



**A HISTORY OF PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN ENÄBSÉ  
SAR MEDER WÄRÄDA 1935-1941**

**BY**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO DEBRE MARKOS UNIVERSITY IN THE  
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**DEBRE MARKOS UNIVERSITY  
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**MANAGEMENT**

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## Key to Transliteration System

The Seven Sound of Ethiopic Alphabets are represented as follows:

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

Palatalized Sounds are represented as follows:

| A.Consnant Sounds    | Symbol | Example             |
|----------------------|--------|---------------------|
| ሻ                    | Š      | ሻለቃ--- Šaläqa       |
| ቸ                    | Ć      | ቢቸና ---Bićäna       |
| ጥ                    | Ń      | ቀጥጌታ ---Qän Géta    |
| ዠ                    | Ž      | አዛዥ---Azaž          |
| ጀ                    | J      | ደጃዝማች---Däjjazmać   |
| ገ                    | G      | ግብር---- Geber       |
| B. Glottalized Sound | Symbol | Example             |
| ቀ                    | Q      | ቁሰገበዝ----Qésä Gäbäz |
| ጠ                    | Ṭ      | ጦጣ----Moṭṭa         |
| ጮ                    | Ç      | ጮቃሹጦ---Çeqa sum     |
| ጸ                    | Ş      | አጾ----Aşé           |

C.Germination sounds always be indicated by doubling

Käbbädä      Tässäma      Taddässä

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I would like to extend my thanks to staff of IES, NALA and DMUAC. I would like to thank my informants in all area. Most of informants were not only giving information I need, but also they find informants, who were not identified by me. The hospitality of informants is interesting and they were eager to help me.

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## Acronyms

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| ABSHCBDA | Aläm Birhan Self Help Community Based Development Agency |
| AOI      | Africa orientale deItalian                               |
| ASE      | Agri Service Ethiopia                                    |
| CSA      | Central Statiscal Agency                                 |
| ENALA    | Ethiopian National Archival and Library Agency           |
| ESMW     | Enäbsé Sar Meder Wäräda                                  |
| HAACDMU  | Haddis Alämayähu Archival Center Debre Markos University |
| IES      | Institute of Ethiopian studies.                          |
| NGO      | Non Governmental Organizations                           |
| PEACE    | Poverity Eradication and Community Empowerment           |
| TVET     | Technical and Vocational Educational Training            |
| SDF      | Sudan Defeance Front                                     |
| UN       | United Nation  |

## GLOSSARY

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>Abba</i>            | Title of father Used particularly for monks.  |
| <i>Abun</i>            | Bishop, the highest ecclesiastical title of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.                        |
| <i>Agafari</i>         | Title superintendent of banquets.   |
| <i>Ato</i>             | The title is equivalent to Mr.  |
| <i>Askaris</i>         | (Swahili), colonial Soldier.  |
| <i>Awuraja</i>         | an administrative unit below the level of province  |
| <i>Bäga</i>            | Winter.   |
| <i>Balabat</i>         | Hereditary landowner.   |
| <i>Balambaras</i>      | Head of an Amba.  |
| <i>Banda</i>           | Ethiopian collaborators or soldiers fighting for the Italians.                                    |
| <i>Başä</i>            | military title  |
| <i>Däga</i>            | cool climate zone   |
| <i>Däjazmač</i>        | commander of the gate or the military title below Ras   |
| <i>Fitawrari</i>       | The general of the vanguard, commander of the vanguard.   |
| <i>Gerazmač</i>        | The commander of the left military wing ranks below Fitawrari.                                    |
| <i>Gra</i>             | Left side.  |
| <i>Irajem</i>          | Long.   |
| <i>Jegera</i>          | Bird's family which used as a sources of food.  |
| <i>Kerämet</i>         | Summer.   |
| <i>Lej</i>             | Child, honorific title generally reserved for sons of the royal family and of the upper nobility. |
| <i>Mähäl</i>           | Centre  |
| <i>Märigeta</i>        | A religious title given to the clergy who educate the liturgy.                                    |
| <i>Qäbäle</i>          | Lowest administration unit.   |
| <i>Qäññazmač</i>       | Military title The commander of the right military wing.  |
| <i>Qäñ</i>             | Right side.   |
| <i>Qäye</i>            | Red.  |
| <i>Qebat</i>           | unction (sect of EOTC)  |
| <i>Qés</i>             | Title priest.   |
| <i>Qolla</i>           | Hot climate zone.   |
| <i>Ras</i>             | the second  |
| <i>Nägadras</i>        | Head of the caravan marchants.  |
| <i>Šäläqa</i>          | The chief of the thousands.   |
| <i>Sheikh</i>          | The leader of the Muslim community, family village.   |
| <i>Šefta</i>           | Bandit.   |
| <i>Wägésa</i>          | traditional doctors   |
| <i>Wäräda</i>          | Administrative unit below awrajja.  |
| <i>Wäyna däga</i>      | temperate climate zone  |
| <i>Wäyzäro</i>         | title equivalent to Mrs.  |
| <i>Yäktät Awaji</i>    | Mobilization order  |
| <i>Yäwust Arbenoch</i> | Inner patriots.   |
| <i>Zämäča</i>          | campaign.   |

## Preface

This thesis attempts to reconstruct a history of patriotic resistance in Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* 1935-1941. The period is delimited with two major historical themes; the Italian invasion and the liberation of Ethiopia. The thesis has five chapters. The first chapter focuses on the introductory part, which consists of the geographical and historical backgrounds of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, historical overview of Italo Ethiopian relations, and the back ground of the second Italo-Ethiopian war. The second chapter emphasizes the Italian occupation of East gojjam in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* in particular, Resistance movement in Gojjam and E/S/M/W, main battle place against occupation , coordination with neighbouring patriots, the features of the patriotic resistance in E/S/M, and the reaction of E/S/M people to the Italian rule. The third chapter deals about many face of the resistance like organization and leader of the resistance, the role of inner patriots, the role of women's, the church, the challenges of the resistance in E/S/M/W. The fourth chapter emphasize on the liberation of Enäbsé and the effects of the war; the return of the emperior, the impacts of the occupation on the local population, the establishment of Ethiopian patriotic Association and the last chapter deals about conclusion of the thesis.

In conducting this work, I used primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are collected from various archival centers like the Institution of Ethiopian studies (IES), the National Archives and library Agency (NALA) and Haddis Alemayhu Archival Center of Debre Markos University. I have interviewed the informants between November 2024 to April 2025 to collect genuine information. Necessary efforts were made in selecting appropriate informants, evaluating their information carefully, and checking up the information given by my informants with the archives and secondary sources. The secondary sources were collected from Debre Markos University, Internet and from E/S/M/W various secondary and elementary school libraries.

I have faced challenges while conducting this thesis. There is no archive center in the study area E/S/M/W. The inability of the informants to put the exact themes and periods was another challenge that I have faced. Because of the absence of peace I cannot move freely from one area to another area to collect various sources.

The most necessary accounts of the study area had been written in non-English or Amharic languages regarding the Amharic names, places and titles I have used the transliteration system

.Although this work is far from being complete it is hoped that it can initiate and give a clue to other historians who have the interest to study the history of the patriotic resistance in the study area further.

## **Abstract**

This thesis deals with a history of patriotic resistance in E/S/M/W 1935-1941. The objective of this thesis is to reconstruct a history of the patriotic resistance against the Italians in E/S/M/W. In this regard the thesis analyzes the birth of the resistance groups, nature of the resistance, challenges of the resistance and legacy of the Italian rule on the people of E/S/M/W. In the reconstructing the history of the resistance of the area under consecration archives has been used from National archival and Library Agency, Institution of Ethiopian studies, Debre Markos University. These have been further substantiated and counter checked by secondary materials and interviews made in E/S/M/W.

In this thesis historical research and historiography research approach implemented. Documented the history of the patriotic resistance in E/S/M/W. Provide a better understanding about the sacrifices made by the people of Enäbsé to eliminate the fascist Italians, identify the patriotic leaders and their co-ordination with neighboring district patriots, the role of women, the role of church, and the role of inner patriots, the collaborations and the liberation of Ethiopia. The study stimulates other researchers to construct history of patriotic resistance in different areas that their history did not well document. It will serve as a background for further studies on the same topic since the available of reference in the country is a serious problem, was the finding of this thesis.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL BACKGROUND

#### 1.1. Geographical Setting Of The Study Area

Getting sufficient information regarding the geographical setting of places and events is crucial for such historical research. It is, thus, crucial to provide readers of my thesis an overview of the geographical and historical background of the area under study. 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 Gojjam later Damot evangelized and incorporated as part of early Gojjam. In the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century Hailu Yosédéq made a marriage alliance with the Agäw rulers and merged the area with the former Gojjam and created the present Gojjam.<sup>1</sup>

East Gojjam is 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 Çoqé (also known as Mount *Berehan*).<sup>2</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup>*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 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Hence, the highest peak in the *wäräda* is AbbaMeniwos Mountain which shares 3,664 meter above sea level in Yäqändaç *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.<sup>4</sup>

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-25°c 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.<sup>5</sup>

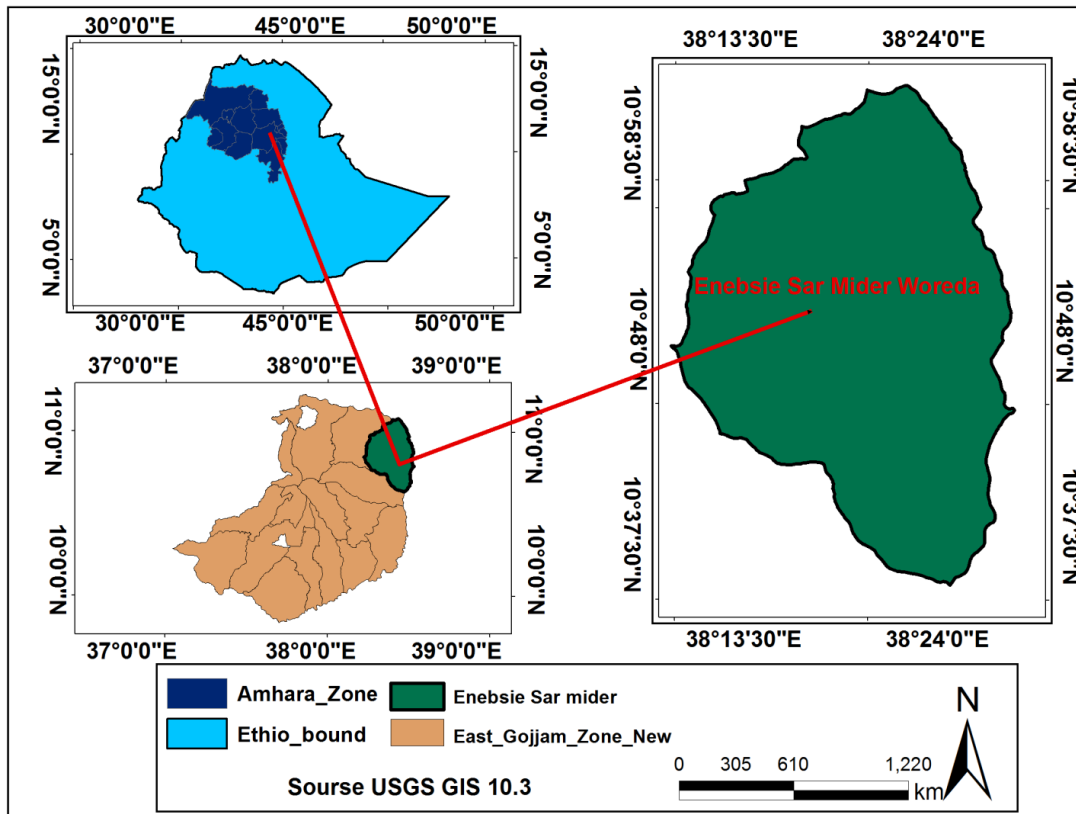
---

<sup>3</sup> Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*Yä mastawäqiya 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.

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

<sup>5</sup>Yä 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



Source USGS GIS 10.3

Figure 1 Map of the Study Area Enäbsé Sar Meder Wäräda

Rain fall in the study area is characterized by one rainy season. The area is known by having unimodal rain pattern 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.<sup>6</sup>

The topographic landscape of Enäbsé Sar Meder Wäräda is 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,

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

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, Çäyä, Śotäl Maṭäbiya, and Mäneda. Two crater lakes called *Lay Baher* and *Tac 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.<sup>7</sup>

## **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.<sup>8</sup> 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 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.<sup>9</sup>

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

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<sup>7</sup>Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “*yä gänzäb ena plan şefät bét yä 2013 stastical mäşehét*”, (Märtulä Maryam, 2006 E.C.), pp.1- 43.

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

<sup>9</sup>Yalemzewd 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.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

accessibility of land. However, peoples also engaged in small economic activities like handicraft in a small proportion.<sup>10</sup> Infact, from the total area of 106,533.63 Ha or 1,065.33 km<sup>2</sup> 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 hectare of land becomes underutilized.<sup>11</sup>

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 including *teff* (*eragrostis teff*), barley, wheat, millet, maize, sorghum/ pulse crops/horse bean, field bean, 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.<sup>12</sup>

The cultivation that leads to shortage of animal feed, poor management, drought and animal diseases are challenged livestock production of the region.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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 end even they received food aid.<sup>15</sup> Basically, food insecurity can be

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<sup>11</sup>Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “Yä Geberena Ena Gäşär Lemat Şefät bét Aṭäqalay Yä wärädaw Gäşeta”, (Märtulä Mariam, 2008 E.C.), pp.9-21.

<sup>12</sup> Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*, “Yä Geberena Ena Gäşär Lemat Şefät bét Aṭäqalay Yä wärädaw Gäşeta”, (Märtulä Mariam, 2008 E.C.), pp.9-21.

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

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

<sup>15</sup> Ejigu Jambaru Lakaw, “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

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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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), *tenečäl*(abysinian 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.<sup>18</sup>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),

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department, faculty of social science and technology management, Norwegian university of science and technology, may 2006), pp.42-52.

<sup>16</sup> ABSHCBDA, *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.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

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

*Qänṭafa* (petrolobuim), *besana* (corton *Macrosstachys*), *qulqual* (cactus), *asetä*, *sägäd*, *keteketa*, *dädäho*, *tekur ineçät*, and *degeṭa*.<sup>19</sup> While the shrubby species are succulents such as rét (aloe debrana), céferg (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.<sup>20</sup>

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 aiming preparing pupils for clerical activities as well as for other religious duties and positions.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> Currently, Ethiopian government used educational accessibility, equitability and quality as a policy. According to *wäräda* education office report, formal education in

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<sup>19</sup> Informants: Adanä Meheräté; Gäberé Mäkonnen and Täräfa Alämu.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>22</sup> Informants: *Re’ese Re’usan Qomos Abba* Hayeläyäsus Gäberä Märiam and *Abba Şeumäqal* Molla.

the study area is traced back to 1942 in which Abräha Wä Aşebha 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> There are a number of traditional medical practitioners who prepare medicines some illnesses like *Şewutta* or *meće*, evil eye, wart and hepatitis.<sup>25</sup>

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* Märtulä 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 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.<sup>26</sup>

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, Bank of Amhara, Bank of Tsehay Bank of Bunna Bank of Tsehay and also the town has other financial institutions like PEACE. The *wäräda* also available and has given postal and telephone services. Moreover, it is

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<sup>23</sup> *Temehert Şehéfät bet*, pp.5-6.

