo towns were founded. However, it was a common consensus about Märṭulä Mariam and Dehinbo towns. During in the period of Axumite and early Gondarine, Märṭulä Mariam was the religious centers of Gojjam governors. In the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century a number of local capitals were established by independent provincial rulers. Among them Märṭulä Mariam and Mängesto were the most important towns in Gojjam. In the late nineteenth century, Moṭa and Bičäna were the major markets for cereals, cloth, cattle and horses.²¹⁴

4.1.1 Märṭulä Mariam Town

Märṭulä Mariam town is located about 365km from Addis Ababa, 180 km from Bahir Dar and 197 km from Debre Markos. It is situated at the north western end of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. Its name was given both for the monastery and town by *Abunä Sälama (Käsaté Birhan)* in 341 A.D. The foundation period of Märṭulä Mariam town is not clearly known, but we can reach common consensus that the introduction of Christianity in the area and the inauguration of new temple as its foundation period.

During Emperor Haile Selassie, *Ras Hailu Tekelä Haimanot* built temporary palaces in different parts of Gojjam for the sake of collecting tribute. Märṭulä Mariam town was one of *Ras Hailu's* temporary centers by building his palace and until now the ruins of the palace exists and the people called as *Yä Ras Hailu Geneb*.²¹⁵

²¹⁴Informants: *Re'ese Re'usan Aba Hailäyäsus G/Mariam and Täräfä Alämu*

²¹⁵Nurlign, p.62. Informants: *Alä Kassa and Mägabi Ayeçäw Mäkonnen*.

It became the center of administration in the first half of 20th century by the head of *meselänés*. The people began to move the center to get administration purpose and introduce milling and shops to the area. Following the development of population, the people of Märṭulä Mariam town under *Ato Talä* requested the government to become Märṭulä Mariam as municipal center. The government approved Märṭulä Mariam as municipal center in 1946 by assigning *Ato Talä* as head of municipality. At the same time by the administrative proclamation of 1946, *meselänés* was grown as *wäräda* and Märṭulä Mariam town became center of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*.²¹⁶

The establishment of Märṭulä Mariam primary school in 1949 and Märṭulä Mariam clinic in 1970 strengthened the development of Märṭulä Mariam town. In 1978 the town was delimited its boundary by *Ato Birhanu Täräfä* and laid down its first master plan. The road constructed by loosely gravel from Gendä Wäyen to Märṭulä Mariam completed in 1982 and the first public transport car (*Lončina*) arrived Märṭulä Mariam town on 26, April 1982. From this period of time Märṭulä Mariam's infrastructures expanded.²¹⁷

4.1.2. Dibo Town

Dibo town is located about 16km to the east of Märṭulä Mariam town between Märṭulä Mariam and Abay gorge. It is situated at the eastern end of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*. Its name derived from the *Ge'ez* word "Dehinbo", which means *Dehenät Honä* (cure from disease). While the Aksumite twin kings Abereha and Aṣebeha and *Abunä Sälama* arrived in Enäbsé sar meder particularly at Dibo people who faced disease automatically cured and they called *Dehenät Honä* (Dehinbo).²¹⁸

The foundation period of Dibo town is not clearly known, but we can reach common consensus that Emperor Haile Selassie's administrative proclamations of 1942 *wärädas* were divided into *meketel wärädas*. By the 1942 administrative proclamation Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* was subdivided into two *meketel wärädas* and one Church administrative office. At that time Sar Meder *meketel* and *Wäreya meketel* administrators seat was in Märṭulä Mariam, but Enäbré *meketel*

²¹⁶Informants: *Ato Andarg Hailé, Mägabi Ayeçäw Mäkonnen*.

²¹⁷Informants: *Kassahun Aseräs, Andarg Hailé and Yeresaw Mälaku*.

²¹⁸Informant: *Aba Kidanä Mariam Näço*

administrator seats was at Dibo Kidanä Meherät. This indicates that before the 1942 administrative proclamation Dibo town was established.²¹⁹

The foundation of Dibo primary school in 1955 was pivotal cause for the development of Dibo town. Afterwards, shops service and milling introduced in the town. During Derg period Dibo leprosy treatment center was grown into clinic. These situations were strengthened for the increment of population and the development of Dibo town.²²⁰

4.2.Social Services

4.2.1. Educational Services

Religious institution had an important role in the development of modern education in Ethiopia. Especially the traditional educational system Orthodox *Tawahido* Churches and Monastries like the *nebab bét* (the Ethiopic syllabary), *zema bét*(liturgy)and *qene bét* (the composition and interpretation of poetry) helped this modern education development. And at the beginning the teachers for modern education arose from Church intellectuals. As of May 1969, there were 82 government schools, from which 13 were traditional schools of *kené* and *Zéma* financed by the government. Märṭulä Mariam monastery school of *qené* and *zéma* was one of the 13 financed from the government for their contribution of the country and in some extent modern school.²²¹(Seealso appendix VII)

Märṭulä Mariam Primary School in Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* founded in 1942 E.C from grade 1-3 with 26 students. The first teachers were *Geragéta* Yerdaw Mäkonnen, *Ato* Ejegu Samuel and *Ato* Mähari Berhanu. The director was *Geragéta* Yerdaw Mäkonnen. In the period of Haile Selassie four schools were built. From these two of them Däberä Mädehanit primary school and Däm Bäza primary school constructed by the money donated from the people of *qäbälé* and non governmental body Swedish International Development Agency SIDA). SIDA played a significant role in constructing schools mainly elementary schools when the government faced financial constraint in the 1960s and 1970s. These schools were designed by the Swedish aid Elementray School Building Unity (ESBU) project. For example, Däberä Mädehanit School was once again constructed by the contribution of the people of the area and SIDA. The school took

²¹⁹Nebeyu, pp.47-48.; HAACDMU: Folder.No.19, File No.52-112.

²²⁰Informants: *Aba* Kidanä Mariam Näço and *Mägabi* Täsomä Enäyāw

²²¹ HAADMU, Folder No. 123; File No. *ፀፀ/ፀፀ-9*

more than 40,000 birr to build it. More than, 20,525 birr collected from the public. The money was supposed to be poor, middle class and rich. In this project, *Ato Asefaw Hailemariam* was represented from education minister and *Ospland* was signed the agreement on behalf of Sweden. Those schools were differing from the current ones by their strength. These two schools are still in a good condition and their amazing thing was using of toilets for half of a century without any problem.²²²(See also appendix VIII)

Därg contributed greatly to the expansion of modern education in *Enäbsé Sar Meder wäräda*. To do so, in April 1976, the government recruited **ደጎማ** (helpers of the main teachers) students who had completed grade twelve as a teacher. The training took 20 days and their monthly salary was 87 birr. Then 20 *Degoma* teachers were assigned to *Moጥጥa* sub province. At that time, the monthly salary of regular teachers was 250birr. Students of *Enäbsé sar meder wäräda* after they took grade six ministry examination went to *Debre Markos* and *Moጥጥa* because of the absence of junior secondary school in the *wäräda*. For these reasons, most students withdrew from education and joined to farming activity. To solve the problem the people of *Märtulä Mariam* by contributing money constructed two blocks in 1977 and requested *Moጥጥa Awraja* educational office to assign teachers and text books to begin next year. But, *Gojjam* province educational office was not volunteer because of small number of students who promoted from grade six and finally grade seven opened in 1979.²²³(See also appendix IX)

Afterwards, *Enäbsé sar meder wäräda* students after completing grade eight went to *Debre Markos* and *Moጥጥa* to join high school. Like that of before the people of *Enäbsé* contributed money and built five blocks from mud and wood on 125,000m² land in 1984 which started educational service in 1985 by naming *Abereha wo Aṣebeha High School*. *Abereha wo Aṣebeha High School* is the first high school in *Enäbsé Sar Meder wäräda*. It was founded in 1985. Its teaching started at *Abereha Wo Aṣebeha primary School* by two sections of grade 9. The first principal was *Kassa Gäda*. In total, there were 12 regular and *Degoma* teachers. In 1987, the eleventh grade began teaching in its new building. In 1988, the school tested the grade twelve for

²²²HAACDMU; Folder No. 203, File No. 00/00-113, Informants: *Täräfa Alämu* and *Yersaw Lägässa*.

²²³*Ibid.* Informants: *Däräsä Ṣägaw*, *Kassa Gäda*

the first time. Some of these students include Ṭebābu Nāgaś, Eregāṭé Andargé, and Asāfa Ayaléw and so on.²²⁴

Table 3 Schools establishment in the imperial and Dārg regime with their distance from Märtulā Mariam town.

No	Established in the Imperial regime			Established in the Dārg regime			
	Name of school	Year	Distance	No	Name of schools	Year	Distance
1	Märtulā Mariam primary school	1949	0km	1	Šāguat primary school	1977	6km
2	Dibo primary school	1950	12km	2	Gunaguna primary school	1977	7km
3	Dāmbāza primary school	1973	25km	3	Ezana primary school	1977	45km
4	D/Mādhanit primary school	1972	25km	4	Zemtit primary school	1978	18km
				5	Baqélayā primary school	1979	5km
				6	Yebsana primary school	1979	7km
				7	Anessa primary school	1979	8km
				8	Enājāmebār primary school	1979	12km
				9	Enāguzi primary school	1982	11km
				10	Yāšewa primary school	1982	7km
				11	Enéssa primary school	1982	30km
				12	Dāreje primary school	1983	5km
				13	Yāqāndač primary school	1983	14km
				14	Enābré primary school	1983	20km
				15	Aberha wo Ašebāha secondary school	1984	0km
				16	Aluša primary school	1985	2km
				17	Yezema primary school	1985	16km
				18	Jangābāya primary school	1987	6km
				19	Tāneta primary school	1988	28km

²²⁴Informant: Kassa Gäda

			20	Bärlay primary school	1990	22km
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Source: Educationall office of Enäbsé Sar Meder, “Basic information of Enäbsé”, 2011, p. 4.

4.2.2. Health Servies

Imperial government expanded health institutions based on the public health proclamation issued in 1947. Around 1956/57 after the Gondar health college was established, the students of this college gave medical services in the form of campaign in different hospital and clinics. Side by side the health institution building continued up to 1966. In 1966, there were three hospitals, 20 health stations, seven of which treated leprosy and five health centers.²²⁵

In Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda*, leprosy treatment centers were established. Its center was Märtulä Mariam town. Dénca Dänébo was head of leprosy treatment centre in the district of Enäbsé Sar Meder. The workers were Ayänāw and Déneca Dänébo. Around 1964 weekly leprosy control service program in each treatment center developed from Märtulä Mariam town to Enäbsé sub district. In 1965, Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* served by 5 treatment centers for leprosy and by 2 health workers authorized by the ministry of public health. From these Dibo, Däbrä Mädehanit, Däm Bäza, Enägäse and Märtulä Mariam town were Enäbsé’s treatment centers for leprosy. In the sub provinceof Moṭṭa, approximately 1500 leprosy patients were in treatment. In this sub district, the security program was done once a weak in each treatment center.²²⁶

In 1963 the people of Enäbsé sar meder attacked by small pox, Typhus and malaria. The leprosy treatment workers were not well trained rather they served by experience and unable to protect the epidemics in the *wäräda*. Debre Markos health center office tried to treat the people of Enäbsé by sending one health professional from Debre Markos one time and from Moṭṭa another time. Finally, when Emperor Haile selassie come to Märtulä Mariam in 1969 to pacify peasant rebellion in the *wäräda* put the cornor stone of the clinic and in 1970 built by the finance of SIDA Seweden non governmental organization. In 1971 and 1973 two clinics in Däberä Mädehanit and Dämebäza built by the same NGO respectively. But, because of the 1976/77

²²⁵Nebeyu, pp.128-129.

²²⁶Informants: Ato Andarg Haile and Mägabi Ayeçaw Mäkonnen

political unrest in the *wäräda*, Märtulä Mariam and Dämebäza clinics were robbed by bandits and their service was temporarily interrupted.²²⁷(See also appendix X)

4.2.3. Water Supply, Electricity and Banking

Like other facilities, water, electric and banking supplies in the *wäräda* were insufficient during the period under discussion. Potable water supply was almost non accessible in the *wäräda*. People in the towns of Märtulä Mariam and Dibo and the rural areas used rivers and streams for drinking and other purposes during the period under study. Due to inavailability of perennial rivers and streams in and around Märtulä Mariam, the town dwellers and rural people were obliged to wait for many hours queuing to get water. Tapwater supply was introduced into Märtulä Mariam town people in 1985. Märtulä Mariam people got this service from Šolla spring by filtering it.²²⁸

Similarly, electric supply to the *wäräda* was also non existence. In 1976 under the head of Lieutenant Colonel Zäläkä Bāyānā member of provisional military administrative council established committee which had 16 members. The committee made work visit in Gojjam province and select rural towns to spread electric. From which towns Märtulä Mariam was one that waited queue to get electric. But, there was no sustainable electric supply in the *wäräda* town until 2007. It was in 1987 one generator began to give service to Märtulä Mariam monastery which donated by Gärāmāw Däbällé. In relation to banking, there was no banking service in the *wäräda* during the period under study.²²⁹(See also appendix XI)

4.3. Transportation and Communication

4.3.1. Road

Road services started in Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* especially in Märtulä Mariam town during the Därg period. Gojjam had no roads in the modern sense until the 1930s. The first motor car was brought into the province in 1934. In the early 1970s the improved road had gone only as far as Bičäna. In modern sense, the road started to build from Dājān to Bičäna by Bārta construction in 1950s. This road prolonged upto Moṭṭa and ended in 1980. The road constructed by loosely

²²⁷HAACDMU: Folder No. 203, File No. 00/00-114; Folder No. 309, File No. 00/517

²²⁸Informants: Andard Haile, Yersaw Mälaku

²²⁹Informants: Kassahun Aseres and Andarg Hailé; NALA: Folder No.17.1.11.22 , File No.17.1.11.22.02

gravel from Gendä Wäyen to Märṭulä Mariam completed in 1982 and the first public transport car (Lonćina) arrived Märṭulä Mariam town on 26, April 1982.²³⁰

4.3.2. Telecommunication and Postal Service

Other infrastructures like postal service started in 1974 and built a house or office in Enäbsé *wäräda* capital, Märṭulä Mariam. Telephone service began in 1981. The first telephone house was made of playwood and was portable. Some people of Märṭulä Mariam town became telephone users around in 1984 and thanked the government for this service.²³¹

4.4. Religions

4.4.1. Christianity

In Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* both Christianity and Islamic followers exercised their religion. But in the *wäräda* the ancient and medieval emperors and their wives had established, visited and repaired the monastery of Märṭulä Mariam and other Churches. The Monastery of Märṭulä Mariam burnt by Yodit Gudit in 850 A.D. When, Märṭulä Mariam monastery was burnt by Yodit Gudit (locally *Esato*) Märṭulä Mariam town destroyed by fire. After Yodit in different periods Märṭulä Mariam town destroyed by fire eight times. The reason, which houses faced fire frequently was their roofs covered by grass and they were overcrowded. As a result, while a house faced fire, the whole houses became destroyed. Because of Märṭulä Mariam frequently attacked by fire, the area is full of ash. Then people began to build their houses with stone and ash using as mortar and the roof covered by wood and mud which locally called *Esatä Källa* to protect from fire.²³²

After Yodit 40 years of rule she died and the son of king Degnazhän, Anebäsa Wudem became Emperor of Aksumite kingdom. He unable to repair the damaged temple and instead built a small Church or Monastery of Märṭulä Mariam near the ruins of Abreha Wo Ašebeha in 900 A.D. In the 14th century Dawit I improved the building of the church and in the last quarter of 15th century *Ašé Bädä Mariam* also renewed Märṭulä Mariam. In the late 15th century Queen Elleni

²³⁰Informants: Andarg Hailé and Alä Kassa; NALA: Folder No. 17.1.11.02; File No. 17.1.11.02.01

²³¹Informants: Kassahun Aseres and Andarg Hailé.

²³²Informants: *Re'ese Re'usan Aba* Hailäyäsus G/Mariam and *Qésägäbüz* Kassé Qälämwork.

retired from power and she spent the rest of her life in Märtulä Mariam Monastery by building the fence of the hill top also called *Elleni Wudemo* and died in 1522.²³³

There were also Gojjam provincial leaders whose homeland in Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda*. Foreexample, the son of *Negus* Tekelä Haimanot of Gojjan, *Ras* Hailu T/Haimanot's birth place was in Enäguzi Mariam 10km south of Märtulä Mariam town. And also *Negus* T/Haimanot's grand son *Ras* Hailu Bäläw was born in the *wäräda* at a place called Egersäbera 20km east of Märtulä Mariam town. They had their gults in their birth place.²³⁴

There are more than 140 churches in Orthodox sect in this *wäräda*. From which 4 monasteries, 34 *Däbers* and 106 rural Churches some which had been visited by the Emperors. Märtulä Mariam, Dehinbo Kidanämeherät, Léqa Mädehanialem and Šeberamba, which have been the principal monastic centers in Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda*. The first is Märtulä Mariam monastery which is located in the capital of the *wäräda*. It was built by Aksumitse twin kings Abereha and Atsibeha in 341 A.D. It was renowned for the finest ancient and medieval stone curved building and cloth painting in Gojjam. Another known church in this *wäräda* is Dehinbo Kidanämeherä. It is 12km east of Märtulä Mariam. It was established in the 6th century and the medieval religious fathers *Abunä* Tekele Haimanot and *Abba* Zéna Markos served as diacons there. It is also known in cloth painting and rich in religious manuscripts. Šeberamba monastery is established by *Aba* Enäyāw in the 19th century. But, it was served as cist in the 9th century, while Yodit Gudit burnt the monastery of Märtulä Mariam.²³⁵

4.4.2. Islam

According to oral informants, Islam was introduced into Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* by the people who came from Wollo. The period when these Muslim societies came to the area was not known. But some individuals' argued that, those Muslim settlers came to the area since the end of 19th c and in different periods of 20th c. However, the early comers of Muslim society settled inside Abay gorge particularly in Ezana, Yesasma, Islam Amba, Enäguzi and Yemär Bunaya *qäbällés* because of its geographical proximity to Wollo.²³⁶

²³³ Hailäyäsus G/Mariam, *Yä Təntawit ena Tarikawit Märtulä Mariam Gädam Tarik Baçeru*, (Märtulä Mariam: 2010 E.C), p.31-38.