<sup>24</sup> Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda, téna Şehéfät bet yä 2010 E.C.amätawi eqed*, (Märtulä Mariam, 2009 E.C.), pp.1-3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Amhara 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 *Wäräda, "bahel ena tourism beauro, yä 2008 amätawi report"*, (Märtulä Maryam, 2008E.C.), p.2.

connected with Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Däbrä Markos and Wollo through main road even if the road becomes sandy or not asphalted.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.3. Historical Background

#### 1.3.1. Origin of the Names Enäbsé Sar Meder and Märṭulä 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 (አለብአሴ) meaning people of God who live in love and peace. Since, the period of Menelik I when those Israelites and Levites crossed the Abay River that the local people of Märṭulä 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.<sup>28</sup>

Now adays, the *wäräda* has four urban *qäbälés* and thirty three rural *qäbälés*. Märṭulä Mariam is the capital and commercial centre of Enäbsé Sar Meder *wäräda* and also the home of ancient Märṭulä Mariam Monastery flourished in the 4th century.<sup>29</sup> 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 Märṭulä Mariam in particular as part of it, Kam/Kush, Agäw, Amhara and Oromo peoples settled and lived respectively as a result of different historical coincidence.<sup>30</sup> Basically, Märṭulä 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 Märṭulä Mariam and they began to settle in the place and gave the first name of

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<sup>27</sup>Yä Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda yä mastaweqia şefet bet yä* 2017 amätawi report, p.9.

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

<sup>29</sup> Yalemzewd Dessie, p.4.

<sup>30</sup> Abebaw, pp. 3-5.

the area as *Hagärä Egziabehér/* homeland of God/ and they began to settle in the place.<sup>31</sup> 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 corner stone 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 land scape and the Old Testament sacrifice centre, they thought to build the New Testament temple at *Geneb woré/ግጉብ ዎሬ/* 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/* ሀገረ ሰላም/ 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 Aşebaha and the then Bishop Fréminaþius or *Abba Sälama*. Hence, Märtulä Mariam its meaning Hall of Virgin Mary is the name of the monastery and the town that she inherit its historical name after *Abba Sälama/Ferémnaþäs/* inaugurated twelve temple cathedral on 21 January 333 Ethiopian Calendar and named it as Märtulä Mariam.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Informants: *Re`ese Re`usan Qomos Abba* Hayle Eyäsus Tadé and *Abba* Qalä ŞedeqAbäbä.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

### 1.3.2. Peopling of Enäbsé Sar Meder Wārāda

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

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 Wārāda that they consider themselves at the earliest one. This was evident that even now a day the wārāda inherit many Agāw culture like Agāw tomb/Agāw māqaber/, Agāw trench/Agāw meśeg/ found in Enäbré qābälé of the wārāda; Agāw merchant door/Yä Agāw nägadé bär/ and Agāw wall/Yä Agāw Kab/ in Tāneta qābälé; Agāw burrow/Yä Agāw Gudguad/, Agāw iron melting/Yä Agāw berät maqeläça/, Agāw stone cart /Agāw dengay gari/, Agāw cave/Agāw waśa/ and Agāw goddesses/Yä Agāw amelkot bota/are found in Goś Dur qābälé of Enäbsé Sar Meder wārāda indicated that Agāw inhabitants were settled in the study are.<sup>34</sup> 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, Agāw and Gojjam taken as a landmark for the newly Amhara settlement as well as the suppression of Agāw by the newly arraying Amhara tribes in Gojjam in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder Wārāda in particular.<sup>35</sup> In addition to Kush, Agāw and Amhara settlers, Oromo also inhabited in Enäbsé Sar Meder Wārāda. 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 wārāda as part of Gojjam. This was evident; the wārāda inherits different names like *Burqa* (spring), *Fäya* (health) and *Gufu* (obstacle).<sup>36</sup>

### 1.3.3. Historical Overview of Italo-Ethiopian Relation

Most of the European countries that have historical relations with Ethiopia include Britain, France, Italy, and Portugal. Each European country had developed an imperialist interest in

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

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* and see also *Abebew*, p.3.

<sup>35</sup> *Lapiso G.Delebo, The Italo-Ethiopian War Of 1887-1896: From Dogali to Adwa*, (Addis Ababa, 1996), p.23.

<sup>36</sup> *Ian Campbell, The Plot to Kill Graziani: the Attempted Assassination of Mussolini's Viceroy*, (Addis Ababa university press, 2010), p.6.

Africa, and by 1899, all Ethiopia's neighboring countries were under the rule of Britain, France, and Italy. The relations of Ethiopia and these European powers were initially friendly and respectful but later changed and even the Europeans tried to colonize Ethiopia. In this regard, among other countries, the interest of Italy seemed to be the strongest. Italo- East Gojjam relations had officially started with the coming to Šäwa of an Italian geographical society mission (geographical studies team).<sup>37</sup> King Menelik, Later Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia, offered to the group the *LetMaräfia*, a village in the Ankober area.<sup>38</sup> Italy, however, used the place for its colonial interest rather than peaceful relations. The place helped the Italians to further collect data and to accomplish their mission in the name of research and academics. The hidden mission, similar to those of other European countries, of Italy was to colonize Ethiopia and establish an empire in the horn of Africa. Before the signing of the *Wuchale* Treaty, the immediate cause of the First Italo-Ethiopian war at the battle of Adwa, two peaceful and friendship treaties were made between king Menelik and Italy. In 1882, an Italian envoy Count Antonelli and king Menelik of Šäwa, later Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia, signed the treaty of commerce and friendship. In this agreement, both were agreed upon free movement of people and free trade. Nonetheless, it became clear that Italy wished to expand and link its holdings in the Horn of Africa.<sup>39</sup>

As a result, the then governor of Märäb Mällash, *Ras* Alula Engida, also known as *Aba* Näga, warned the Italians to clear out of the Ethiopian regions. However, the Italians were not willing to leave out the regions because they have colonial interest in the Horn of Africa. For the Italians, in this case, colonizing Ethiopia meant laying down a base to colonize the Horn of Africa. Finally, *Ras* Alula at Dogali some 20 kilometers inland from Massawa attacked and annihilated a column of around 500 Italians.<sup>40</sup>

After the battle of Dogali Italy needed the support of King Menelik of Šäwa more than he needed theirs, even Italy wanted Menelik to fight Emperor Yohanes IV from the south. However, King

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<sup>37</sup> Lapiso, p.56.

<sup>38</sup> *The Wuchale treaty was signed on May 2, 1889 between Italy and Menelik. Wuchale* was a place found in the present day of Northern Wollo where the treaty was signed.

<sup>39</sup> Taklasadeq Makuria, *Ašé Menelik Ena Yä Ethiopia Andinät*. (Kuraz Printing Press, Ethiopia, 1983), pp. 42-47. Bahiru Zewde, *the History of Ethiopia; from 1847- 1983*,(Addis Ababa University press, Ethiopia, 1999), pp. 82-83.; Lapiso G.Delebo, p.64.

<sup>40</sup> Tedla ZaYohanes, *the History of Ethiopia; Italy in Ethiopia; From Wal Wal to Gondar (from May 1927- November 1934)*, (Mankusa Publishing. p.l.c, 2004), pp. 8-10.

Menelik was not willing to fight against Yohannes. The Italians wanted his neutrality in the event of war with Yohannis. As a result, King Menelik of Šäwa agreed to the convention of Neutrality on 25 October 1887. In return, he gets from Italy 5,000 Remington rifles on sale. Menelik also left Enšošo for Wollo on 27 December 1887 with an army of 130,000 men following the emperor's order.<sup>41</sup> The friendly relationship between Menelik and Italy reached its apex at the end of the nineteenth century with the signing of the Wuçalé Treaty on May 2, 1889.<sup>42</sup> This treaty was the treaty of friendship and commerce between Ethiopia. This treaty can be seen as an attempt to conquer Ethiopia diplomatically. The content of the Treaty of Wuçalé had two versions; Amharic and Italian Version. The treaty contains twenty articles, but the most important articles in terms of their relevance and cause of conflict to the first and second Italo-Ethiopian war were Article Three and Seventeen.<sup>43</sup> Article Three, of the Wuçalé treaty, was about boundary demarcation. Article Seventeen was related to foreign relations and policy. To this end, Article Seventeen of the *Wuçalé* Treaty had a different meaning. In Italian, the treaty stated that Ethiopia was “obliged to conduct all foreign affairs through Italian authorities, in effect making Ethiopia an Italian protectorate, while the Amharic version merely gave Ethiopia the option of communicating with third powers through the Italians.” Thus, the Treaty obliged Ethiopia to handle her foreign affairs through Italian officials and it meant creating a de facto protectorate over Ethiopia. This article may be viewed as an Irony. This treaty clearly shows the imperialist and colonialist ambition of Italy over Ethiopia. Finally, in October 1889 Italy notified the major powers of Europe that Ethiopia had become her protectorate. Again, this shows Italy's commitment to the implementation of the Berlin conference.<sup>44</sup>

#### **1.3.4. The Background of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War**

The Italians, one of the latecomer colonial powers, began to put their influence over Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular, immediately after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.<sup>45</sup> Although the newly emerging nation-state of Italy was little more than a bystander in nineteenth-century Europe scramble for Africa, an Italian missionary was to buy the Ethiopian Red Seaport Of Assab. Acquired on behalf of the private Italian shipping company named

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<sup>41</sup> Campbell, p.5.

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

<sup>43</sup> Lapiso, p.52.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Campbell, p.5.

Rubantino from the local chiefs, the port was declared an Italian colony in 1882. As a result not only enjoy easy access to the horn of Africa but also have a foothold there, thus providing the opportunity to make abide by some of the last few territories on the African continent that remained not colonized.<sup>46</sup> Between 1868 and 1879, another Italian missionary G. Massaia became a resident evangelist in Šäwa and served king Menelik as his first European foreign policy advisor until he was expelled from the country by the emperor Yohannes IV in 1879.<sup>47</sup> In February 1885, the Italians got the chance of adding another important sea outlet. The British that sought to control the influence of its fiercest rivalry, France, encouraged Italy to take control of Massawa, which later served as a foundation for the Italian plan to colonize Ethiopia.<sup>48</sup> After they occupied the port, the Italians made an encroachment to the inland of the country. This led to the first military confrontation between Ethiopia and Italy. On 25 January, *Ras Alula Engida* ambushed the Italian fortress at Dogali.<sup>49</sup> Alberto Sbacchi described the incident as the first major setback received by any European power at the hands of the African army.<sup>50</sup> Despite their Dogali defeat and the repeated warnings from the Ethiopian rulers, the Italians were unwilling to leave the Ethiopian territories rather they were working hard to achieve their colonial ambition. These Italian actions led to the dramatic and historic battle of Adwa, held on 1 March 1896. The Ethiopians almost from all regions organized under the leadership of the Emperor, the Empress, and other nobility fought the Italians and achieved surprising victory. By doing that, they were able to defend themselves from European colonization. The victory on the other hand left Italy under a shameful mark.<sup>51</sup>

Although the Italians suffered a devastating defeat that was a blow for her colonial ambition over Ethiopia and signed a peace treaty immediately after the victory, they never gave up their colonial efforts. A decade after the Adwa victory, the Italians seemed to have renewed their colonization policy when they signed the tripartite treaty of 1906 with Britain and France. In which Ethiopia was divided into three-sphere of influence.<sup>52</sup> The entrance of Italy in the First

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<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>Lapiso, p.52.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa Press, 2002), p.145.

<sup>50</sup> Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (London: Zed Book Ltd, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>Campbell, p.8.

World War on the side of the allied powers and the treaty of friendship with the British to build a dam on Lake Tana were other clear manifestations of the restoration of Italian colonial policy over Ethiopia.<sup>53</sup>

Above all, however, the rise to power of the fascist party headed by Benito Mussolini in 1922 moved the colonization of Ethiopia one step further.<sup>54</sup>The new government of Italy was eager to avenge the battle of Adwa and to invade Ethiopia. Therefore, to facilitate military mobility for the conquest of Ethiopia, in 1925, Mussolini gave necessary commands for the building up of Eritrea's economic infrastructure and the transportation of necessary war equipment. Eritrea and Somaliland became the center of military training and the store of war logistics.<sup>55</sup>Side by side with a huge military preparation, the Italians strongly worked to win the support of some individuals and groups who were dissatisfied with the emperor's treatment through the subversive policy.<sup>56</sup>Indeed, the Italians had already practiced this policy before the battle of Adwa. All their efforts ended in vain after some year's success.<sup>57</sup>

The policy gained new momentum in the late 1920s and the early 1930s after Mussolini intensified a plan of revenge for the battle of Adwa.<sup>58</sup>To advance his plan of colonial ambition quickly, Mussolini opened many consular offices in different cities of northern Ethiopia intending to agitate the disaffected nobility against the emperor. They also ordered to weaken the national unity by provoking antagonisms among the different ethnic groups.<sup>59</sup>

Rafael De Lauro was one of the consuls assigned at Gondar. He strongly worked to quarrel with the different ethnic groups in Gondar and the surrounding areas. After De Lauro became the Italian consul at Gondar, he spent most of his time traveling from region to region to meet influential persons including the churchmen. He was in a good position in adopting Ethiopian

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p.10.

<sup>54</sup> Aregawi Berhe, *Revisiting Resistance in Italian Occupied Ethiopia: The Patriots Movement (1936/1941) and the Redefinition of Post War Ethiopia* (The Netherlands: Beill, 2003), p.88.

<sup>55</sup> Tadassa, p. 269; *Addis Zāmān* (Ter 12, 15, 1979), p.7; Aregawi, p.58.

<sup>56</sup> Campbell, p.11.

<sup>57</sup> Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (London: Zed Book Ltd, 1985), p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Minale Adugna, "Women and Warfare in Ethiopia", (Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2001), p.21.