²³⁴ HAACDMU: Folder No.227, File No.154; Informants: Yerdaw Kassa and Yersaw Lägässä

²³⁵ *Abba* Kidanä Mariam Näço and *Abba* Qalä Şedeq Abäbä

²³⁶ Informants: *Ato* Berhan Abedäla and *Ato* Mäleké Kabäddä.

According to my informants, Täräfä Alämu and *Mägabi Täšomä Enäyāw*, Muslim settlers came to the *wärāda* because of its geographical proximity with south Wollo. Besides, they came to here as a result of famine happened in Wollo in different periods and for the search of food and jobs in handicraft particularly weaving. They were worshiped their religion secretly at home. In the *wärāda* there is no any mosque to worship their religion. As a result, during the time of holidays Muslim elders went to Moṭṭa. Until the 1975 land reformation proclamation Muslims in the *wärāda* were not beneficiary in land.²³⁷

4.5. Conflict Resolution Mechanism

4.5.1. Šemegelena/Arbitration/

In order to maintain order and justice in the society solving disputies arising from personal relationship is a crucial issue and *šemegelena* is one of the most impotant methods of dispute settlement.²³⁸ *Šemegelena* is a traditional justice system that used to solve disputies among individuals or groups in a community. It is the most prominent and tradional institution of the ritual Amhara in conflictresolution mechanism by which the third party is used as a means of helping the conflicting parties to reduce the extent of their differences and disagreements to arrive at an amicable settlement. *Šemegelena* as the most prominent institution has always been employed to settle serious disagreement that rapture to threaten peaceful relationship between friends, neighbors, spouses and communities.²³⁹

In the *Šemegelena* process three persons elected as arbitraters by considered them as examples of the Trinity or *selasé*. The Trinity is three in physical but one in sprit. So, those three *Šemagelés* think as one and give justice without bias since the Trinity is not make injustice and discrimination.²⁴⁰

In the arbitration agreement, the parties agree that a judging organization or one or more natural resolve their differences. When people live together one person may harm the other and led to disagreement and conflict. In Enäbsé sar meder *wärāda* people did not punish their enemy by law

²³⁷Informants: Täräfä Alämu and *Mägabi Täšomä Enäyāw*

²³⁸Ranjba, Masoudreza and Mahdi Dehshiri, "General and Specific Conditions for Arbitration Agreement" :*Journal of politic and law* ; vol.10, No.5(Shiraz: Canadian centre of science and education, 2017), p.6-7

²³⁹Zelalem Mucho and Endalkachew Bayeh, "Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms Among Ambo Wereda Communities": *International Journal of Research* vol.1, issue, 11 December 2014(Ambo: Ambo University, 2015), p.3

²⁴⁰Informants: *Mägabi Mäkonnen Ayalew* and *Märeša Gété*

rather by force. No one went to law to fill accusation application about the violation of his right. Many people believed that their right is their might and want to avenge their enemy unlawfully by their might. These activities led to loss of humanlife with easy cause and before it intensified the relative's of wrongdoer send elders for arbitration. Arbitration is considered as judge of relatives. In the tradition of ESMW a person who refused the arbitrators not to negotiate with his or her enemy considered as disrespectful and no one refuse the justice given by arbitrators. Even an individual is not interested to negotiate with his enemy; his relatives advised him to hear the elders and forced him to agree the negotiation. **“ከዳቦህ ተገልገል ከቡይትህ ጉደል”**pool from your bread and spared sensationalism.²⁴¹

The relative advised to leave his matter to the negotiators. In the negotiation process both group chose the *Šemagelés* from the community who have good negotiation skill. In the selection of elders the community believed that **“ከበሬም ዳተኛ ከሽማግሌም ከዳተኛ አይጠፋምና ገንዘብ የማይበላ ፍርድ የማያዳላ ታማኝ ሽማግሌ ይመረጣል”** It is obvious that to find defector from the arbitrators and terrier from oxen and select arbitrator who did not eat others money and did not made bias. So, they give high emphasis on the loyalty and fairness of *Šemagelés* in the selection process. After selection of the two parties/groups/ give conviction on the arbitrators by saying **“ፍርድ ለልጅህ ጥራብ ለደጅህ”** your justice is for your child and sweeping to your doorstep. Then the *Šemagelés* took money as warranty for the compensation after justice from both parties. The accused and accuser forward their respective complain to the *Šemagelés* by seeking fair judgement. After crucial issue that led the disagreement told to the *Šemagelés* they give their own decision. By doing this they solved the problem of the community.²⁴²

In the arbitration the *Šemagelés* who made bias belittled by the community in many occasions and considered as buster. In our country Ethiopia in general and ESMW in particular there is *Šemegelena* that lacked widom, highmindedness and bias and that decided fault decision **“የበደለ ገዥ ነው ግን ተገዥ ይካስ”** the government is ill-treat, but compensation is paid by the governed. Means that, even if the governor ill treated the people, compensation is the duty of the

²⁴¹Informants: *Mägabi* Mäkonnen Ayalew, Abä Käbäbäw

²⁴²*Ibid.*; Ayalew Walle, “A History of Traditional Beliefs and Practices in Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* From 1941-1991”(MA Thesis: Bahir Dar University, 2019), p.57.

ill treated and injured twice. Once she/he is maltreated, she/he is also responsible to ask excuse and pay compensation.²⁴³

Good arbitration has better knowledge, wisdom, ethics and loyalty than that the modern judgment. The opposing groups justify their issue to the arbitrators without hiding secrets. *Šemegeleña* is the act of judgment, fatherness, and honesty and did not request the opposing groups to debate by presenting evidences. It did not send the maltreater to prison after grasp and understand the reality rather than to release the mind of the ill-treater from the filing of criminalness and to list his problems and put on the balance of justice by his own. The arbitrators also forced the ill-treated one to leave the mistake taken on him for his own sanctifying and to relieve his sin if he made sin that is not known by others. The arbitrators advised the ill-treated by saying if you leave the sin made on you, God release you from the sin that you made and to be make in the future.²⁴⁴

On the Bible, God said that I do not excuse you unless you made excuse to the others and giving excuse means became similar with God. Maltreater did not externalize his ill-treatment by mentioning factors for his action, rather, he list out his maltreat and ready to ask excuse from the ill-treated person by carrying stone to receive excuse. At this time the ill-treated person take off the stone from the shoulder of his enemy and put down the stone and give excuse to his enemy. The arbitrators give the responsibility of asking excuse and paying compensation to the ill-treater; giving excuse and receiving compensation to the ill-treated and warned not to memorize the case and appreciate both groups about their willingness to give and receive excuse by saying “ወሽን ያነሳ ውሻ ይሁን.”²⁴⁵

²⁴³ *Qäsis Asetäraye Şegé, “Šemegeleña”, 1999.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

CONCLUSION

This study focused on the History of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* from 1941 to 1991. In so far as, in the first chapter of the study, the geographical features and historical background of Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* are raised and discussed. In its historical background, peoples like Kush/Kam tribe/, Agaw, Amhara and Oromo settled in different periods in this area and their movement or expansion affected on linguistic, ethnic and cultural intermingled among each other in the region. Apart from this, Märtulä Mariam which is found in Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* served as apolitical center of Gojjam governors. Not only Bičäna but also Mängesto served to some Ethiopia rulers as their temporarily capital. Mainly in the second half of eighteenth century, following the decline of Gonder helped to the growth of Bičäna by strong regional governors. On the other hand, Enämay *wäräda* was the base of patriotic resistance and the formation place of liberation association during Italian invasion.

The study has also found out the change of Emperor Haile Selassie I in related to its centralization administration and the introducing of new polices on land. To this end, the popular revolt in Gojjam broke out in 1968. Of course, *Däjjazmač* Šähayu had been the main sources of political dissatisfaction (corruption and mal administration) among the people. Then, the new agricultural income tax in 1967 became an immediate cause for its uprising. Particularly, the peasants of Enäbsé and Gojjam had enjoyed a great deal of freedom and protection by Ras Märed (1795-1799). This freedom and protection became the turning point of peasants to struggle about their right beginning from Ras Tädla Gualu to *Därg* regime.

Moreover, in this study, the reforms and changes of *Därg* are expressed. The *Därg* government introduced important reforms in the political, social and economic filed of the country so as to overcome the prevailing discontent of the peasant crisis. In this regard, anti-illiteracy campaign and the 1975 land proclamation were some what successful. In the former program, a number of Enäbsé *wäräda* people were exposed the basic skills of reading and writing in Amharic. In the latter reform, landless Muslims, artesians and ex-slaves became landowners. This land re-distribution process arosed opposition from the former local officials and landlords. To this end, the government troops took brutal measures against innocent Märtulä mariam town population and the neighboring Gonca and Fälägäberhan areas. *Därg* also introduced socialist-oriented problems like peasant associations, producers' and service cooperations. For this end, other

reforms EPRP stood against *Därg* by agitating forceful measurements to implement its new policies and intervention of the governments in fixing the price of peasants' production by using its members up to rural areas. Moreover, allocation of *quota*, villigazation program and green campaign that forced farmers to move in desert areas during growing seasons had the main factors to hate the *Därg* rule in the people. Nevertheless, the 1983 national military service aggravated its unpopularity on both rural and urban dwellers.

Finally, the study had also explored the development of town centers, infrastructural developments and religious institutions. Until 1974, the necessary social and economic facilities like transportation, water supply, communication and postal services were not well furnished. After revolution, health services and education showed great progress. Even if other reforms were introduced after the 1980s, in the fields of infrastructural development that would provide public and private services for the society were very low in this *wäräda* in general.

In general, this study contributes its role to fill the historiography of Enäbsé sar meder *wäräda* and further initiate researchers to investigate a history of the local community from different perspectives.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name of Informants	Age	Date of Interview in E.C	Place of Interview	Remark
1	Abä Kābābāw <i>/Abuhay/</i>	89	19/07/2013	Dibo	He has good knowledge about Enābsé and an eye witness of 1968/69 peasant rebellion and 1975-1978 resistance against Derg.
2	Abābā Mākonnen <i>/Abuhay/</i>	94	16/07/2013	M/Mariam	He is an aged and knowledgeable person about patriotic resistance.
3	Adanā Meheraté <i>(Ato)</i>	72	12/07/2013	M/Mariam	He was head of an agricultural office of Enābsé and has good knowledge about the <i>wārāda</i> .
4	Alā Kassa <i>(Ato)</i>	90	26/06/2013	M/Mariam	He is native Märtulā Mariam town dweller and has good knowledge about the town and <i>wārāda</i> .
5	Andarg Hailé <i>(Ato)</i>	71	02/10/2013	M/Mariam	He was head of Märtulā Mariam Municipality from 1977-1982 and good knowledge about the town.
6	Aseçalāw Awāke <i>(Ato)</i>	70	24/06/2013	Dibo	He was participant of 1968 peasant rebellion and 1975-1978 anti Derg resistance and good knowledge about the <i>wārāda</i> .
7	Aseçānāq Bālaçāw <i>(Ato)</i>	64	22/08/2013	M/Mariam	He is Märtulā Mariam town dweller and has good knowledge regarding Enābsé Sar Meder and its surroundings.
8	Asemamaw Bāzé <i>(Ato)</i>	62	03/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was a teacher and good knowledge regarding the development of modern education in Enābsé, but now retired.
9	Asenakāw Alāleñ <i>(Ato)</i>	79	28/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was treasury of Moṭṭa Awraja peasant association from 1980-1988 and

					Enäsé Awraja from 1989-1991 and he has good knowledge about peasant association and producers cooperatives.
10	Asenek Yerdaw (Ato)	67	04/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was one of a victim individual during Derg military recruitment and an eye witness.
11	Ayeçäw Mäkonnen (Mägabi)	70	06/09/2013	M/Mariam	He is a native dweller in Märtulä Mariam and has good knowledge about Enäbsé.
12	Bamelaku Asemarä (Ato)	63	22/08/2013	M/Mariam	He an officer of <i>wäräda</i> education office and good understanding about the development of education in Eäbsé.
13	Bamelé Tämäsegän(Ato)	72	23/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was participant of anti Derg resistance and good Know how about the period.
14	Baša Mäläsä (Ato)	79	15/08/2013	M/Mariam	He is the grand son of <i>Fitawrari</i> Bäzabeh Yemam and good knowledge about patriotic resistance.
15	Berhan Abedäla (Ato)	56	19/07/2013	Dibo	He is a merchant in Dibo and has good knowledge about muslim settlement in Enäbsé Sar Meder.
16	Daña Kassa (Qésägäbäz)	93	24/07/2013	M/Mariam	He was Märtulä Mariam town dweller for long period of time and has deep knowledge about the <i>wäräda</i> .
17	Däräsä Şägaw (Ato)	73	22/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was a teacher and chair man of Märtulä Mariam town Abereha wo Aşebeha <i>qäbälé</i> but now retired.
18	Däsalän Yezängaw (Ato)	58	04/09/2013	M/Mariam	He is a teacher and knowledgeable person about Enäbsé sar meder <i>wäräda</i> .
19	Fäntahun Alämu (Qésägäbäz)	90	28/06/2013	M/Mariam	He is a religious person and has good knowledge about Märtulä Mariam and

					Enäbsé sar meder <i>wäräda</i>
20	Gäbäyaw Alämayähu (<i>Ato</i>)	76	22/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was chair man of Gunaguna agricultural producers cooperatives first and later Enäbsé sar meder <i>wäräda</i> APCs
21	Gäberé Mäkonnen (<i>Ato</i>)	48	24/07/2013	M/Mariam	He is a history teacher and has knowledge regarding peopling of Enäbsé.
22	Gété Käbäddä (<i>Abuhay</i>)	95	08/07/2013	D/Yaeqob	He is an aged person and an eye witness of patriotic resistance of Enäbsé 1936-1941 and participant of 1960 Gojjam peasant rebellion.
23	Gezačäw Biyazen (<i>Ato</i>)	74	09/07/2013	M/Mariam	He was participant of anti Derg resistance in Enäbsé and Moṭṭa <i>awrajja</i> from 1975-1979.
24	Hailämariam Tagälä (<i>Re'esä Reusan</i>)	60	26/07/2013	M/Mariam	He was abbot of Märtulä Mariam monastery and has deep knowledge about the <i>wäräda</i> .
25	Hailämikael Asäfa (<i>Ato</i>)	56	14/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was member of Yebsana APCs and has good understanding people's opposition of APCs.
26	Hailäyäsus G/Mariam (<i>Re'esä Reusan</i>)	77	28/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was the abbot of Märtulä Mariam monastery and has deep knowledge about the <i>wäräda</i> in particular and Gojjam in general.
27	Kassa Gäda (<i>Ato</i>)	73	22/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was a director of Abereha wo Ašebeha primary secondary school from 1980-1987. and has knowledge about the development of education in the <i>wäräda</i> .
28	Kassahun Aseräs	57	22/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was secretary of Youth association

	(<i>Ato</i>)				and he is a teacher.
29	Kassé Qälämäwork (<i>Qésägäbäz</i>)	91	22/09/2013	M/Mariam	He is knowledge able person about the <i>wäräda</i> .
30	Kidanämariam Näço (<i>Abba</i>)	48	19/07/2013	Dibo	He is leader of Dehinbo Kidanämeherät <i>Däber</i> and has knowledge about the church and Dibo town.
31	Mäkonnē Ayalēw (<i>Mägabi</i>)	74	04/09/2013	Yäšewa	He is a knowledgeable person and member of <i>Däm AderakiŠemagelēs</i> .
32	Mälekē Bantidär (<i>Ato</i>)	65	12/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was chair man of Enäbsé sar meder <i>wäräda</i> Youth association.
33	Mälekē Kābāddā (<i>Ato</i>)	66	19/07/2013	Dibo	He was participant of anti Derg resistance and son of one of a patriot in Enäbsé Kābāddā Yehun.
34	Märeša Gété (<i>Ato</i>)	72	16/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was head of <i>Šänego</i> at <i>wäräda level</i> from 1983-1988.
35	Mulatē Täšomä (<i>Ato</i>)	74	22/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was secretary of APCs in Enäbsé sar meder.
36	Qaläšedeq Abäbä (<i>Re'esä Reusan</i>)	48	28/06/2013	M/Mariam	He is the leader of Märtulä Mariam monastery and has knowledge regarding the monastery.
37	Täräfä Alämu (<i>Ato</i>)	67	16/08/2013	M/Mariam	He was a teacher and head of <i>wäräda</i> education office and knowledgeable person about Enäbsé, but now retired.
38	Täšomä Enäyāw (<i>Mägabi</i>)	84	19/07/2013	Dibo	He was participant of the 1960 peasant rebellion and has good knowledge about patriotic resistance.
39	Täšomä Šähay (<i>Ato</i>)	68	21/07/2013	M/Mariam	He was participant of anti Derg resistance movement since 1975.
40	Ṭeumäqal Molla	55	28/06/2013	M/Mariam	He is a religious man in Märtulä