<sup>59</sup> Harold, G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, (London: University of California press, 1994), pp.82-83; J.F.C Fuller, "The Battle of Mai chio, 1936, (summer 1940), *The Journal of the American Military Institute* Vol. 4. No.2, p. 77.

culture. For the effective implication of his hidden agendas, De Lauro changed his name to Rufael, the Ethiopian name. He made a traditional dressing style. Throughout his time at Gondar, he was busy visiting the churches and attending the church ceremonies, and on the way; he gave money, gifts, and materials for the needy. He established both the Amharic and Italian schools, which were very near to his office. He taught the students the fascist greeting style. By doing that, he played a leading political role in the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in general and Gondar in particular by indicating the Sätit-Gondar road. He had also opened the way for the act of collaboration.<sup>60</sup> De Lauro and his colleagues were able to win the attention of many regional lords and nobilities. Among the prominent nobles who favored the Italian rule were *Ras* Hailu Täklä Haymanot of Gojjam, *Däjjazmač* Haile Selassie Gugsä of Tägré, and *Däjjazmač* Ayaléw Berru of Semén.<sup>61</sup>

The global developments of the inter-war periods were very crucial for Mussolini's invasion plan. The tensions among Ethiopian powers benefited him a lot. British and France, which did not want to see the alliance of Adolf Hitler and Mussolini, allowed Mussolini to take control of Ethiopia. According to Donald Kagan and others, to keep Italy as an ally, the British government facilitated Mussolini's plan of invasion by allowing free transit for his soldiers and transporting necessary materials through the Suez Canal.<sup>62</sup> The ineffectiveness of the League of Nations also gave a green light for Mussolini to carry out a harsh invasion of Ethiopia.<sup>63</sup>

Following the occupation of its boundary in the eastern tip of Ogaden by the Italians on 5 December 1934. Finally, they provoked an incident by penetrating some 100 kilometers as far as the watering hole named; where Wäl Wäl precipitated a clash with an Ethio-Anglo military survey team. Shooting broke out, in which more than 100 Ethiopians were killed. The Wäl Wäl hostility provided a situation to exploit, although it remains unclear if at the outset the Italians intended to transform the incident into a war. Haile Selassie thought the crisis could be settled peacefully but the Italian refused to negotiate claiming aggression that rendered article 5 of the 1928 treaty of peace and friendship. Italy insisted that Ethiopia should formally apologize to Wäl

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<sup>60</sup> Aregawi, p. 88; Emilio De Bono, *Anno XIII, The Conquest of an Empire* ,(London: Crescent Press 1937), p.2; Pietro Badoglio, *The War in Abyssinia* ,(London: Methuen Publishers, 1937), pp. 8-11.

<sup>61</sup> Seltene Seyoum, "The History of the Resistance in Gojjam, 1936-1941" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1999), p.14.

<sup>62</sup> Bahru, p. 152; Imru Haile Selassie, *Kayähut Kämastawusäw*, (Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), P.260.

<sup>63</sup> Daniel Mamo. *Yaitaliya Ya marze gaz tiqat Ba Ethiopia Ena Waqtawi Ya Mesrraq Africa Segate* P.128.

Wäl I, pay an indemnity of \$ MT 200, 000. Besides this case Ethiopia by their envoys *Fitawurari* Täklähawariat Täklämariam respond to envoys of France and England, Piyer Laval and Anthony Aden in the following way;

*“ኢትዮጵያ ሞትን የምትመርጠው ከነክብሯ ስለሆነ፤  
ካሳውንም አትከፍልም ይቅርታም አትጠይቅም።”<sup>64</sup>  
Because Ethiopia prefers death to its glory,  
It does not pay compensation. It does not ask to apologize.*

The Ethiopian government took the case before Italy to the League of Nations seeking an immediate solution.<sup>65</sup> However, the league failed to pass a fair decision on the matter of the Italo- Ethiopian crisis, Now Mussolini had completed his military readiness, won the support of British and France, found the League of Nations toothless, and succeeded in the subversive activity.<sup>66</sup>

### 1.3.5. Fascist Invasions of the Country

Meanwhile, the Ethiopian government took the case to the league of the nations, which spent the next eleven months discussing the matter. Having thus allowed Italy to complete its massive capacity build up, the French and British declared their countries neutrality.<sup>67</sup> According to Mussolini's foreign minister, report to the League of Nations and European countries indicates in the following passages

*ተወዳጅ መሪያችን ደቸ ሞሶሎኒ እድለኛ ለሆነው ለጣሊያን ህዝብ  
የተከበረ ታሪኩን ለማደስ በሰጡት ተስፋ መሰረት፤ የዛሬ አርባ አመታት  
ኢትዮጵያ ያደረሰችብንን በደል ለመበቀል፤ ዛሬ ጥቅምት 3 ቀን 1935 ዓም  
ከንጋቱ በ አስራ ሁለት ሰዓት ፤ በታማኝ ዠነራል ኤሚሊዮ ደ-ቦኖ  
የሚመራው ጀግናው ሰራዊታችን የኢትዮጵያን ግዛት ጠርምሶ በመግባት  
አድዋን በእጁ አድርጓል።”<sup>68</sup>*

*On October 3, 1935, at midnight, our heroic army, led*

<sup>64</sup> Campbell, p.38.

<sup>65</sup> Takla Sadiq Makuria, *Yä-Ityopia Tarik Ka-Atse Tewodros eskä Qädamawi Haile Selassie 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* (Addis Ababa: Kidus Giorgis Printing Press, 2000).pp. 210-211.

<sup>66</sup> Harold G. Marcus, *Haile Sellassie I the Formative Years 1892-1936*, (the red sea press, 1998), p.148. Campbell, p.10.

<sup>67</sup> Zewde Rata, *Yä Qädamawi Hailäsilasé Mängist, 1930-1935*, (Shama Books, 2007), p, p.107.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, p.124.

*By the faithful general Emilio Debono marched on  
Ethiopia and invaded Adowa in retaliation for the  
Promise made by our beloved leader Duce Mussolini to restore  
the glorious history of the Italian people.*

Then on Wednesday, 3 October 1935, at midnight Fascist Italy penetrated the Ethiopian border and invaded the historic place Adwa.<sup>69</sup> Accordingly, the Italian army under the leadership of Marshal Emilio De Bono opened an aggressive offensive against Ethiopia by crossing the Märäb River.<sup>70</sup> The northern tips of Ethiopian territories such as Adwa, Addigrat, and Enšičo became the targets of the advancing Italian force. Thus, they were bombed and fell in the hands of the enemy easily between fourth and sixth October. Mäqälä was also seized by the force of De Bono on 8 November 1935.<sup>71</sup> Leul Ras Seyoum Mängäša tried his best to defend the historic area of Adwa but was bitterly defeated.<sup>72</sup> Because the Italians came 40 years later both to erase the “shameful scar” of their defeat at the battle of Adwa fought on 1 March 1896. They were determined to restore the glory of the old Roman Empire. Fascist Party was highly dedicated to restoring Roman glory.<sup>73</sup> They also included the formulation of the purported reasons for the invasion. The fascist was to bring good governance to Ethiopia; in the forms of a “civilizing mission”.<sup>74</sup>

However, De Bono occupied the above-mentioned areas within a month with little resistance. Some reasons accounted for the rapid success of the Italians. The first was technological superiority: the Italians came with the latest weapons such as aircraft, machine guns, tanks, and banned gas. Moreover, the Italians were superior not only in technology but also numerically. Mussolini who did not want to see the repeat of the nightmare of Adwa deployed a huge force.<sup>75</sup> Thus, De Bono came with 250,000 white armies divided into nine divisions and 150,000 colonial soldiers. On the other side, Mussolini assigned Rudolf Grazzaini to lead the force of one division from Somaliland.<sup>76</sup> On behalf of Ethiopia, there was no organized military preparation and mobilization until the Italians bombed many areas in the north. In his book entitled a history

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p.124.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14; Bahru, p.152.

<sup>71</sup> Zewde, pp.190-192.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*; Campbell, p.39; Zewude, p.170.

<sup>74</sup> Bahru, p.152; Seltene, p.14.

<sup>75</sup> Donald Kagan et al, *the Western Heritage since 1300. Sixth ed.*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hill, Inc. 1998), p.552.

<sup>76</sup> Harold Marcus, p.140. , Zewude, p.180.

of Ethiopia Harold G. Marcus noted that in suspecting of the Italian hidden goal (military preparation); he appealed to the provincial governors to come to the capital with their huge force. Because of the rainy season, most of the nobles reached Addis Ababa in September and October.<sup>77</sup> Finally, on 28 September 1935, the Emperor declared *yä ketät awaj* (general mobilization order).<sup>78</sup>

Following the Emperors mobilization order, the Ethiopian force organized under notable war leaders marched to war. In the northern direction, the Ethiopian force had been put under the overall command of *Ras Kassa Hailu*, and he led the following notable war leaders. *Ras Mulugéta Yegäzu*, *Ras Seyoum Mängäša*, and *Ras Imru Haile Selassie* were assigned as his subordinate to lead the Ethiopian army in Ambaradom, Tämbén, and Shiré columns respectively. To repulse the force of the enemy led by Grazzaini, in the South and Eastern part the emperor also deployed a huge force under the commandership of *Ras Dästa Damšäw*, *Däjjazmač Mäkonän Endalkačäw*, *Näsibu Zämanuél*, and *Afäwärq Wäldä Sämayat*.<sup>79</sup>

For the war, the emperor mobilized armies of 100,000 to 300, 000 which was smaller than the Italians had. Furthermore, the Ethiopians had no modern weapons and poorly equipped During the Italian invasion; the Ethiopian army had only 200 light artillery, 1000 machine guns, and rifles with 150 rounds per person. The other factor was the political situations that existed during the period; allowed General De Bono,„s force to control many areas with no or little resistance *Däjjazmač* Haile Selassie Gugsä, an influential man in Tägré deserted Italians and played a significant role in the seizure of other areas in Tigray.<sup>80</sup>

Subsequently, on 16 November 1936 Mussolini replaced Emilio De Bono, with Marshal Pietro Badoglio, to invade Ethiopia within a short period.<sup>81</sup> Badoglio also increased the bombing of Ethiopian regions and war logistics. It was during this time that the enemy used airplane to drop

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<sup>77</sup>*International Journals of political science and development, Vol.3 (2)*, (Ambo University February 2015), p.121; Bahru 1991,151.

<sup>78</sup> Campbell, p.38.

<sup>79</sup> Bahru, p.153; Aregawi, P.89; Michael Glover, *an Improvised War: the Ethiopian Campaign, 1940-1941*(London: Leo Cooper, 1987), p.14.

<sup>80</sup> Marcus, pp. 142-143.

<sup>81</sup>De Bono, p.2; Charles Schaefer Serendipitous, “Resistance in Fascist Occupied Ethiopia, 1936-1941”, *North East Africa Studies*, New Series, Vol. 3, No.1, (1996), p.85; The official proclamation declared by Emperor Haile Selassie during the second Italian invasion of Ethiopia, *Leyu Leyu Nägusawi Awajoč*.IES, MS, No.2557, about, The official proclamation declared by Emperor Haile Selassie during the second Italian invasion of Ethiopia, p.11.

outlawed mustard gas and bombs, thank to carrying a machine gun.<sup>82</sup> On the contrary, the Ethiopian army was waiting for the counter-attack, because for two reasons; the first one was by the trust of the League of Nations, and the second one was to encircle Italians when they entered the interior part. Later on, the counter-attack had begun. In March 1936, the Ethiopian force under Emperor Haylä-Selassé was marched from Mähan, a place near Mayçäw and reached Mayçäw and he began the warfare.<sup>83</sup> Thus, the Italian army was headed by Petro Badoglio whom he authorized to use mustard gas and flame-throwers.<sup>120</sup> Besides, only *Ras* Imeru achieved minor success in the Western direction. Nevertheless, the rest forces were highly crushed by the Italians. The war commanders of Ethiopia in the South were fought with courage and sentiment against Italians, unlike the Northern. However, Italians achieved a victory again on the Southern front.<sup>84</sup>

The most important factor for the Italian victory over Ethiopia was technological supremacy and unlimited use of mustard gas.<sup>85</sup> From the start, the attack was a disaster, though so hard fought that the Italians did not immediately pursue the retreating enemy.

By the evening of 3 April 1936, however, mounting Italian pressure forced the emperor and his escort to move southward to the safety of Lake Ašängé; however, the fascists killed mercilessly attacking the defenseless fugitive and spraying them with mustard gas.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, a crown council was deciding that the Emperor and his family should go abroad to symbolize Ethiopia's refusal to accept defeat.<sup>87</sup> At 4:00 A.M. On 2 May 1936, a special train carrying the imperials left the capital for Djibouti, where it arrived on 3 May 1936. The next day, the emperor, his family, and ranking officials boarded a British war vessel for five troubled years of exile and self-doubt in England. They left behind a nation that fought against the Italians.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Aregawi, p.89; NALA, Folder.No.62.1.File. No.18.18.

<sup>83</sup> Paul.B. Heinz, *Layers of Time*, (London: C.Hurst& Co., 2000), p. 217; NALA, Folder.No.62.1.File. No.18.18.

<sup>84</sup> Takla Sadiq, Ka Tewodros..., p.249; Tadassa Zawalde, *Yä Abälashän Zämän* (Addis Ababa: Berhanéna Salam Printing Press, 1955 E.C.),p.9; IES,MS,No.2557,The Emperor,s War Declaration.

<sup>85</sup> Qadamawi Haile Selassie, *Heywäté Ena Yä Ityopia Ermejja*, volume I.,(Addis Ababa, 1965 E.C.),pp. 191-193; Alula Yohannes, “The History of Dämbäça Wäräda to1991”,(MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2011), p, 41, Edward Hamilton, *The War in Abyssinia: A Brief Military History*, (London: The Union Press, 1936), p.7.

<sup>86</sup> Zewde, p.207.

<sup>87</sup> Angelo Del Boca,*the Ethiopian war, 1935-1941* (Chicago, 1969), p.69; Marcus G. Harold, *A History of Ethiopia*, (London: University of California press, 1994), p.144.

<sup>88</sup> Bahru, pp.153-157., Zewde, p.245.

After defeating the force of Ethiopia, General Petro Badoglio entered Addis Ababa at 4:00 pm on 5 May 1936, arrived in the city, and raised the Italian flag over the Imperial Palace.<sup>89</sup> At that moment, Italian army supreme command Marshal Badoglio had declared the following proclamation in Addis Ababa;

...ዛሬ የሐያላን የኢጣሊያን ንጉስ ስራዊት አዲስ አበባ ገብቷል። በከተማው እና በያገር ቤት ያለው ሰው ወደ ጥንት ስራው ይመለስ። እነዚህ ጦርነቱን ትተው ወደ ጥሩ ስራ የተመለሱትን በማናቸውም ነገር መወቀስ የለባቸውም። ካቸናፊዎ የኢጣሊያ ባንዲራ ጥላ ውስጥ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ስያሜ እና ልምላሜ ሊያገኝ ነው።<sup>90</sup>

*...People of Ethiopia! The troops of powerful Italy today entered Addis Ababa. Normal life returns to the cities and villages. No Action will be taken against those who abandon their weapons And resume their fruitful labor. Under the shadow of the Victorious tri color of Italy, the people of Ethiopia will have Peace, justice, and prosperity.*

The main objective of the proclamation was to win the mass support of Italian colonialism in Ethiopia and to remove all resistance movements for the establishment of a stable colonial administration system. Nevertheless, silence against foreign enemies is not the culture of Ethiopian people and patriots.<sup>91</sup> Some days earlier, on 2 May the Council of Ministers decided to send the Emperor to Europe for the appeal of justice for Ethiopia. Therefore, the emperor along with the royal families and delegates journeyed to Europe.<sup>92</sup> However, before his departure, the emperor transferred his message to the Ethiopian people in general and the chiefs, in particular, to form guerrilla warfare in their province. To resume the resistance, the emperor set up a

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<sup>89</sup>Campbel, p.40.