	(<i>Abba</i>)				Mariam monastery and knowledgeable regarding the monastery and <i>wäräda</i> .
41	Wäreknäh Mäläsä (<i>Grazmac</i>)	90	28/06/2013	M/Mariam	He was the governor of Wäreya <i>meketelwäräda</i> , Ṭelat Gen <i>wäräda</i> and Gonca Siso Enäse <i>wäräda</i> and has good knowledge about Enäbsé and Gojjam.
42	Yebälté Yetayäw (<i>Ato</i>)	67	20/08/2013	Gunaguna	He was the first member of Gunaguna agricultural producer cooperative and has good knowledge about cooperatives.
43	Yerdaw Kassa (<i>Ato</i>)	72	29/07/2013	Gunaguna	He is a knowledgeable person about the <i>wäräda</i> .
44	Yersaw Lägäsä (<i>Ato</i>)	93	20/08/2013	Zemtit	He was an eye witness of the 1960 peasant rebellion in Enäbsé and Gojjam and resistance against Derg. He has also good knowledge about patriotic resistance.
45	Yersaw Mälaku (<i>Ato</i>)	81	23/07/2013	M/Mariam	He was head of finance of Gojjam province in the 1960s and Enäbsé in the late 1970s. He has good knowledge about Enäbsé sar meder <i>wäräda</i> .
46	Yetbaräk Tamänä (<i>Ato</i>)	78	08/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was chair man of Däberäberahan <i>qäbällé</i> and has good knowledge about PAs and APCs.
47	Yohannes Ejigu (<i>Ato</i>)	74	15/08/2013	M/Mariam	He is the son of Ejigu Ewunätu one of patriotic leader in Gojjam and in Enäbsé in particular.
48	Zäwedé Mulualäm (<i>Ato</i>)	77	20/09/2013	M/Mariam	He was the participant of anti Derg resistance from 1975-1978.

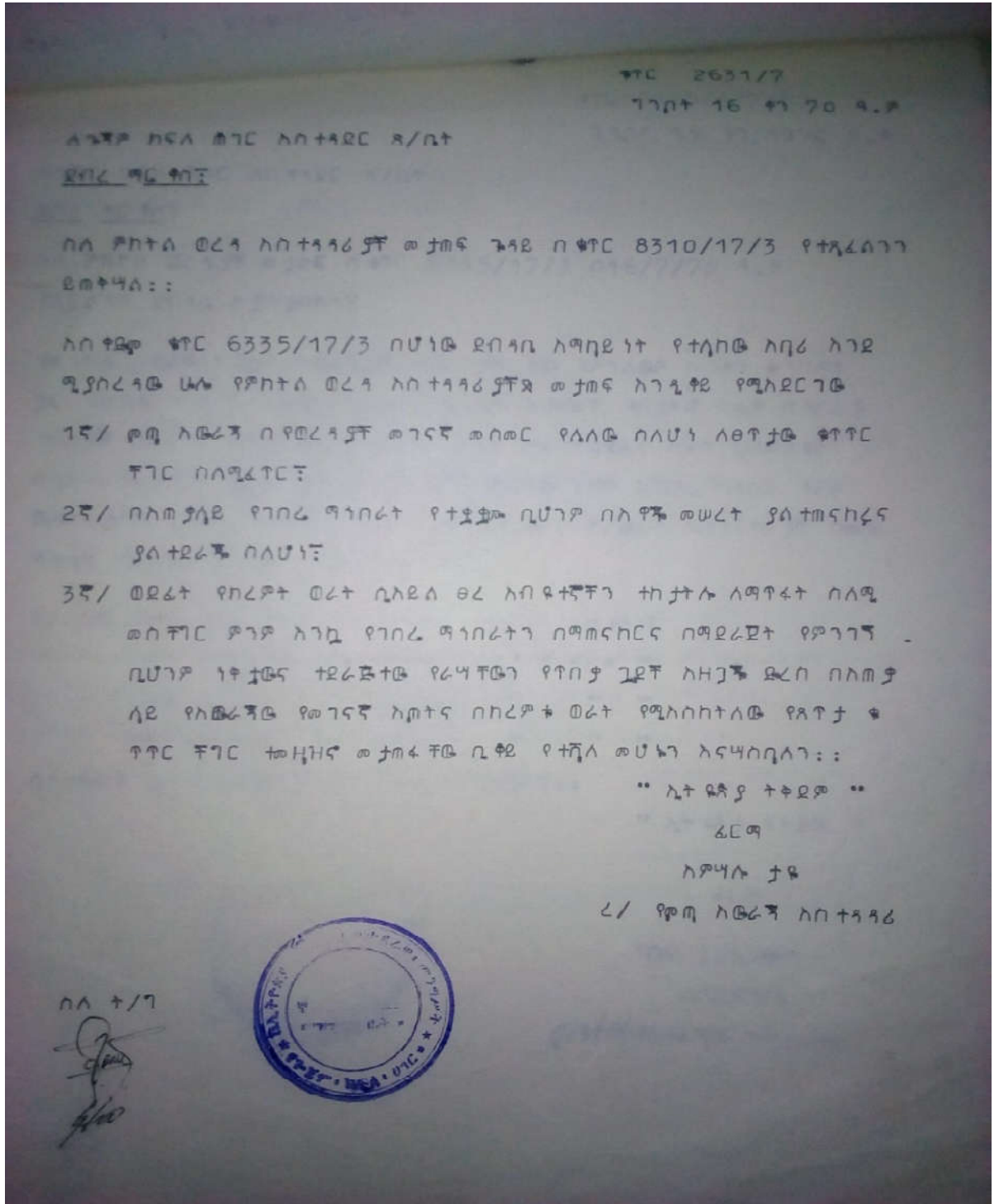
Appendices

Appendix- I List of patriot leaders and patriots in Moṭṭa Awrajja.

ተኩረት	የሥራ ስም	የገንዘብ ስም	የጠርጠር ስም	የቀዝቀዛ ስም	የሌሎች ስም	የሌሎች ስም
16	አባይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
17	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
18	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
19	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
20	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
21	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
22	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
23	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
24	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
25	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
26	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
27	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
28	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
29	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
30	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
31	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
32	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
33	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
34	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ
35	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ	አብይ አብይ

ተ.ረ. ቁ. (No.)	ድርሰት (Title)	የገለገሉበት ወራት (Month)	የገለገሉበት ቀን (Day)	የጠርጠር አይነት (Type)	የጠርጠር ቁጥር (No.)	የጠርጠር ዓይነት (Type)	የጠርጠር ቁጥር (No.)
36	አቤ. ገዛሃኝ: ጠዘኔህ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
37	የገቢ ተጠቃሚ: ደገግ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
38	አቤ. ገዛሃኝ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
39	= ጸንቦት: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
40	= ታሪክ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
41	= መግቢያ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
42	= ወንጌል: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
43	= ተሰጥቶ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
44	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
45	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
46	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
47	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
48	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
49	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
50	የገቢ ተጠቃሚ: ደገግ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
51	አቤ. ወንጌል: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
52	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
53	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
54	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
55	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
56	የገቢ ተጠቃሚ: ደገግ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
57	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
58	የገቢ ተጠቃሚ: ደገግ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
59	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
60	አቤ. ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
61	= መግቢያ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
62	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
63	= ታሪክ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
64	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
65	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
66	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
67	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
68	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
69	ወንጌል: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			
70	= ገደብ: ገደብ			የጠርጠር አይነት			

Appendix- II Letter from Moṭṭa Awrajja to Gojjam Kifle Hager about meketelwaradas



Appendix- III Letter written from Ethiopian Emperor Office to administrative minster about the seat of Bichena- MotṭaAwrajja Falagaberehan.




Appendix-IV Letter written by *Fitawrari* Terefe Rata to the people of Bibun

መስከረም 18 ተን 1968

ለሕገ-መንግሥት ለባለቤቱ ለሰውነት
ለ ሰውነት

እንደምን በገንባታችን ልዑል አገዛዝነት ይመስለን እኛ ደህና ነን ከበላ
ታችን ተገለገልን የምንገልጽላችሁ እንደምንሰማት የወታደራዊ መንገድን አስተዳደር ና
1ኛ. በርስታችን
2ኛ. በሃይማኖታችን
3ኛ. በሰብአዊነት የተደረገብንን የአስተዳደር ለውጥ በታችኛው እኛ ከዚህ
በላይ በተጠቀሱት ከባድ ተገባር አይሰማንም በማለት አንቀሳቃሴ አድርገን ከነሱ
8 ተን 67 ዓ.ም. አስከ መስከረም 1 ተን 1968 ዓ.ም. ያደረገውን ተጋድሎ
በወረራ ሳይሆን የተከሰቱን የጥቅም ሰብአዊ እኛም የሰፊውን የግንኙነት ህብረት ከአሁ
ን ተደም ጽላላችን እናንተ የገረብነት ወገንዎቻችን ስገራዎችን አረጋግጥን እኛም ከ
ዚህ በላይ የዘረዘርና ተውን ጉዳዮች አስከ መደረገው አስከ ልጅ ልጅ ጉዳዮች የሚከደርሰ
መሆኑን በመገንዘብ ነው እናንተን አርሰኑ የላችሁም ስብከት የላችሁም ስብከት ስላችሁም
ከኛ የተለየ ነው ? ና

የኢትዮጵያ ልጅ በርስታችን በሰብአዊነት ተጋድሎ አድርገን አየተጠቀሙ እናንተ
በዚህ ጉዳይ ሰላማዊነትን በጣም አዝንገንታል ወደፊት የምንገልጽላችሁ የባቸው አ
ውራሻ የደብረ ጣርቶስ አውራሻ በዚህ ጉዳይ ተጋድሎ አድርገን ሰባት ሸግግሎ አጭዶ ዘ
ንድ ልቦ ተገናኝተን ጉዳዩን ተወያይተን ጠቅላላ መገናኛ ለመስከረም 23 ተን 1968
ጉዞባችን አቀጣጠው ጦር ደረሰ መገናኛ ተጠር አድርገን ልንያያይ መልስ ሰጥተን ተ
ልሰዋል እኛ ከተጠርው ወደህ ለመስከረም 20 ተን 1968 ዓ.ም. ገደርግ ደረሰ ተ
ገገረን ተወካክረን ከነሱ ጋር በተወሰነው ተጠር አንድነትን እንገልጽላችኋለን ::
ግንኙነት ወገንዎቻችሁ ራርግ ሬታ/ካርሬ ሬታ የሚል
ጉዳዩ ና ሲሰው አነሱ አነብሱና ሣርዎድር 70 አጅ አነሱ ይላል :: //



በለቀጭ መላ / ተ ..

Appendix- VI Letter had written from ministry of the interior to Gojjam kifle hager about opposition of producers' cooperatives in Enabse.

145

የግንባርና ልማት ሚኒስቴር

የግንባርና ልማት ሚኒስቴር

የግንባርና ልማት ሚኒስቴር

የግንባርና ልማት ሚኒስቴር

ቁጥር 295/አ/183
ቀን ነሐሴ 06. 1980

በኢትዮጵያ ሕዝባዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ፣

የአገር ውስጥ ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር፣

አዲስ አበባ፣

በጭባ ለውራሻ በአካባቢ ሃር ያደር ወረዳ በገንጠይቅ በይጣሃና፣ በገጽ ገጽ ቀበሌያዊ ስለተቋቋሙት የገ/አም/የጎ/ሥ/የጎ/የጎ/የጎ ስባሳት መረተ ሲከሰሱ፣ 15/ መረተ ከመሪያና ከአካባቢ ሆኑ የገለሰቡን ይዘታ በማጠቃለል ከጌራ ተክሉ ለአምራች ማኅበር ስለተሰጠ ከ800 በላይ የሆኑ ሕዝብ ከይዘታ ተነቅቶ ማረጋገጥ ቋንቋ፡፡

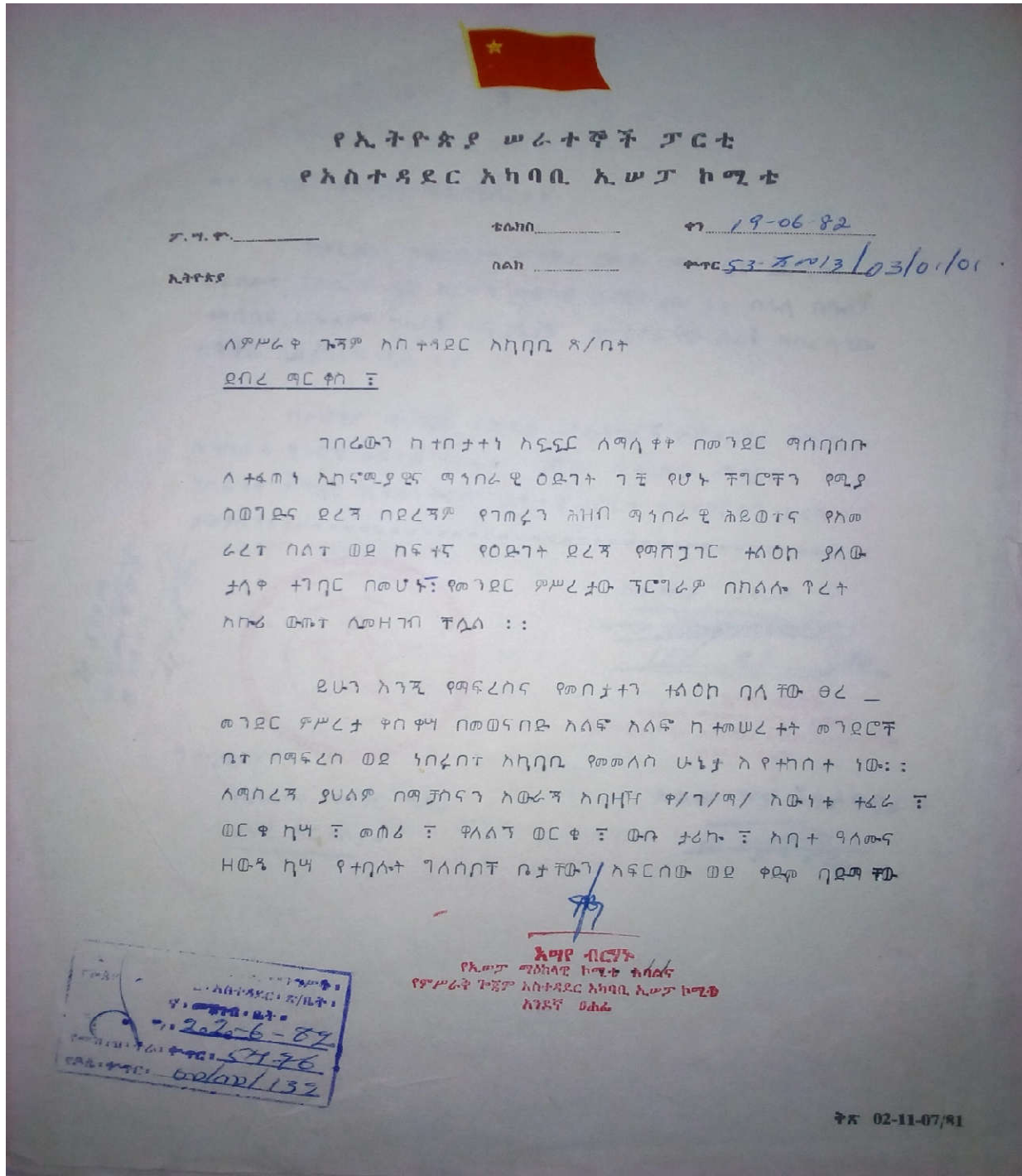
25/ በአዲስ አበባ ተገኝቶ መፍትሄ ለጎረቤቱን ለአስገንቦት ወረዳ ፣ ለውራሻ፣ ከፍለ ሃገር ላለፉት መንገድ ላይ ሕዝባዊ ድርጅት ባለሥልጣናት ሆኖ ገንጠይቅ የሚሉ ሃሳቦችን የያዘ ማወልኮች ከሚኒስቴር ም/ቤተ ጽ/ቤተ ከተላኩ መሆኑ ጋር በቁጥር ከመ9/9/71 በ25/10/80 ዓ. . . ም. የተጻፈ ደርቦናል፡፡

በመሠረት ከላይ የተጠቀሱት ነገሮች መሆኑ በመሆኑ ተከክል ለይደለሁ የገ/አም/የጎ/ሥ/የጎ/የጎ/የጎ ስባሳት ስባሳት ቁጥር ይቆይ ከአወጣ ለመተ ቁጥራቸው ለየመረ ሲሄዱ አዲስ የሚገቡ ስባሳት የነበራቸውን መረተ በኩታ ገጠም ለያበኩ ለሉ የማኅበሩን የይዘታ ለይደሉ ለያበሩ ለገደሚላቸው ገለጽ ነው፡፡ ገለጻቸው ለምራቸው ተተውተ የገቡትን መረተ የቀ/ገ/የ መሪያዎ ደልደላው ደርቻቸውን ለስተ, ባክለ ዋል፡፡ በየዓመት ላይ አምራቸው የጎ/ሥ/የጎ/የጎ/የጎ ይዘታ የሚመረጠው መረተ ጠቀሳሊ የቀ/ገ/የጎ/የጎ መረተ በሩት ለሌላት ገብረጋቸው ተክሉ የሚደርሳቸው መጠን ለገደ ለገደ ለቤተኛ ለቆራቢያት ለባባል በዘረ ቀይ የሚፈጸም ለይደለሁ ለዚህም ማረጋገጥ ቋንቋ ስለባቸው ተክሉ የተጠቀሱትን የሰላጋቸው የሕዝብ በዘት

የሥራ ሚኒስቴር

4/2009/91

Appendix- VII Letter had written from EWP to east Gojjam administrative committee about villagization.