<sup>90</sup> Bahru, pp.157-158.; Zewde, pp.239-241.

<sup>91</sup>Giulia, Barrera, "Dangerous Liaisons: Colonial Concubinage in Eritrea, 1890's -1941". *PAS Working Papers, Number 1, Program of African studies* (North Western University. Illinois, 1996), p.137; Aregawi Berhe, *Revisiting resistance in Italian Occupied Ethiopia: The patriots Movement (1936 – 1941) and the redefinition of post war Ethiopia*, pp.92 – 93.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.* Zewde, p.248.

provisional government in Gore, South-Western Ethiopia.<sup>93</sup>The following Poem shows the fascist control of Ethiopia and the call of Ethiopia was expressed literally as follows;

**ጀግና አልተተካም ወይ በቴዎድሮስ ስፍራ?**

**ሰዉ የለበትም ወይ በምኒሊክ ስፍራ ?**

**ጠላቴ ሲወረኝ ብጣራ ብጣራ**

**ወይ እኔ ኢትዮጵያ የጀግኖች እናት**

**ሁለም አለቁና ትተዉ ባዶ ቤት**

**ደርሱብኝ የማያወቅ አገኘኝ ጥቃት።”<sup>94</sup>**

*“Is there no hero set in place of Tewodros?*

*Is there no Man in place of Menelik?*

*My enemy invaded me when I call and after*

*Call Me Ethiopia the mother of heroes!*

*All Heroes died and left empty home*

*I faced the attack, never happened before”.*

The Ethiopian patriot paid immense sacrifices to defend the country after the emperor, his family, and notable officials left Addis Ababa via Djibouti to Europe. At the same time, Benito Mussolini declared that Ethiopia became the colony of Rome, and Victor Emmanuel III as king of Ethiopia and Italy declared her new empire on 9 May 1936 which is called Africa Orientale De Italiana, (AOI).<sup>95</sup> The conquest of Ethiopia by Italy was concluded between 3 October 1935 and May 5, 1936, within about seven months.<sup>96</sup> The control of Addis Ababa was not only a long-year plan of Benito Mussolini but also the result of the investment of several Millions of money and the great scarification of life by the people of Italy and Eritrean Askaris. It is estimated that

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<sup>93</sup> Marcus G. Harold, *A History of Ethiopia*, (London: University of California press, 1994), pp.145-146.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* Campbell, p.43; A. Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935 – 1941*, (Lawrenceville. N.J., 1997), pp. 166 – 185.

<sup>95</sup> Charles Schaefer, “Serendipitous Resistance in the Fascist-Occupied Ethiopia, 1936-1941,” *Northeast African studies*, vol.3, No.1, (Michigan State University press, 1996), p.87. Ian Campbell, p.48.

<sup>96</sup> “*Kä 1909 amäte Mahrät Jämro Yätäsafut Leyu Leyu yä mängast Awajoč, Mastawäqiyawoč ena Tezazoč.*” IES, MS, No.2555, p.50. Campbell, p.49.

over 12 million dollars were invested in the conquest of Ethiopia.<sup>97</sup> By the time of the Italian occupation of Addis Ababa and the declaration of the establishment of the Italian East Africa Empire on 9 May 1936, only the northern section of the country was firmly under the control of Italians. Badoglio and Graziani controlled only one-third of the country.<sup>98</sup> Ethiopia became part of the Italian East Africa Empire that included Eritrea, Italy Somaliland, and Ethiopia. Badoglio was appointed as the first viceroy of Italian East Africa. Italians under fascist military administration glorify military and war. Because of the nature and strong military administration in Libya and East Africa, Mussolini earned the nickname as “Butcher of East Africa”<sup>99</sup>. After the appointment of Rodolfo Graziani as the viceroy of the Italian East Africa Empire, he was given unlimited power by Benito Mussolini to use force to crucify members of any resistance group. Any civilian who resisted in any way or simply who had refused to submit to the Italian overlordship was referred to as rebels or bandits and they were shot. Even the Ethiopian soldiers and patriots who had surrendered were not released rather they were cruelly executed. Many patriots of Ethiopians were taken as rebels. Mussolini instructed and ordered for his military generals that all peoples of Ethiopia who were regarded as a rebel by Italians were to be shot without any excuse.<sup>99</sup>

After a few days between the flight of Emperor Haylä Selassie I to Europe and the Italian occupation of Addis Ababa, there was mass violence, burning, looting and shooting become common in Addis Ababa. After the defeat of the Ethiopian force, Italians had begun to practice divide and rule policy, and the Italian East Africa Empire was divided into six Linguistic and ethnic-based administrative regions with their respective capitals. Asmara, Gondar, Jimma, were become the capitals of the region established by Italian Heavy bureaucracy, corruption, characterized the Italian colonial administration and officials were irresponsible, narrow-minded, and racist.<sup>100</sup>

Although Italians were successful in defeating the Ethiopian army, they could not establish a stable administration system in the country. There was a widespread patriotic resistance

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<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Informants: Abä Kābābāw, Grazmac Wārknāhe Mälässä.

<sup>99</sup> Bahru, p. 155; Fuller, p.88.

<sup>100</sup> Ghelawdewos Araia, “Revisiting Fascist Italy’s Crime in Ethiopia, (*Institute of Development and Education for Africa*, (Incorporated Company), April 7, 2008), p.4.

movement in several regions of the country. These patriotic bands were mostly concentrated in the regions of Šäwa, Gojjäm, and Bägemidir. These patriots constantly challenged the Italians.<sup>101</sup>

The Patriots were able to maintain almost total control over several mountainous and militarily strategic areas of the country. Italian forces could only go through temporarily and never predominantly established their colonial rule in the mountainous regions.<sup>102</sup> Especially after the massacre of February 19, 1937, Ethiopian freedom fighters continued their struggle by changing the war tactics from open struggle to guerilla warfare.<sup>103</sup> This forced Italians to recognize the success of the Ethiopian new guerilla war tactics. Italians were far from controlling areas outside the urban centers. Particularly, it was apparent that in the final years of the Fascist occupation power was falling out of the hands of the Fascists who were enclosed by Ethiopian guerillas.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Angelo Del Boca. Trans/ P.D. Cummins. *The Ethiopian War 1935-1941*. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1965), p.197; A. Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935-1941*, (Lawrenceville. N.J., 1997), pp.166-185.

<sup>102</sup> Charles Schaefer, p.87; Emperor Haile Sillase appealed about the Italian invasions of Ethiopia to the League of Nations, in Geneva, NALA.folder No. 63.1.file No. 37.13.

<sup>103</sup> Del Boca, p.198.

<sup>104</sup> Gelawdewos, p.94.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN ENÄBSÉ SAR MEDER WĀRĀDA

#### 2.1. The Occupation of the Country

On 3 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 Mayçaw 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. The Italians tried to control the whole parts of Ethiopia by using their viceroys. Nevertheless, during in their attempt of occupy the country; the patriotic resistance movement appeared throughout the country. Indeed Italian rule restricted largely to the towns.<sup>105</sup>

#### 2.2. Italian Occupation of Enäbsé Sar Meder Wārāda

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 Gonça Siso Enäsé, and *Fitawrari* Tamerat Agäw with *Grazmac* Wäledä Igziabhér in Hulät Eju Enäsé. Those collaborators managed the people to collect armaments except five armaments for *Däber*.<sup>106</sup>

So, on the eve of summer of 1937, the local people especially around Enäbsé Sra Meder and Gonça Siso Enäsé wanted to struggle against the Italians. But, the local chiefs in those areas were

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.162-163.

<sup>106</sup> Infomants: Gété Käbädä, Abä Käbäbaw and Abäbä Mäkonen .

delayed to accept the demand of the local people.<sup>107</sup> During this period, *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam with *Fitawrari* Ejigu Ewunātu and *Fitawrari* Delnāsa Yehun organized the peasants of Enābsé 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 Enābsé Sar Meder and Gonca Siso Enāsé want to free Moṭṭa and produced a poem

አሳጠረ ሽቦ አስካቦ ድንጋይ  
 ሞጣን የአባቱ አገር አደረገው ወይ  
 በአልቢን በምኒሽር በሽቦ ቢታጠር  
 ሳናየው አንቀርም ሞጣን የፈረንጁን መንደር ::<sup>108</sup>

*Paled by wire terraced by a stone*  
*Are you believe that Moṭṭa is your father land*  
*Even, paled by Albin, Meniser and wire*  
*We will visit Moṭṭa the village of the whites.*

### 2.3. Resistance Movement In Gojjam

Among the nationwide resistance, one of the remarkable struggles took place in Gojjam by the known prominent patriotic leaders. Like *Lej* Bälay Zälākä in Bičäna, *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam, *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunātu, *Fitawrari* Delnāsa Yehun and *Fitawurari* Häilu Bälw in Enābsé Sar Meder, *Fitawrari* Abāsa Mājälé in Gonca Siso Enāsé, *Dājzmač* Nägaš Bāzabeh in Damot, and *Dājzmač* Māngaša Jāmbäre in Agāw Medir governed their territories and resisted the rule of Italians by leading the local people. They collected taxes for their struggle, appointed administrators under their jurisdiction and gave titles for their loyal followers mainly done by *Lej* Bälay Zäläqä. These patriotic leaders carried their resistance independently without uniting personality or political organization. The emperor’s flight had created a serious gap among them.

<sup>107</sup> Informants: Mägabi Dañä Kassa, Grazmač Wäreqnäh Mäläsä and Däsäläh Yezängaw.

<sup>108</sup> Informants: Gété Kābädä, Abä Kābābaw and Abābä Mäkonen.

Their interesting common aim on their country was to remove the Italians by beginning from their region by resisting with any means.<sup>109</sup>

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.<sup>110</sup>

On the Grazziani massacre of February 19, 1937, the commander of the air force general Liotta wounded and cut his leg. Abunä Qérlos, *Däjazmač* Haile sellasie Gugsä and *Nägaderas* Afeworq Gäbrä Eyäsus were wounded. Then the black shirts had massacred and thousands of people have lost their life.<sup>111</sup>

As Tekeste argued that the resistance in Gojjam was harsh, but, lacked coordination. The case of Moṭṭa was not different from the case of Gojjam. The patriots of Moṭṭa organized themselves to struggle against the Italians since the summer of 1937. They also elected their own war commanders in their own districts. From new leaders, Häilu Bälläw was a patriot of Amhara Sayent, but later he left Amhara Sayent and entered to Moṭṭa, The patriots of Enäbsé, Gonča, Sar Meder and Enäsé were welcomed him during the summer of 1937.

#### **2.4. The Resistance Movement In Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda***

The resistance in Enäbsé Sar Meder had begun during the summer of 1937. The victory of Bälay Zäläkä on June 15, 1937 over Sämwaw Nägäw had taken the attention of Enäbsé to lead the rebellion against the fascists.<sup>112</sup> 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* Bözabeh Yemam also organized the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder against Italians. During this crucial period, *Lej* Häilu Bäläw was left Amhara sayent and entered to Enäbsé Sar Meder on 9 August 1937. He established his base in a village named Dämebäza and assumed

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<sup>109</sup> Temesgen 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. ፳፱/ጠ-6.

<sup>110</sup> Manyazizewal 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 Käbäbäw and Ato Gétie Käbädä.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* p.13.

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

important local chiefs under *Lej Häilu Bäläw* and *Fitawrari Bäzabeh Yemam* to command patriots. The patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder joined with Gonça Siso Enäsé patriots.<sup>113</sup>

## 2.5. Main Battle places against Occupation

### 2.5.1. The Battle of Abeni

After Italians occupied Märtulä Mariam and Moṭṭa, they faced the first attack from the patriots in Märtulä Mariam under the leadership of *Fitawrari Ejegu Ewunätu* 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.

አጨደው ከመረው ወቃው እንደበሬ  
የጎበዙት ወንድም መንግስቱ ጀንበሬ።  
ይወለድ እነብሱ ልጅ ይደግ ይዝማ  
የውሃ መትረጎስ አናዞ እሚቀማ።<sup>114</sup>

*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.*

The local fascists unable to defense the attack of the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder and Gonça Siso Enäsé, 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.

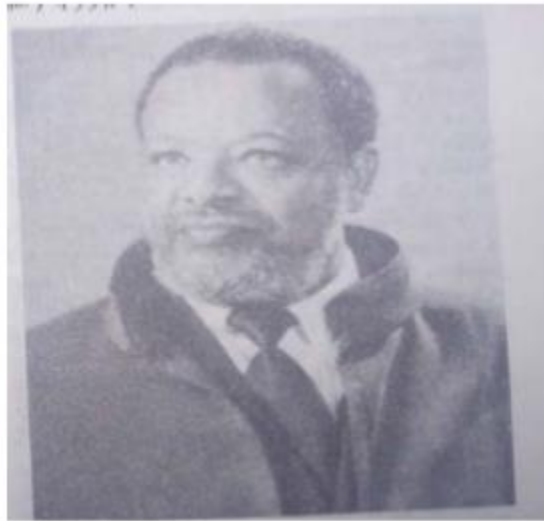
They began disarm and hunting chiefs and had been killed and imprisoned. Italians made fault by shooting the chiefs of Enäbsé Sar Meder on the street, who submitted for them, these were *Fitawrari Dässä Alämu* and *Abäbä Tayä*. *Qänzemaç* Yehun Haylu and other chiefs were

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<sup>113</sup>Informants: Ato Gété Käbädä, Ato Abä Käbäbäw and Ato Baša Mälässä.

<sup>114</sup> Informants: Ato Baša Mälässä, Ato Däsaläñ Yezängaw and Mägabi Täšomä Enäyāw.

punished and imprisoned at Märtulä Mariam. However, the sons of *Qäñazemać* Yehun Haylu named Kăbădă Yehun and Delnăsa Yehun liberated their father and joined the patriotic resistance.<sup>115</sup>



**Figure 2 Prince Ras Häylu Bălăw** Source: *Yăjăgenoc Adăra*, p. 29.

Italians under general maleti with his collaborators Andargé Alămu and his father Alămu Assăgé of Dăberăyaqob, the former representatives of *Ras* Hayelu Tăkelă Hayemanot tried to transport collected armaments and egg to Moțța. Nevertheless, *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunătu, *Fitawrari* Băzabeh Yemam and Delnăsa Yehun organized the patriots of Enăbsé Sar Meder to fought Italians at the battle of Šotăl Mațăbiya. In the battle patriots captured Italians collaborators *Fitawrari* Alămu Assăgé and his son Andargé Alămu and killed them. From the patriots side *Grazmać* Bălăy Wărqenăh, Dañăw Wărqenăh, Aśănăf Bălăy and Lăgăssă Arăda lost their life. Then the disintegrated Italian force retreated to Toramăda and Märtulă Mariam.<sup>116</sup> Captain Maleti was retreated to Märtulă Mariam, but patriots controlled the stream and fired the Italians at their camp by encircling at night. Then, Captain De Beaumont fled via Çăyă River to Dăbră Markos. In the battle patriots had captured a number of armaments, munitions and other materials.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Seleten Seyum, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam: 1936-1941”, (PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1999), pp. 120-121; Informants: Dăsalăñ Yezăngaw and Abă Kăbăbăw.