መልሳ ቸውን መረጃያ ርዕስ ይጻፉ ::

የሁኔታውን አባባቢነት ከገምተ ውስጥ በማሰገባት ድርጊትን በፈጸሙት ገለበጠቱ ላይ እርምጃ መወሰድ ይኖርበታል :: በሌላ በኩልም ተወላጅ ሁኔታያቸውን በሌላ-ቸው አባባቢያቸው ከመፈጠራቸው በፊት አስፈላጊው ከትኩረት ላይ ሲገባ ::

በለሆነም የውጭ ምረቃ አጠናቀቅና አስተባባሪ ስሜት ለተከበተ ተገርቶ መፍትሔ ከመፈለግ በሻገር ከተሰጠው ተገርቶና ኃላፊነት እንዲሁ እየተገኘው ወቅታዊ ሪፖርት እንዲደርሰን እናስታውቃለን :: =====

20.5.2008
5 ኃይላዊ ተገኝ
15/05/08
አዲስ አበባ



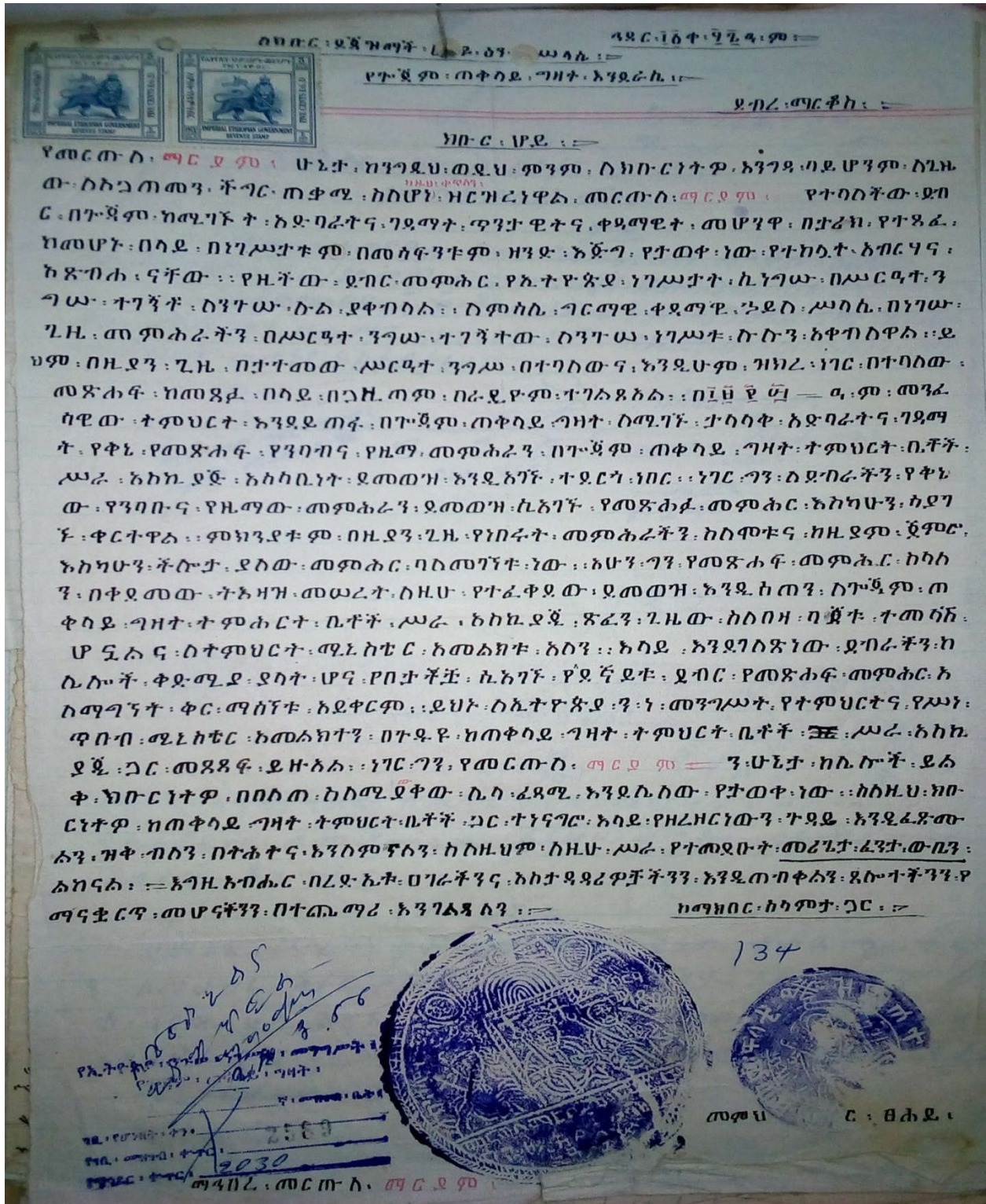
ኢትዮጵያ ተቀደም!
የሕወዴት ግንባር
18/06/82

አግዮ ብርሃኑ
የሕወዴት ግንባር ኮሚቴ አባልና
የምሥራቅ ጉዳይ አስተዳደር አካባቢ ሊወጥ ኮሚቴ
አንድኛ ህወሓድ

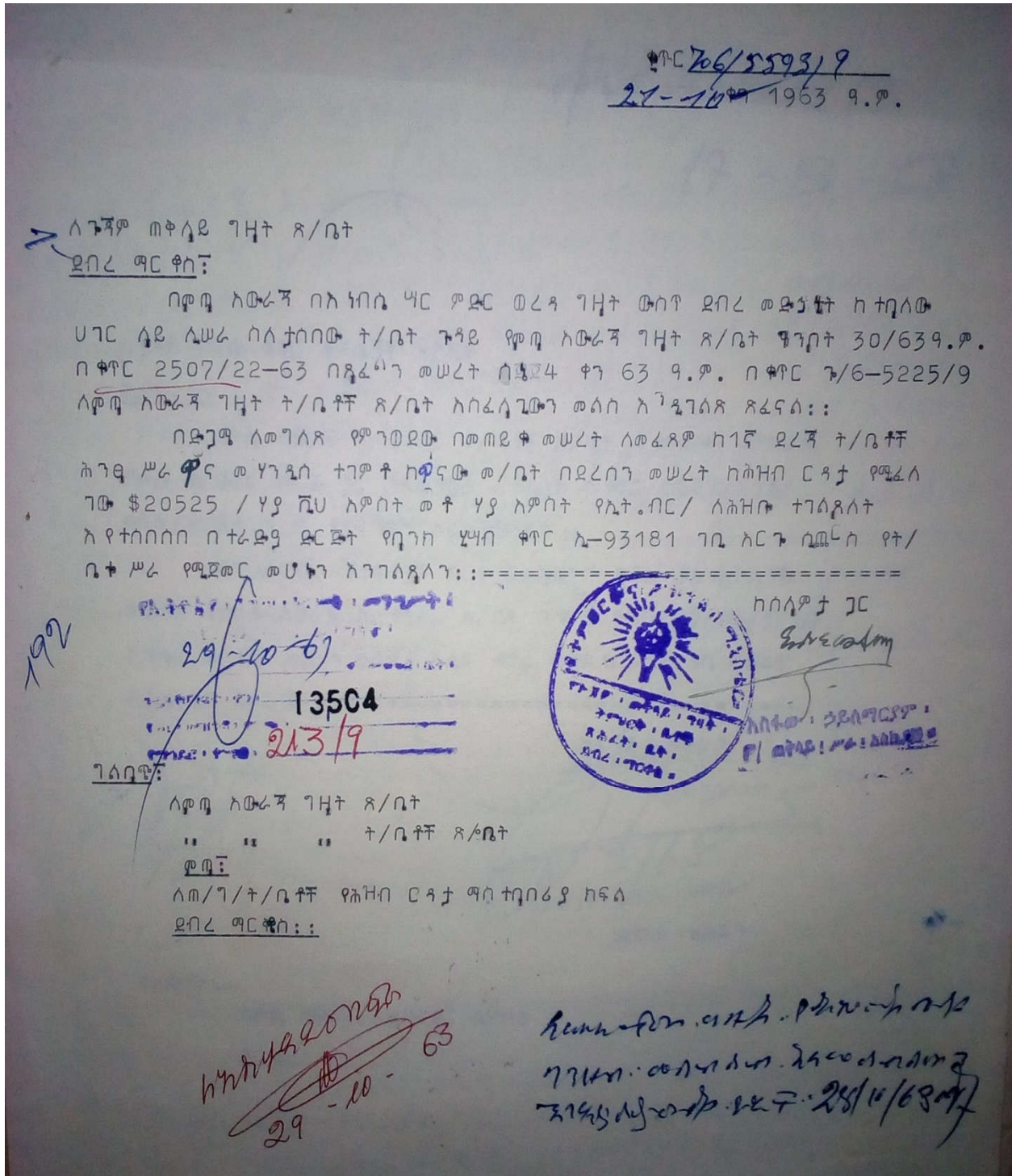
ገልባጭ//
ለአዲተና ቀጥጥር ጉዳይ
ደብረ ግር ቀስ: =

ከጋጽ: 908 : አለተገደር =
19 መስከረም
6/82

Appendix-VIII Letter had written from mahibere Mertule Mariam about Church teachers' salary.