<sup>116</sup> Informants: Ato Gété Kăbădă, Ato Yohannes Ejigu and Ato Dañă Kassa.

<sup>117</sup> Seletene, p.121.

### 2.5.2. The Battle of Šotäl Maṭäbiya

When local chiefs of Gonča and Semada agreed to fight Italians and made an oath at Agazän Méda. On the same day, patriots were at Gété Sämané and they bragging the night to prepared for the fighting. During this crucial period, the people heard that; Italians had planned to give captured armaments, munitions and egg for Italian troops stationed at non permanent camp of Gendä Wäyen and for the Italian camp of Moṭṭa. The camp Gendä Wäyen was full of Eritrean Askaris and some Italian officers. Italians with their collaborators used the mule and donkey of the merchants of Märṭulä Maryam. They were under the command of *Fitawrari* Allämu Assägé and begun a march to Gendä Wäyen. Most of the Italian forces were local collaborators, Muslims, Tigreans and Eritreans. Some Italian white troops were also joined and fighting held at Šotäl Maṭäbiya on 14 August 1937.<sup>118</sup>

The people of Gonča from *Gra Gonča* (west part of Gonča), *Mähal* Gonča (central part of Gonča) and *Qäñ* Gonča (eastern part of Gonča) involved under *Qäññazmač* Abäšša Mäjjalé. Dässaläñ Däññäw was also involved at Šotäl Maṭäbiya with his men from Afaf Giyoregis. Firstly, the patriots of *Balambaras* Abäjjä Akalu fired on the enemy.<sup>119</sup>

*Abba* Tässämma Gošu of Gonča Mädhanealäm sent *Abba* Fänta Yegzaw to Šotäl Maṭäbiya. *Abba* Fänta with the cross of Gonča Mädhanealäm initiated the patriots. On the fighting, the great brother of *Qäññazmač* Abäšša Mäjjalé, named *Fitawrari* Dargé Mäjjalé and the relative of Ayälä Yayäh Yerad named *Qäññazmač* Mängesté was under Italians. Then, *Qäññazmač* Abäšša and Ayälä were begging their troops to capture their relatives than killed in fighting.<sup>120</sup>

On both sides a number of fighters lost their life. A number of Italians also surrendered to the patriots. The former representative of *Ras* Haylu Täklä-Haymanot at Däbrä Yaqob *Qäññazmač* Andargé Allämu with his father *Fitawrari* Allämu Assägé surrendered to the patriots. But, they had been killed by the patriots on the street. Patriots also killed *Qäññazmač* Bälačäw Tässämma, *Grazmač* Wäldä-Igzeabhér and others. The forces of the collaborators were disintegrated. Patriots won over Italian force. Then, the disintegrated force of Italians retreated to Tora Méda

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<sup>118</sup> Informants: Zäwdé Mulualäm, Yohannes Ejegu.

<sup>119</sup> Informants: Ayecaw Mäkonen, Gätechäw Nigusé.

<sup>120</sup> Informants: Bäsa Mälässä; Däräsä Säğaw.

and Märṭulä Maryam.<sup>121</sup> Captain De Beaumont was returned to Märṭulä Maryam and took refuge in church. Even though, patriots controlled the stream and fired against the Italians by encircling at night. But, Captain De Beaumont fled via river Çayä. Patriots were unable to capture him and he was able to reach Däbrä Marqos via Beçäna.<sup>122</sup>

From the patriot's side; *Balambaras* Käbbäddä Lawṭé, *Ato* Lemäneh Assägé from Agazän Méda, *Ato* Lägässä Iräd from Godguadit (Inäbsé), *Ato* Mentägzér Kassa of Genedä Wäyenand the brave patriot of Semada named Bayabel Gošu lost their life. Bayable Gošu buried at Gété Sämané, the people of Enäbsé produced a Poem for Bayabel Gošu.<sup>123</sup>

በየቦሩ ዘልቀህ ውብሉ ውብሉ

ባያብል ወደቀ ተከፈተ ቦሩ ::

*Please barking, please barking in every door*

*Bayabel became died, the door opened.*

Patriots had captured a number of armaments, munitions and other materials. From individual heroes, Mamuaš Açawač and his men captured twelve Meskob. Ayähu Tässämma and his men also captured six Meskob. Many collaborators surrendered to the patriots, especially Eritrean Askaris, Tigreans and Muslims. Those, captured collaborators forced to train the patriots about the use of modern armaments. A patriot captured nine Maskob produced a poem.

የመጣም ይደሰት የቀረም ይጠጠት

እንግዲህ አይገኝ ወተቱ ጦርነት::<sup>124</sup>

*Who involve in the fighting be happy, but the rest be unhappy*

*Never again we get a bright full battle.*

### 2.5.3. Battle of Tora Méda Abo

Italians planned to build a road from Märṭulä Maryam to Moṭṭa via Atällälé aimed to control the resistance in those areas. They built a camp in Tora Méda, my informants were unable to remind the exact date, in which Italians returned to Tora Méda. The period would be since January to

<sup>121</sup> Informants: Zäwedé Mulualäm, Yirdaw Kassa.

<sup>122</sup> Seleten, p.121.

<sup>123</sup> DMUAC: Folder number,9,File number<sup>ጠ</sup>/7-94.

<sup>124</sup> Informants; Wärknäh Mälässä, Chané Mitku.

March 1938 or before the campaign of General Malletti.<sup>125</sup> Firstly, Italians were established a smooth relation with the local people. However, later on, they wanted to spoil the local women and clashes had begun. Then, they burnt the village except the house of *Qäññazmač* Tamrat. For three days patriots under four chiefs named; Allämaw Kassé, Biyazen Däffaru, Ayälä Yayäh Yerad and Şäga Täşälä had attacked Italians. The fighting was during the night time, because the enemy at day time had able to see the address of the patriots by the fume of Meskob and Wujjira.<sup>126</sup>

The four chiefs in one day came to the house of Yezängaw Gobäzé. The wife of Yezängaw Gobäzé was prepared a food by four griddles. In the dinner patriots were discussed each other, one patriot called that Habet Yemär Čäkkol captured *Iräjem* Albin and the other called that Gäbrä-Mädhen Inyäu Mehrätu also captured *Iräjem* Minshir. So, why not we captured armaments? And they agreed to fight and captured armaments. On this occasion, patriots and the local people under the leadership of Allämaw Kassé, Biyazen Däffaru, Ayälä Yayäh Yerad and Şäga Täşälä encircled the Italian force for three days at Tora Méda Abo Church.<sup>127</sup>

Then, Italians were unable to fit the hands of the patriots. A collaborator named *Qäññazmač* Tamrat Beru supported Italians and the later left Tora Méda Abo via Çaya River.<sup>128</sup> On the retreated period the patriot of Inäba named Haylé Kassa captured machinegun at Çäya. The rest Italian force left the area of Tora Méda and established a camp at Inägodé, around Täskaro Dengay. Later, Italian force had begun attack by successive aero planes, at one time around eighteen planes sent, to bombard the area of Abba Meneyos and Selassé. Italians had killed innocents at Selassé by canon. During beginning of 1938, Italians were lived only in the camp of Qéro and Moṭṭa, because most of Italian camps were totally handed by the patriots since August, 1937.<sup>129</sup>

#### 2.5.4. The Battle of *Abba Meneyos*

After Italians had beaten the patriots at the battle of Märṭulä Maryam, the patriots of Gonča with the people of Enäbsé retreated to Yäqändač and Abba Meneyos massifs. Before Maletti and his

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<sup>125</sup> Informants: Yirdaw, Kassa, Yibälté Yitayäu.

<sup>126</sup> Informants: Abä Käbäbw, Yirsaw Mälaku.

<sup>127</sup> Informants: Abä Käbäbw; Yirdaw Kassa.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> Informants: Yohannes Ejegu, Chané Mitku.

force entered to *Abba Meneyos*, chief of patriots around *Abba Meneyos* were in a meeting to discuss about the struggle. Then, General Maletti marched to the escarpment; he used the collaborators of Inäbsé as a front cover. His force burnt village near to the escarpment of Yäqändač and *Abba Meneyos* on the side of Märṭulä Maryam. When the forces of Maletti were near to *Abba Meneyos*, Ṭenaw Mällässä called the people about the coming of the enemy. At the first, when the force of Maletti marched to Yäqändač and *Abba Meneyos* area, the people of Inäbsé became morally beaten and they concluded that the patriots of Gonča could become unable to fight. In spite of this, *Qän Géta* Hawaz was argued that, they were kids and could be fought Italians.<sup>130</sup>

Italians under Maletti were a large with modern armaments and used the Air Force. They used a horse named Dangula (The horse was with a shoe of iron and a mask in the side of the Ear to avoid disturbances in the fighting). Patriots built fort, but Italians attacked air by air. Besides this, the forces of the patriots were numerically smaller than Maletti and they were equipped with traditional armament. However, unlike the people of Inäbsé; the patriots of Gonča under *Qäññazmač* Abäšša Mäjjalé heroically fought with the forces of Maletti. Italians were unable to reach the escarpments leading to the Blue Nile gorge. Later on the balance of power shifted in to the patriots and patriots of Gonča won the battle. The commander of the patriots was *Qäññazmač* Abäšša Mäjjalé and his second in command Trefé Rätta. Italians returned, by burning Gonča Mädhanealäm, Yäqändač, Yebada, Inägäš, Amenit and other areas with a number of churches.<sup>131</sup>

A number of people lost their life from both sides. Especially, a number of patriots lost their life around Qanqé Mäqaber: among these, *Agafari* Qemämu Yebeqa, *Ato* Negatu Lebas, Tämäsegän Dubalä and others. On the retreat from *Abba Meneyos* to Märṭulä Maryam patriots attacked Italians around Wäyenat. A number of people lost their life from both sides. A number of armaments, munitions and even mules were captured from General Malletti by the patriots of Gonča, Siso Inäsé and Sar Meder. From those Heros *Qäññazmač* Trefé Rätta and Išaté Allämu captured machinegun.<sup>132</sup> The people of Märṭulä Mariam laminated a poem.

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<sup>130</sup> Seltene, p.137.

<sup>131</sup> Seletene, p.146.

<sup>132</sup> Informants: Mulatu Mällässä, Abä Käbäw.

ወይናት ከበሩ ላይ የበቀለውን ገብስ  
 አባ ሚኒዮስ ላይ የበቀለውን ገብስ  
 አተለሌ ከሜዳው የበቀለውን ገብስ  
 አትብሉት ዕርም ነው  
 ዝናብም አይደለ ያበቀለው ደም ነው።<sup>133</sup>

*The Barley grown at the gate of Wäyenat*

*The Barley grown at Abba Meneyos*

*The Barley grown at the flat of Atällälé*

*Do not eat, it is Taboo*

*Not grow by a rain; it was grown by a blood.*

### 2.5.5. The Battle Of Atälälé

The 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 Gonéa *Fitawrari* Dargé Mäjalé and his son Ambayä Dargé surrendered. Finally patriots became victorious and Italians fled to Märtulä Mariam and Däbrä Wärq through Çäyä. 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 Gonéa with the support of Semada patriots under Ayu Qämäs in south Gondär defeated the Italians. Then the people of the area produced a poem.

አባ ቀማው ሃይሉ የጦር እንደራሴ  
 ድልነሳ አባይመን ሲወጣ ከእነብሴ።  
 ጣሊያን ቡዳ ሆኖ ሲሄድ በሌሊት  
 እጅጉ አባቀስቶ ጋተው መድሃኒት።  
 ቆላውን ደጋውን አንድ አድርገህ እረሰው  
 ነጭ ሆዳም ነውና አንድም አይመልሰው።<sup>134</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Informants: Wärknähe Mällässä, Zäwdé Mulualäm.

*The war commander of Abba qämaw Hayelu  
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.*

### **2.5.6. The Battle Of Demät Gädäl**

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 Enäse under *Grazmac* Dañaw Märeša and patriots of Hulät Eju Enäse under *Grazmac* Šefäraw 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. Käbädä Yehun from Enäbsé, Wärqé Laqäw and *Grazmac* Dañaw Märeša from Gonća were lost their life in fighting.<sup>135</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup> Italians to reinforce their army in Gojjam general Malleti commanded ten thousand troops from Šäwa via Šafarṭaq located between Däjän and Gohaşeyon. Bälay Zäläqä was fought at Šafarṭaq Bridge and Ṭiq on 28, March 1938 and Italians marched to Gonća and Enäbsé.<sup>137</sup>

### **2.5.7. The Battle of Märtulä Mariam**

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

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<sup>134</sup> Informants: Ato Abä Käbäbäw, Ato Gété Käbädä, *Grazmac* Wärqenäh Mäläsä.

<sup>135</sup> Informants: *Grazmac* Wärknäh Mälässä, Ato Abä Käbäbäw and Ato Mäleké Käbädä.

<sup>136</sup> Seletene, p.137.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.139-145.

*Fitawrari* Abäsa Mäjalé and began to fight heroically against Malleti. Finally after a bloody war patriots became victorious.<sup>138</sup>

Patriots of Enäbsé, *Fitawrari* Bázabeh Yemam, *Fitawrari* Mäläsä Hayelu, *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunätu, Mäkonen Abäjä, 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*.<sup>139</sup> 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 *Lej* Bälay 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 Meniiser 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.<sup>140</sup>



**Figure 3** A photo of *Fitawrari* Ejegu Ewunätu

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

<sup>138</sup> Informants: Ato Abä Käbäbäw, Ato Gété Käbädä and Grazmac Wärknäh Mäläsä.

<sup>139</sup> Informants: Ato Abä Käbäbäw, Ato Yersaw Mälaku and Ato Gété Käbädä.

<sup>140</sup> Informants: Ato Yersaw Mälaku , Ato Gété Käbädä, and Ato Abä Käbäbäw.

## 2.6. Coordination With Neighboring Compatriot

The Patriots of Enäbsé sar meder had strong relations with the neighboring patriots, especially With Ayu qamas from South Gondar in Semada, *Grazmach* Dagnaw Märésa and Wärqé Lakew from Goncha and *Grazmach* Sefäraw Räta from Hulät Eju enäsé. They tried to help each other while they were being harassed by the brave chief leader who came from all over the area. In the beginning, on 15 September 1936, the patriots of Enäbsé Sar meder made an oath with the patriots of the other *wäräda* patrioties to support each other against common enemies. Ayu Qämäs was given enough bullets for their weaponry and they were returned to home Enäbsé Sar meder. This spirit of cooperation has been a great moral strength for the patriots of Enäbsé Sar meder. The groups of Ayu Qämäs and *Fitawrari* Abasa Mäjäle became close partners for the patriots of Enäbsé Sar meder. The patriots of South Gonder ,Goncha Siso Enäsé, Huläteiju enäsé and märtulä mariam were fought the Italian army by cooredinated each other in various battle fildes in different places like Märtulämariam( in the battle of Abeni, Sotalmatabia, märtuläriam, Yibsana Mariam), in Goncha siso enäsé ( in the battle of Toria Meda), Huläteiju Enäsé( in the battle of Demät Gädäl), Debera work in different places, Tiq the patrioties fought Italians with *Lej* Bälay Zäläke. Generally the patriots were support each other by different meanses like idea, troops, firearms etc.<sup>141</sup>

## 2.7. The Features Of The Patriotic Resistance In Enäbsé Sar Meder

While a large number of the local people fled to another region, some of the people also changed into bandits (patriots), and fought against the Italians. There were two types of military strategies in the area. These were open and guerrilla warfare, in which the local patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder had reacted to the Fascist Italian army. The Italians were unable to occupy and rule the regions of Enäbsé Sar Meder in particular and the country in general effectively.<sup>142</sup>

Since their arrival in Enäbsé Sar Meder on 22 October 1936, Italians had been determined to crush the strong patriotic resistance in this particular region. The patriots of the region had fought the Fascist Italian force since the beginning of the war on the northern front. They also tried to prevent the penetration of Italians in northern Eastern Gojjam in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder

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<sup>141</sup>Informants: Aläbachäw Abäbä, Yirdaw Kassa.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

in particular. In doing this, they engaged in the defensive war of Abeni to prevent the advance of the force of the enemy from Abeni. They fought in different battles in alliance with other patriots of Gojjam. Most of the time patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder had confronted the Italians in open battles and sometimes they had used a system of a surprise attack on the force of the enemy in the nighttime as a hit-and-run tactic.<sup>143</sup>

The geographical condition of Enäbsé Sar Meder also enabled the patriots to open a surprise attack on the force of Italians.<sup>144</sup> The Italians had established an unstable administration system in Ethiopia in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder in particular. They had established only a temporal administration system in the region. The rural areas of the Ethiopian region were under the control of Guerilla fighting patriotic forces. The patriots continued and strengthened their organized patriotic resistance. Among the three Italian colonial viceroys, Rodolfo Graziani's administration system was militarist, racist and brutal. Especially after the attempted assassination of Graziani on Feb 19, 1937, virtually the entire population of the town was ruthlessly exhausted. Furthermore, the number of victims is estimated to be between 1,100 and 1,750 among them monks, priest deacons, teachers, and pilgrims who have visited the monastery founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> century by Sit. Marry.<sup>145</sup>

Generally, Italians had used two methods for removing the guerrilla fighters in the country. According to Daniel Mamo, the fascists used chemical weapons to terrorize the patriots and civilians to bring their submission.<sup>146</sup> This was the most dangerous military strategy that was used by Italians on the innocent Ethiopian people. These mass killing weapons are not only used to kill the Ethiopian freedom fighters, which are called “rebels” or “bandits” by Fascist Italians but also innocent civilian Ethiopians. Thus, the use of chemical weapons brought the death of a large number of people. It brought several effects not only on human beings but also on the surrounding living things including plants and animals. It also brought air and water pollution which resulted in the death of a large number of living things.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> Informant: Märgéta Dibäkulu.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

Graziani's brutal method had terrorized including those Ethiopians who had been prepared to accept Italian rule. Some of the women who had taken the oath of loyalty now systematically distrusted Italian authority while others broke the Oath and went over to the patriot's group. This was a terrible state of affairs after the Fascist occupation of Addis Ababa. They understand the alliance that would be fruitful in realizing the independence of their country.<sup>148</sup> Moreover, the fascist were devastating the entire villages, execution, and hanging of the Patriots in public.<sup>149</sup> This was made to terrify the patriot's resistance and by which they wanted the submission of the resistance groups. Italians had executed women, children, elders, and men indiscriminately. The educated Ethiopians, members of the black lion organization, were the targets of Fascist execution. This was to create the missing generation of intellectuals in Ethiopia between the pre-war and post-war periods. Additionally, such Fascist terror and brutal measures brought the escalation of the struggle and change from the first conventional war to the second phase of Guerrilla warfare.<sup>150</sup>

## **2.8. The Reaction Of Enäbsé Sar Meder People To The Italian Rule**

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia on 3 October 1935 resulted in the occupation of Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936. The year 1936-1941 was full of crucial events that decided the fate of Ethiopia either becoming a colony or remaining independent.<sup>151</sup> The defeat of Ethiopian troops at Maychaw not only subjected the country to foreign rule but also forced the emperor to leave the country.<sup>152</sup> Then, the fascist army attempted to occupy several areas of the country. At the same time, the fascist had attempted to explore several areas of Enäbsé Sar meder to remove the resistance of the patriot's force. In doing this, the fascist served Märtulä mariam as the military garrison and base of Italian military logistics in Eastern Gojjam. Mobilizing from this particular region, the enemy began to put pressure on the people of Enäbsé Sar meder areas. Using these areas as a springboard, on 22 October 1937 the Italian army entered Enäbsé Sar meder and continued their attack. Then, they had established the first garrisons at Märtula Märiam Agracultural collage, in Bakélayé *Qäbälē* and had recruited local collaborators to facilitate

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<sup>148</sup> Informants: Yirdaw Kassa, Wärknäh Mälässä.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> Bahiru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* (Addis Ababa University press, 2002), p. 160.

effective occupation in the region.<sup>153</sup> The people of Enäbsé Sar meder had tried to overturn the severe military strategies of Italians. Therefore, the local people had engaged in different means against the Italian aggression and occupation in Enäbsé Sar meder areas<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>Daniel Mamo, *Yä Italiya Yä Märze Gaz Tiqat Bä Ethiopia Ena Wäqetawi Yä Mesiraq Africa Segate*, (Addis Ababa: Far East Trading press, 2009), p.125.

<sup>154</sup>Erqyihun Bälaynäh, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik Kä Imam Ahmed Eskä Dagmawi*, (Addis Ababa: HY International printing P.L.C), p.18.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MANY FACE OF THE RESISTANCE

#### 3.1. Organization And Leaders Of The Resistance

After the occupation of Addis Ababa by the enemy force, the fascists planned to control all *Awurajas* of Ethiopia.<sup>155</sup> Following the defeat of Ethiopia in the battle of Michaw, on 2 May 1936, the Council of Ministers decided to send the Emperor to Europe for the appeal of justice for Ethiopia. Besides this, before the departure of Emperor Haile Selassie, they discussed the fate of patriotic resistance in the country and outside the country.

In the area of Enäbsé Sar Meder; *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh from Dāmbāza was a patriot who was the commander of the patriots of Sar Meder to the northern front. When, the Ethiopian force had been beaten by Italy, he turned to Sar Meder and stayed for a year. After a year he had organized the patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder in the summer of 1937 with *Fitawrari* Mällässä Haylu and led the resistance. After the death of *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam, Mällässä Bāzabeh became a patriot chief in Sar Meder. From the patriots of Inäbsé Abbay Fālāqā and Goné Fālāqā were known patriots. Patriots of Enäbsé namely; Ejigu Ewnātu, Mākonnän Abājǰǰä, Berhanu Tadägä and Fänta Lägässä were organized and resist Italians under *Lej* Bällay Zällāqā. *Lej* Bällay reward lofty titles for them. Along with this decision different patriots of Gojjam like Bälāy Zälāke from Bicana, *Fitawrari* Bāzabeh Yemam, *Fitawrari* Ejigu Ewnātu, *Fitawrari* Delnāsa Yehun, *Fitawrari* Abāsa Mājale from Goncha siso enäsé marched from different *wärādas* to Enäbsé sar meder *wärāda* to fight the enemy.<sup>156</sup>

#### 3.2. The Role Of Inner Patriots

Most of collaborator leaders had given armaments, munitions and information for patriots.<sup>157</sup> Women's were became servants for the enemy and collected wood, washed a cloth, and involved in other jobs even as a prostitute. Then they passed information to the patriots as a spy.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> De Boca, p.140.

<sup>156</sup> Informants: ChanéMitku, Yirdaw Kassa.

<sup>157</sup> Seltene, p.183.

<sup>158</sup> Informants: ChanéMitku, Yirdaw Kassa.

*Fitawrari* Mällässä Haylu, from Enäbsé was at the beginning a patriot. Then, Italians had killed his son in law and burnt his house after the battle of Šotäl Maṭäbiya. He saved at a cave in Sar Meder. Later, he was submitted to the Italians, under *Fitawrari* Dästa Gétahun and became collaborator. However, he served as inner patriot under the Italian. He was the most important inner patriot at the battle of Ayalfuš (a battle between Italians and Bällay Zälläqä). He blocked the Italians to enter to the patriot's area, especially, in to the hot areas. He had also saved the life of many patriots from death, who captured by Italians at *Abba* Meneyos and Däbrä Wärq. *Fitawrari* Mällässä was given fifteen Albin and Menshir for patriots via *Grazmač* Ayaléw Yemär. He worked hard to save Märṭulä Maryam Church from total destruction.<sup>159</sup>

Most Inner patriots had given armaments, munitions, and information for patriots. Women became servants for the enemy and collected wood, washed cloth, and were involved in other jobs even as a prostitute. Then they passed information to the patriots as a spy.<sup>160</sup> Inner patriots were also a great source of irritation or frustration to the Italians who considered them more harmful than the guerilla fighters or conventional warriors. Because the inner patriots were so difficult to defeat the Italians since they had lived with them. Most of the inner patriots were women. This was because of their capacity to incite less suspicion and the prominent role they played in that respect.<sup>161</sup> For medical supply and other assistance, the patriots mostly deepened on the “*Yewust Arbenoch*” i.e their supporters who lived and worked with the enemy. Among the most important inner patriots of Enebsé Sar meder where ,*Fitawrari* Mällässä Haylu,*fitawrari* Dästa Getahun, *Grazmac* Ayalew yemär, Amoññäs Alämu, Assäläffäc Kassa. This inner patriots in Enäbsé Sar Meder had provide food, provision, medical supply and information to the patriots in the areas.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Informants: Yirdaw Kassa, Wäknäh Mälässä.

<sup>160</sup> Bahiru, 2002, p.173.

<sup>161</sup> Tädla Zayohanes, The History of Ethiopia; Italy in Ethiopia; from Walwal to Gondar (from May 1927- November 1934), (Mankusa publishing, p.1.c, 2004), PP.358-259.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid. p. 210.

### 3.3. The Role of Women

According to Rogers, Ethiopian women“s were the most powerful women in our land. They had strong courage and became harsh, especially during a war. They were always within their husband in fighting. If her husband shoots by enemy forces, Ethiopian women“s became very anger and fought even more than a man.<sup>163</sup>Women“s, cook, prepare and support care the wounded, encourage a men by singing a song. The mother who gave a birth stay for forty day`s by the assistance of other women`s and turned back to normal life. But, birth rate was slow than death rate because of typhus.<sup>164</sup>

From Enäbsé Amoññäš Alämu and Assäläffäč Kassa were notable women patriots. Assäläffäč Kassa was involved under *Lej* Haylu Bälläw and Bällay Zälläqä. She supported patriots by food supply and others. She also produced a poem to *Lej* Haylu.

አባ ቀማው ኃይሉ ቁመቱ ረጅም ነው`

እግሩ አማራ ሳይንት ራሱ ጎጃም ነው::

*The height of Abba Qamaw Haylu is long*

*His leg is from Amhara Sayent and his head is in Gojjam.*

His leg is from Amhara Sayent and his head is in Gojjam indicates that; the mother of *Lej* Haylu Bälläw or *Abba* Qämaw was in Amhara Sayent. But, his father“s line was from the royal family of Gojjam and also he was a patriot of Gojjam and Amhara Sayenet.<sup>165</sup>

Lastly, the participation of women was great and contributed to supporting the liberation movement of the country including in open battles. The following poem or war weep shows the contribution of Women patriots during the time of Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

ወንዶ የሚበልጠኝ በእርሻ ብቻነው

ጥ ይት መተኮስ ለሁላችን ነው

ለሀገር መሞት ለዕኔም ጭምር ነው

እተኩሳለሁ እኔ እንኳ ሴቲቷ

<sup>163</sup> J.A.Rogers,*The Real Factes about Ethiopia* (Baltimore:Black classic press,1982),p.23.

<sup>164</sup>Salomegabre Egziabher.”The Ethiopian Patriots 1936-1941.”(Ethiopian observe. Vol,xII.no.2),p.64.

<sup>165</sup> Informants :Yibälté Yitayäw, Wärknäh Mälässä, Assäläffäč Kassa.

ፋሽስት ማራኪ ፍጹም ሴቲቷ።<sup>166</sup>

*Man is better than I only in the field am*

*Popping Bullet is for all of us*

*It is also for me to die for the country*

*Even I, a Woman open fire*

*The woman who would capture Fascist.*

During the patriot resistance period, children also had been given a job to keep animals, collect wood, prepare food, keep the mule for patriots, and bring water.<sup>167</sup>

### 3.3.1. The Church

The Ethiopian Orthodox clergy worked hard to influence the Askaris against Italians. When Italy invaded Ethiopia, on 3 October 1935, the church ordered the people to fight in united front for their country and religion. The *Içägé* was in the northern front. However, after the Emperor and the *Içägé* left the country, the response of the church officials was different from one region to another.<sup>168</sup>

By the end of 1937, Italians had pushed the clergy of the Ethiopian church. The first planned the independence of the second from Alexandria. Then Ethiopian church leaders meet and declared independence from Alexandria.<sup>169</sup> On 27 November 1937, Abunä Abreham became head of Ethiopian church and he holy five episcopos. Then, some of the episcopos had been sent to Gojjam to disarm the people. However, the clergy of Gojjam didn't involve in the meeting to elected Abunä Abreham. Alexanderian church was shortly excommunicated him. A letter was sent to Gojjam and read by Täddässä Gäbrä-Mädehen. Abunä Abreham was firstly a bishop of Gojjam. So, the excommunication was binding after he became Abune of Ethiopian church, because he consecrated peoples firstly in Gojjam. Then, the *Içägé* Gäbrä-Giyorgis sent a letter

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<sup>166</sup> Lulu Gembenah. "Ya haya amstannaw Ya arbanno oc matasabiya Yagar gizat bet miyazya, 27,1958 E.c, Ies. Ms, file No.1128, p.191.

<sup>167</sup> Informant: Yibäital Bäzabihe.

<sup>168</sup> Maniazewal Assefa, "The Resistance in Bagemedet, Gojjam and Wellega ".BA thesis, Departement of History, (Addis Ababa:Haileselasse the I University 1970),p.23.