Appendix-IX Letter had written from Motta education office to Gojjam administrative office about Debre Medhanit School.



Appendix-X Letter written about the opening of grade seven in Mertule Mariam

ቀ 1955/395
 30-2-70

ለወጣ ለጤራ ለሰተዳደር ጸ/ቤተ
ወጣ

በወጣ ለጤራ በመርዎላማ ምኞት የሰባተኛ ክፍል ከተከፈተ በኋላ ስር ተገኝ ማለት
 ሆኖ ወጣ ለጤራ ለሰተዳደር ጸ/ቤተ ስር ተገኝ ማለት የከተማው ማዘጋጀት ስር
 ሆኖ በቁጥር 55/70 በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ የገናኘ ክፍል ወጣ ለጤራ ለሰተዳደር ጸ/ቤተ
 ለዘላቂነቱ ፡፡

ነገር ግን ይህን ለመሣሰሉ ጉዳይ ከተከፈተ ማለት የተሰጠውን
 መመሪያ ገልገሎት በማያያዝ ያለውን ቁጥር ገልጾ የክፍሉ ሀገራዊ ጸ/ቤተ ጸ/ቤተ
 በቁጥር 70/5/1990/3576³⁵ የጸረፊ ገንዘብ ገልገሎት ለመስጠት በቁጥር 1941/
 29/9/... የጸና ስለሆነ ከዚህ ጸሐፊ ጉዳይን በመረዳት በዚያው በኩ
 ል ለገደረዱት ለገደረረጉ ለፍላጎታቸው ፡፡ ===== አታዩት ትቅደም

አታዩት ትቅደም
 28-2-70

28/2/70

Appendix XI Letter written to Gojjam health office about Typhoid and Typhus epidemics in Enabse.

9273/2030
10-10-55

ከጊዜ ጋራ ጠቅላይ ግብይት ጠያቂ ግብይት
ደብዳቤ ቁጥር 6034/222 መንግስት ሪፖርት ላይ
በምክር ቤቱ ስርዓተ-ሰው ጋር ሲያገናኙ ግብይት ውስጥ አገጣጠሙ የሚመጣው የተከሰቱት
የዓይን ጉዳይ እንደሆነ ይገመገማል።

ከሆስፒታል ጋር ሲያገናኙ ግብይት ውስጥ አገጣጠሙ የሚመጣው የተከሰቱት
የዓይን ጉዳይ እንደሆነ ይገመገማል።

ከሆስፒታል ጋር ሲያገናኙ ግብይት ውስጥ አገጣጠሙ የሚመጣው የተከሰቱት
የዓይን ጉዳይ እንደሆነ ይገመገማል።

ከሆስፒታል ጋር ሲያገናኙ ግብይት ውስጥ አገጣጠሙ የሚመጣው የተከሰቱት
የዓይን ጉዳይ እንደሆነ ይገመገማል።

ከሆስፒታል ጋር ሲያገናኙ ግብይት ውስጥ አገጣጠሙ የሚመጣው የተከሰቱት
የዓይን ጉዳይ እንደሆነ ይገመገማል።

10-10-55


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Appendix –VII Letter had written from Administrative minister to PMAC about the extending of electric in Gojjam.

ቁ፡፡፳፻፲፱፻፲፱፻፲፱
 No. 29077/30
 ሚያዝያ፡ 16.1968
 አዲስ አበባ፡ Addis Ababa
 ቀን፡ ፲፱፻፲፱ ዓ.ም. 19


 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ጊዜያዊ ፡
 ወታደራዊ ፡ መንግሥት ፡
 የአገር ፡ አስተዳደር ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡
 THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA
 MINISTRY OF INTERIOR

የስልክ ፡ ቁ፡ } 11 34 33
የፖ.ሣ.ቁ. ፡ } 125

x
 ለገብረተሰብአዊት ኢትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
 የኢትዮጵያ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ማዕከላዊ ትኩረት ትታል ፡፡
 አዲስ አበባ ፡፡

በጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት የተሰጠውን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን አጠቃቀሙን ለማረጋገጥ
 ለጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን
 የጉብረተሰብአዊት ጉብኝት ገቢዎችን ለማረጋገጥ የሚገቡትን

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13-8-68

17-8-68

"ኢትዮጵያ ትታል"

ገብረ ፡
 ለጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት የአስተዳደር ጸ/ቤት
 ደብረ ግርድብ ፡፡

Glossary of Terms

Abba- father title especially to a monk and priest

Abbun – Appellation equivalent with bishop

Afälama- payment in response for the damaged cereals by cattle

Afäsa- involuntary military recruitment by force

Aläqa- title equivalent with principal or head

Aşé – title equivalent to Emperor to 1974

Aserat – payment for churches one tenth of revenue.

Aṭebiya Daña – local judge

Ato–title equivalent to Mr.

Awçaçeñ – traditional theft detection mechanism

Awraja – Administrative sub province.

Bäga – dry season of Ethiopia

Balabat – owner of *rist* land

Bētä Mekurab – Judic religious institution equivalent to Church

Çeqa şum – village chief during the emperor period

Däber – a title of churches given based on the service of the mass

Däga – a term used to replace the word highland that characterizes wet agro-climatic zone.

Degoma – Assistant teachers who did not took professional training during Derg.

Dejazmać – a commander of the gate, a rank of nobility next to *Ras*

Denbär _ border or boundary between two places

Egziabhér – term equivalent to God.

Esatä källa- a type of roof which protects fire

Fitawrari- commander of the vanguard force

Gäbäz-a religious term used to replace the word administrators.

Gabi- an Ethiopian traditional white cotton cloth usually for males

Geragēta- the name given to those *däbtāras* which associated to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church that they stand on the left on the mass.

Grazmać – Commander of the left military title during the imperial period.

Gotāra – a local material usually made from mud and rush used as grain storage

Gult – Administrative land use to collect tribute from *rist* holder

Keflä Hagär – part of a country during imperial period.

Kerämet–rainy season of Ethiopia.

Léba Adem – a title given for a person who detects thieves.

Liqä Abäw- the appellation given to a man who become knowledgeable as well as head of scholars in Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Lij –title reserved for sons of the royal family and the upper nobility.

Mägabi _ Purveyor to the priests.

Mäkuannent __ a title equivalent to gentryuntil 1974.

Mälba __ the first stage of producer cooperatives

Mängäd __ road

Mäsafent __ judges during Emperor Haile Selassie

Mäto Aläqa __ a military title equivalent to lieutenant.

Meketel __ an administrative unit of Ethiopia below *wäräda* until 1974.

Mesläné __ an administrative unit below *wäräda* or sub-district governor prior to 1946.

Näçe Läbas __ local militia in Ethiopia until 1974.

Nägaderas __ a title given to the head of treasury.

Negus __ title equivalent to king.

Orit – Old Testament

Qäbällé _ lowest administration unit.

Qäläd – land measurement unit during Emperor Haile Selassie.

Qäñazmac __ Commander of the right military flank during the imperial period.

Qäñegéta– the name given to those *däbtäras* who associated for the Ethiopian that they stand on the right during the mass.

Qésä Gäbäz – a religious title given to administering priests.

Qolla – a term used to replace the word lowland that becomes dry agro-climatic zone.

Qomos – the appellation given to a man who become monk and whose power is important in blessing the new Church.

Ras – the highest traditional title below king.

Re'esä Reusan – the earliest appellation of Ethiopian Churches and Monasteries,literally as head of heads.

Rist– hereditary land owner ship.

Šaläqa – a military title given for head of a thousand soldiers.

Šambäl – a military title given for head of one hundred soldiers.

Šemagelé – a title given to knowledgeable person in traditional intermediary activity.

Ṭäqelay Gezat–Province between 1946_1974.

*Tis Geber*__ tax per each house.

*Wäländ*__ the third stage of producer cooperatives.

*Wälba*__ the second stage of producer cooperatives.

Wäräda–Administrative unit below *awraja* which is currently below zonal unit.

Wäyna Däga – a term used to replace the word temperate or moderate zone.

Yägobäz Aläqa – Chief of brave who elected by the local people.

Declaration

This thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all the sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Name of student: SHUMEYE AYALEW

Signature: _____