<sup>169</sup> Haggai, Erlich, *the Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2002), pp.103, 114,117.

from Jerusalem to initiate the struggle. The clergy of Gojjam had written a letter to the Emperor to continue their struggle.<sup>170</sup>

The Christian churches were faced persecution by the Italians. As results of Italians believed, in which churches had strong connection with the patriots.<sup>171</sup> Patriot leaders and patriots were religious and allied with priests. Priests had organized and console the wounded and families of died one. They had advised the patriots even in fighting. Priests were communicated patriot chiefs and settle issues, if conflict arose. They had involved as messengers in giving arms and food. Sometimes priests involved smuggling medicine.<sup>172</sup>

From notable priests; *Abba Tässamma* was a church father of *Lej Haylu*.<sup>173</sup> *Abba Tässamma* was played a great role during the patriotic resistance especially around *Gonča*, *Siso Enäsé* and *Sar Meder*. He organized the resistance with *Qäññazmač Abäšša Mäjjalé*. Later on, when *Lej Haylu Bälläw* entered to Gojjam, *Abba Tässamma* communicated with *Lej Haylu Bälläw* and patriots to coordinate the leadership. *Abba Tässamma* also advised the patriots. He decided the fighting season or summer; because, during summer Italians blocked by the rivers to facilitated their provisions and army.<sup>174</sup>

### **3.4. The Challenges Of The Resistance In Enäbsé Sar Meder**

#### **3.4.1. Lack of Provisions and Medication**

One of the problems that faced the patriots was the lack of provisions and medication. These were the challenges in the region was a severe food shortage, which badly affected the life of the patriots. The cause of the provisions was the strong nature of the resistance, which made the peasants not plow and cultivate their farmland, aggravating the famine hardship. Thus, food became a great issue of the time.<sup>175</sup> To minimize this problem, the patriots used different methods such as dividing the warriors on the peasant homelands, looting properties of collaborators, ambushing enemy fleets, and seizing provisions as well as armaments. They also assigned some of the fighters to cultivation and, when all alternatives failed, hunting wild animals, and

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<sup>170</sup> Maniazewal, pp. 25-26.

<sup>171</sup> Adejumobi, A. Saheed. *The history of Ethiopia*.(London:Greenwood press, 2007), p.79.

<sup>172</sup> Salome,p. 68.

<sup>173</sup> Seltene,p. 238.

<sup>174</sup> Informant: Abba Täsfa Mariam.

<sup>175</sup> Informants: Wärknäh Mälässä, and Yirdaw Kassa.

collecting wild fruits and roots of plants.<sup>176</sup> Medication was another problem of the patriots. It was the most important thing to carry out the resistance movement safely. The patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder did not have trained physicians to treat the sick and wounded, it was only the women and unarmed patriots who treated the wounded patriots. The absence of any reliable medical supplies had forced the patriots to depend on the services of traditional doctors (*Wägéša*). This is supplemented by what is protected by inner patriots.<sup>177</sup>

### 3.4.2. Shortage Of Arms And Ammunitions

The other serious problem that persisted during the resistance period was the case of firearms. When the Italians made an aggressive spread into the borderlands of Ethiopia, only a few Ethiopians had possessed modern guns.<sup>178</sup> Adolf Parlesak participated in the northern front with *Ras Kassa Hailu* and other notable generals. He described the problems of the Ethiopian army in arms and ammunitions as follows.

*አብዛኛው ሰራዊታችን ከየጥሻውና ከየአምባው  
 የመጣና ጎራዴ ብቻ የታጠቀ፤ በመጀመሪያው  
 ቀን ወጊያ ጠላትን ገሎጥሩ መሳርያ ለመታጠቅ  
 በፅኑ እምነት የቆመ ጀግናና ጉጉ ጦር ነበር።<sup>179</sup>*

*Most of our troops came from the Jungle and the Fort armed  
 Only with the sword; on the first day of battle, he was a very brave  
 And eager soldier who was determined to arm himself with better weapons.*

Besides, as informants told me, during the campaign to Märtulä Mariam many of the Enäbsé sar meder people had possessed traditional weapons such as Axe, knife, sword, and spear. Even after the beginning of the guerrilla warfare type most of the people were without firearms though there were captured arms at the different battles.<sup>180</sup> As far as the distribution of firearms in the country before and the time of occupations concerned, Sälomé Gäbrä Egziabher described that the Gojjam province had more firearms than the other provinces. As she discussed in detail, the price

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> Glover Michael. *An Improvised war. The Ethiopian Campaign, 1940-1941.* (London: Leacopper, 1987),p.13.

<sup>179</sup> Parlesak, Adolf. Trans, Techane Gobre. *Ya Habasa Gabdu*, (Habesska odyssey).(Addis Ababa University Press: Birana printing organization,1989),p.23.

<sup>180</sup> Informants: Abä Käbäbäw, Yirdaw Kassa.

of guns in Gojjam and Gondar was too expensive. In Gojjam, for instance, the price of one rifle was estimated at 500 Maria Theresa Taller.<sup>181</sup> Therefore, the patriots found it difficult to purchase even one rifle. The problem was not only the quantity but also the quality of the arms. Besides the traditional weapons, the Ethiopians armed with the old aged weapons were probably the treasures of the battle of Adwa and even before it. The majority of weapons were Nasmaser, Senader, Moskob, Albine, Mouser, Wäçafu, Lebel, Pistol, and some machine guns.<sup>182</sup> Due to their long service, most of the weapons were not active and rusted. Even so, the Italians came with weapons that were automatic, devastating, and latest. The arms included tanks, poison gas, flamethrowers, flame bombs, mortar, shells, aircraft, and military cars as well as various means of communications.<sup>183</sup> Thus, the technological superiority of the enemy made the road to liberation difficult though the Ethiopians fought resentfully in all days. The issue of weapons became a serious problem, which lasted up to the defeat of the enemy. To ease the problem, the patriots of Enäbsé, Goncha, Motta, and Semada used different strategies. Hence, assaulting the camps and garrisons was one of the tactics measured by the patriots to acquire modern weapons.

In the dawn of the liberation starting from 1939, the problem of firearms was somewhat minimized because of the beginning of the cross-border operation and the returning of the bandas and askaris who came with the gun. Notwithstanding, the issue of the firearm continued as a serious challenge until the final whistle of the liberation.<sup>184</sup>

### **3.4.3. Lack of Communication**

The Ethiopian patriots did not well exchange ideas, and letters with each other due to the problem of communication. The Enäbsé Sar Meder patriots were null of any communication agents like radio, telegrams, newspapers, and letters. They received messages, which traveled a long distance on foot because there was no means of transport. The Mules, Horses, and Donkeys were used as means of transport, which facilitated fast communications.<sup>185</sup> Hence, the different groups of patriots in Enäbsé Sar meder had the opportunity and often exchanged messages with messengers. To do this the patriots must find persons honest and careful who can bring the

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<sup>181</sup> Salomegebre Egziabher. "The Ethiopian patriots, 1936-1941." *Ethiopian observer* 2, No.12:63-91. 1958, p.65.

<sup>182</sup> Informants: Zäwdé Mulualäm, Yirdaw Kassa.

<sup>183</sup> Informant: Abä Käbäbawä.

<sup>184</sup> A.Parlesak, p.196.

<sup>185</sup> Informant: Ababa Mäkonen.

messages carefully. Drugs, bullets, rifles, and clothes brought to them passing through difficulties in order not to be discovered by the enemy because it would be dangerous to the senders if known. Food and water supplies could be late because of communication problems. In all cases, patriots were very far from information to know about the condition of the country, the enemy, and the situation of their fellow groups to deal on the common matter that is independence. Therefore, discouraged and despised the patriots in the resistance movement.<sup>186</sup>

#### **3.4.4. The Impacts of Collaborators**

The impact of collaborators was a very serious challenge that the patriots encountered in the resistance movement. During the occupation period, the people of Enäbsé sar meder reacted differently. The majority of people condemned the Italian aggression; fiercely opposed, bravely fought the Italians, and generally, they were hostile to the enemy. Despite its nationwide scale, the resistance movement was incomprehensive, traitors, and bandas were more harmful than the Italian soldiers as they passed on information to the Italians.<sup>187</sup> The bandas, who had enough knowledge about the geographical nature of the area, the villages of the insurgents as well as the strong and weak sides of the patriots, created more problems for the patriots than the Italians did.<sup>188</sup> This idea is acceptable by my informants who confirmed that the bandas were the native people formerly friends but now for the sake of personal interest became pro-Italians. After the Italian propaganda, they had gone and became loyal to them. They knew everything including very little things that the patriots had.<sup>189</sup>

Unlike the bandas, the askaris were not indigenous Ethiopians rather they were brought from Italian colonies of Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland. Indeed, they did not have enough information about the topography of Ethiopians but they were superior in military skills. They received military pieces of training before the war and developed their capacity in the course of the fighting from their colonial masters. Besides their military techniques, the askaris were courageous, fearless and sharpshooters, and merciless. In the major military confrontations such as in the Shiré, Tämbén, Ambaradom, and Maiçäw and the southern fronts, the askaris played a

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<sup>186</sup>*Ya Engliz Mangist Wotadaroc Malekt Yator Gize Hig Awaj*. British Military Jurisdiction proclamation No.IES, Ms, No.2556, p.8.

<sup>187</sup>Informants: Wärknähe Mällässä, Abä Käbäbaw.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

leading role for the victory of the enemy. They were at the forefront in controlling different regions of the country.<sup>190</sup> The bandas and the askaris affected the resistance movement in many ways. They burnt the villages, houses, and looted their properties, taking their families as war prisoners. Nor the bandas, the askaris burnt many churches and clergies.<sup>191</sup>

The two Well-known collaborators of Italians were Häylä Səlassie Gugsa of Tigray and *Ras Häylu Täklä Häymanot* of Gojjäm. Both individuals were serious power rivals of Emperor Häylä Səlassié. They received arms and money from the Italians. For the Muslim states of Harar and the Oromo kingdoms of Jimma, there was a promise of reinstating the states from the Italians. These regions were forcefully incorporated into the Modern Ethiopian Empire. This had created discontent within the minds of these rulers. Harar also had lost its autonomy by forceful subjugation of Emperor Menelik in 1887 and *Abba Jobir Abba Jifar* lost its autonomy in the 1930s. *Abba Jobir* was imprisoned by the Ethiopian state in Addis Ababa, because of his opposition against the operation of Amhara soldiers to collect tax in the region. Thus, the existence of the disappointed group enabled Italians to gain considerable collaborators. The Italian collaborator, *Ras Häylu Täklä Häymanot* of Gojjäm was successful who was responsible for the execution of several patriots of Ethiopia including the Kassa Brothers.<sup>192</sup>

The action of collaboration with the enemy against the motherland and their people had a long history in Ethiopia. So, collaboration in Eastern Gojjam had been established as a base before the Italian force entered Gojjam. For instance, the Italians were successful in penetrating among the peoples of such ethnic and religious diversity to recruit collaborators. The main agents for this purpose were mainly the *balabbats* and sheiks who mobilized the peoples within their ethnic and religious domain against the resistance groups in the region.<sup>193</sup>

The *Ras* and *Däjazmasč* of Gojjam who had discontent with Emperor Hailes Silassie also became collaborators. They claimed that they were demoted from their privileges and Teferi-Haile Selassie had been promoted at their expense.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Sabacci, 1985, p.97; Seletene, 2003, p.46.

<sup>191</sup> Bahiru, p.174.

<sup>192</sup> Informants: Yirdaw Kassa, Adanä Bäläte.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid, Araya Habta Selassie. *The role of Eritrean askaris in the Italo-ethiopian war and under the occupation (1935-1941)*, BA thesis, department of History, (Addis Ababa university, 1970), p.39.

<sup>194</sup> Sabacci, 1985, p.98.

Some individuals had a connection with the Italians, who were agents that gave information to the Italians, and who were paid much for that even before the actual conquest of the country. Moreover, the town dwellers were peaceful and a significant number of them collaborated with the Italians.<sup>195</sup>

The following poem shows that several local collaborators served Italians, who became obstacles to the further success of patriotic resistance movements. The loyal patriots of Ethiopia had tried their best to advise these collaborators not to support and allied with the force of the enemy. They informed the bandas not to be agents to the enemy but to turn back to the patriots and should fight for the independence of our motherland.<sup>196</sup>

አርበኞቹ ጽኑ በተስፋችሁ በርቱ፤  
 ሞቶ ከመወቀስ ቆሞ ከመዋረድ፤  
 ባንዲ እየተባለ ከማሳፈር ዘመድ፤  
 አርበኛም ይጠንክር መጋደሉን አይተዉ፤  
 ባንዲም በክህደቱ ይጽና ምክራችን ካልገባዉ  
 ዋጋ አያጣምና ሁሉም እንደስራዉ፤  
 በረሀና ተራራ ምሽግ ከመኖር ብላችሁ፤  
 ጣሊያን ቢንቀዋለል ምን ያደርግ መስሎአችሁ፤  
 ላረመኔ ጠላት ትታዘዛላችሁ፤  
 ተጋዳይ አርበኞች በረከኛዉ ሆይ፤  
 ሰዉ አንፋን ነጻነቱን ካጣ ሞቱ አይደለም ወይ፤<sup>197</sup>  
*“Patriot be courage and optimistic in fortune*  
*Not to be blamed after death and alive*  
*Not to becoming called Banda and relatives*  
*Let patriots be strong and not stop the struggle*  
*Lets Banda stay in apostate, and If he could not listen to the device*  
*They would gain fruits from their doing*  
*Believing not to stay in a desert and forts of hills*

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid.p.153.  
<sup>196</sup> Tilahun Birhaneselassie Bet.”Ye hayagnaw Kifle Zemen Ityopia:1900-1966.(Volume1.Addis Ababa:NP.1996),p.163.  
<sup>197</sup> Informants: Abä Käbäbäw, Aychäw Mäkonene.

*Why you ordered to the merciless enemy  
The patriotic warrior, gladiator, patron!  
The Man is dead if he loses his freedom and country!*

#### **3.4.5. Lack of Knowledge about Fascist Chemical Weapons**

Nevertheless, the five-year Italian rule over Ethiopia was not a peaceful experience of colonial occupation. They were continuously harassed by Ethiopian patriots and had to live entrenched in their isolated fortifications. Fascist Italy had committed several crimes against humanity. The ferocity of the Italian suppression of the Ethiopian resistance was stunning. The most common method of fighting the patriots is to blackmail them into surrender by terrorizing the civilian population.<sup>198</sup> This they accomplished largely by the bombing and aerial spraying of men, women, children, animals, crops, and drinking water with toxic chemicals provided by the Amara-based chemical warfare service referred to by the Italians as “section k”. Thus, by October when the invasion began an extensive chemical weapon facility covering 12.5 hectares had already been established near Mogadishu in neighboring Italian Somaliland, with a facility for preparing liquid and gas for the invasion.<sup>199</sup> It contained 17 storerooms, for storage together with 35,000 gas masks and decontamination materials for the protection of Italians.<sup>200</sup> By late 1935, the Italian advance on both fronts had almost ground to a halt in the face of Ethiopian resistance, even though her troops were barefooted and sometimes armed with no more than spears.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> Tedela ZeYohanis, 2012, pp.385-386.

<sup>200</sup> Informant: Aychäw Mäkonene.

<sup>201</sup> Informants: Aläbachäw Abäbä, Gätachäw Nigusé.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE LIBERATION OF ENÄBSÉ SAR MEDER AND THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR

#### 4.1. The Return of the Emperor

Three days before the entry of the Fascist army to Addis Ababa, Emperor Haile Selassè had exiled to Europe to present his appeal for the League of Nations to get justice for the unjust Fascist aggression of Ethiopia.<sup>202</sup> However, since the League of Nations was dominated by the imperialist powers of Britain and France, It could not give a just solution to prevent the aggressive move made by Italians. They rather encouraged the illegal actions of Italians. Because, they did not want to disappoint Italy, fearing the alliance of Italy with their enemy, Germany. During the Second World War, one important historical event happened in Europe. This was the disloyalty of Italy to its former allies of Britain and France and joined with the new group Germany.<sup>203</sup> This seems dangerous for the colonial interest of the British in northeast Africa. The British were forced to defend their colonies like Sudan, Kenya, and British Somaliland. To this end, the British determined to support the liberation campaign of Ethiopia.<sup>204</sup> The British opened offensives against Mussolini's East African Empire and Haile Selassè who was in exile in Britain was brought to Sudan with the Gideon force. Brigadier General Dan Sandford commanded that force and Major Orde Wingate crossed the Ethiopian boundary at Omedella in Gojjam.<sup>205</sup> The emperor arranged situations to come to the border region of Khartoum. Major Orde Wingate assisted to deal with the Ethiopian case in the west and organized the Ethiopian refugees on the border.

He thus shows the return of the emperor to Ethiopia.<sup>206</sup> On 18 January 1941, in Khartoum Haile Selassè ordered officers to begin their journey and to prepare themselves, a force called Gedeon force that was composed of British soldiers and the Ethiopian patriots who reached Omedella, a

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<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> Nala, folder. No.63.1.07.file.No.12.66.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> Campbell, Ian. *The Massacre of Dabra Libanos Ethiopia 1937.*(Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press,2014), p.31.

frontier village in Gojjam, and waited for the Emperor. Accordingly, The Emperor had sent *Azaji Kābādā Tāsāma* to Ethiopia.<sup>207</sup>

Then after he reached Gojjam, he wrote many letters to the notable patriots of Šāwa, Bāgémider, Lasta, Agāw, and Sāqoša to inform the news that the emperor reached Sudan, Khartoum with high ranked war elders of British with logistics. He also addressed the governments of the British who came to Ethiopia to help patriots to fight and crush the Italian invaders.<sup>208</sup> Two Days Later, With General Charles Orde Wingets Friendship the Emperor Landed at Umedilla with Itégé and other officials on 20 January 1941. Then the emperor hoisted the Ethiopian flag.<sup>209</sup> Finally, the Emperor made general amnesty to those opposing the emperor and declared to join the patriots in their respective regions. He also addressed the Askaries of Keren, Gojjam, and Šāwa to join the British and Ethiopian forces.<sup>210</sup> The British force under the leadership of Major General Sir William Plate had opened a military attack over Italy at a place called Karen; Eritrea. The second British military expedition was called the Gideon force that accompanied Emperor Haile Selassie and Ethiopian patriots. It was organized in Sudan mobilized into Ethiopia under the leadership of Brigadier General Daniel Sandford and Major Orde Charles Wingate in January 1941. The third British military brigade has arrived from Kenya under the leader of lieutenant-general Sir Allan Cunningham that liberated Addis Ababa on 6 April 1941. Finally, Emperor Haile Selassie re-entered Addis Ababa on 5 May 1941 and hoisted the Ethiopian flag.<sup>211</sup> Soon the Duke of Aosta and his army retired to the strategic pass of Amba Alagie in Tigray, leaving Addis Ababa to the patriots who were in nearby mountains and inside the city. Hence, His rule was restored and he remained on his throne for the next 33 years.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> “*Ya Engliz Mangist Watadaroc Malekt Ya Tor Gize Hig Awaj*”. British Military Jurisdiction proclamation No.1. IES, Ms, No.2556, p.9.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> Aregawi Berhe, *Sprit war Vs war machine: A patriotic Resistance to Itlian Occupation of Ethiopia 1936-1941*, (the Netherlands: Beill, 2003),p.15.

## 4.2. The Final War: The Evacuation Of Italians From Enäbsé Sar Meder

Italians had become unpopular because of their own policy of: racial discrimination, cultural subordination/humiliation, political suppression/extermination, terrorism and burning of villages.<sup>213</sup> So, unpopularity of Italian rule with strong guerilla warfare demoralized Italian rule and leadership during 1940 and 1941.<sup>214</sup> Italians had playing a role in fighting the collaborators and patriots. Later on, when the power of the patriot's increase, the moral of the collaborator's declined and in 1940, most of the collaborators were deserted.<sup>215</sup>

In the areas of Enäbsé and Gonča, Natale was faced resistance, in April 1940. During the year of 1940 and 1941, Aosta and Nasi worked hard to relax the resistance in Gojjam. But, the resistance in Gojjam had linked with international changes and became strong.<sup>216</sup> Firstly, Italians wiped out from Märṭulä Maryam around the month of October or November 1940. They had been beaten by the forces of *Qāññazmač* Abäšša Mäjjalé. They were fled via Čäya and joined the camp of Bečäna.<sup>217</sup>

Moreover, the power of the patriots became strong. They had beaten and punished Italians in Gojjam. But, Italians wanted to control the resistance in Gojjam. The force requested to won over Bällay and *Lej* Haylu, based on colonel Natale was: six colonial Battalion, two colonial series of guns with irregular collaborator, two radio stations, and four cater pillars and one cavalry squad.<sup>218</sup>

Besides the above, Italy invaded Gallabat, British Somali Land and Kässäla. On 4 July 1940, Gallabat was encircled and Khartoum was threatened. They had been took Hargeisa, in August and reached Berbera.<sup>219</sup>

In spite of the above, Wingate requested General Wavel in Cairo, "you do not need any regular troops to fight for us in East Africa at all... give me a small fighting force of first class men, and

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<sup>213</sup> Maniazewal,p.46.

<sup>214</sup> Recharad Pankhurst, "The Ethiopian Patriots and the collapse of Italian rule in East Africa, 1940-1941."(Ethiopian observer, Vol.Xii. No.2, 1969), pp.92-128.

<sup>215</sup> Maniazewal,p.34.

<sup>216</sup> Seltene,p.155.

<sup>217</sup> Informants: Märgeta Fäntayé.

<sup>218</sup> Yohannes Birhanu,"The patriots in Gojjam 1936-1941: A study of resistance movement". BA thesis, department of History.(Addis Ababa:Haileselesse I University 1972),p.54.

<sup>219</sup> Maniazewal,p.42.

from the core of Ethiopia I will eat in to the Italian apple and turn it so rotten that it will drop in to our hands.” He led a small force he named “Gideon Force”.<sup>220</sup>

The total force of Wingate composed of fifty British officers, twenty British other rank troops, eight hundred Ethiopian troops and also around eight hundred Sudanese forces. In addition, five thousand Sudanese camel men with twenty five thousand camels prepared for the operation.<sup>221</sup> Including five hundred bodyguards of the Emperor the total number reached two thousand one hundred seventy troops. The Emperor argued that the back bone of the mission was fifty thousand Ethiopian troops. Colonel Hugh Boustead was officer of Sudanese Battalion, Major Boyle in charge of Ethiopians. Major Orde later colonel was the commander and his second in command was Major Anthony Simmonds.<sup>222</sup>

The Sudanese troops were excellent and received training at S.D.F. The chiefs of S.D.F were Johnson and Hams. However, the operators were idle and ill trained and sometimes weak. But, Ethiopians were the best, who trained themselves. The force of Wingate lacked air support and artillery but the mortal helped. They shot down Italian planes by Lewis gun. The motive of the campaign was David versus Goliath.<sup>223</sup>

After a few days, they had acquired no air craft. They got captured Italian rations and products. They passed more than three hundred miles distance from the rail way line on 19 February 1941. Wingate entered to Gojjam with small but efficient and equipped troops. Wingate had request to purchase supplies by fair price and he needed information. Even if, the patriots had small ammunition without training they supported Wingate against common enemy.<sup>224</sup>

In spite of Wingate, the enemy troops were sixteen colonial and four Black shirt Battalions, two regular collaborator groups and numerous irregular collaborators in Gojjam. Totally, they were thirty four thousand troops in Gojjam and Bägémeder.<sup>225</sup> The Italian force at Däbrä Marqos on

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<sup>220</sup> Richard,p.99.

<sup>221</sup>Orde Charles Wingate “Appreciation of the Ethiopian Campaign”.(Ethiopian observer.Vol.xv.No.4.1973),Pp.204-226.

<sup>222</sup> Seltene, pp.344-345.

<sup>223</sup> Orde, pp.207-209.

<sup>224</sup> Orde,pp.204-205.

<sup>225</sup> Seltene, p.345.

14th March was one thousand Black shirts with fifteen thousand colonial troops and thousands of collaborators. In addition, to the above, Italians had fourteen thousand, five hundred colonial troops with two Brigade staffs.<sup>226</sup> But, Italians lacked mortal, fear of the rural area and patriot pressure.<sup>227</sup> In the final days of the war the forces of Wingate had imprisoned eight hundred Italian other rank troops with two hundred eighty two officials.<sup>228</sup>

At the end of February 1941, Italians left and Askaris entered to the area of Bäg Mäšaça to taken provision. In the same period, Italian forces had been beaten by the combined force of patriots of Gojjam and the Gedion force, in the western part of the province. Then, those Italian forces disintegrated and the disintegrated force of some whites with a number of collaborators and Askaris retreated from Damot via Bibuñ to Hulät Ijju Inäse. They begun a little resistance around Yäfaräd, but they had been beaten by the patriots. Later, they entered to Gätabit and surrender to the patriots.<sup>229</sup>

In the same period, *Ras* Haylu Täklä-Haymanot attempted to enter to Moṭṭa. He led the forces of Italy composed of collaborators of Däbrä Marqos, Muslims, Eritreans and Tigreans and marched to the area of Çoqé. They planned to reinforce the Italian troops stationed at the camp of Qéro and Moṭṭa. But, patriots closed the road of *Ras* Haylu Täklä-Haymanot. And battle held, on 14 March 1941, the battle called the Battle of Bäg Mäšaça.<sup>230</sup>

The *Ras* and Italians were encircled at Çoqé from two sides: from the North East, patriots under Šeffäraw Rätta, *Lej* Däbbäbb Wäddajjä, *Lej* Haylu Bälläw and *Qäññazmač* Abäšša Mäjjalé and also from the North West; patriots of Bibuñ under *Lej* Dämsé Allämmayyāhu. The British forces had supported the patriots by launcher. In the fighting, the mule of *Ras* Haylu left him and joined the patriots of Gonča and Inäse. However, *Lej* Haylu sent the mule to the *Ras* and warned him please turn back unless, you could kill by the patriots, because Patriots were anger and he had not able to stop the patriots.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Orde, pp.204-213.

<sup>227</sup> Seltene, p.345.

<sup>228</sup> Orde,p.204.

<sup>229</sup> Informants: Dänekäwe Bälay, Chané Mitku.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

Patriots won over Italians. Then, Italians were left Çoqé by aero plane. The heroes of the battle of Bäg Mäsäçä were *Lej Dämsé Allämmayyähu* and *Qäññazmaç Šeffäraw Rätta*. A number of fighters lost their life from both sides. From the patriots; Allämnäh Fäläqä, Mängestu Fäläqä from Bibuñ and others lost their life. Besides this, the camp of Qéro was closed and patriots captured a number of armaments and munitions.<sup>232</sup>

Indeed, the patriots of Moṭṭa harassed *Ras Haylu*. Then, he returned to Däbrä Marqos and he laminated a poem to those patriot chiefs.

እኛስ ማን ነበርን እናንተስ ማናችሁ

አውራውን ጎዳና የከለከላችሁ ።<sup>233</sup>

*Who am I, who are you? You blocked the high way. (Ironically Ras Haylu touch the patriots, that in one time he was their master, but today those lower chiefs closed his way).*



**Figure 4 Patriots at Däbrä Markos Market after the Italian surrender**

**Source:** R.pankhurst, “The Ethiopian patriots and the collapse of Italian Rule in East Africa, 1940-41”, *Ethiopia observer*, 12,2(1969), p. 114.

<sup>232</sup> Informants: Chané Mitku, Yirdaw Kassa.

<sup>233</sup> *Addis Zaman: Hamle* 27, 1981.

### 4.3. The Legacy Of The Italian Occupatiopn In Enäbsé Sar Meder

#### 4.3.1. Negative Legacies

The occupation of Italians (1936-1941) had left long-lasting legacies on the social, political, economic, cultural, and religious life of the Ethiopian people in general and Enäbsé Sar Meder in particular. During the war, many fighters became the target of the Italian tanks, fighting planes, and the sprayed poison chemical. Many others were severely wounded who later became handicapped. For this reason, families were broken. Those women who lost their husbands and fathers were left helpless to support their family and became widows. Many children were forced to lead the begging life and orphaned.<sup>234</sup>

The Massacre was not limited to the fighters or the patriot leaders but also the civilians. When the Italians bombed the villages, the majority of victims were the women, the elders, and the children. Cited from Anthony Mockler, according to an Englishman who took part in the Red Cross during the time of occupation, most of my patients were women and girls wounded in their back, stomach, thighs, breasts, arms, and ankles.<sup>235</sup> The aerial bombardment and the poison gas badly polluted the atmosphere. As a result, many lives were damaged severely. Moreover, the Italians deliberately polluted streams. The expansion of prostitution was one of the negative inheritances of the Italian rule in the country. As noted above, many women lost their husbands on the battlefields and through natural death related to the occupation. Therefore, the responsibility of feeding the family was loaded on their shoulders. Nevertheless, they could not manage the family properly so they went to the nearby town or Italian camps to search for a job to survive their life. At the same time, the Italian soldiers went to them to satisfy their sexual motive though, the law was enforced by the governors prohibited the whites not to make sexual intercourse with the Ethiopians. However, it did not stop them from visiting the prostitutes.<sup>236</sup>

Nonetheless, prostitution in Ethiopia was expanded greatly from the Fascist occupation onwards. Economically, the Fascist occupation affected the economy of the country in various ways. Above all, the Italians hindered the country`s economy by reducing the productive class of the

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<sup>234</sup> Bahru Zewde, "some aspects of post-liberation Ethiopia (1941-1950)", *peocceedings of the Eighth international conference of Ethiopioan studies*, (Addis Ababa, 1988),p.277.

<sup>235</sup> Informants: Abite Ayähu, Warknääh Mallassa.

<sup>236</sup> Anthony Mocckler, *Haileselassie`s war: The Italian Ethiopian Campiagn 1936-1941*.(Oxford: Oxford University press, 1984),P,87.

society. The primary targets of the Italians were the young and intellectuals. Quite large numbers of the intellectuals and the youth were executed which resulted in the generation gap.<sup>237</sup> In the second place, the famine that broke out in Enäbsé Sar Meder was partially the outcome of the Italian occupation. The majority of the people fell under severe famine. Since almost all men in the region were the fighters engaged in the war with the enemy, no one could cultivate crops safely. Thus, the peasants resisted both the famine and the Italians. They continued their lives by collecting plant roots.<sup>238</sup>

Thirdly, the plundered of the peasant`s property by the enemy greatly affected the conditions of the society. Besides the material destruction during the conventional war stage by an air raid and spraying poison gas, the local population lost their wealth during the time of guerrilla warfare. After the enemy made a military engagement with the patriots, it returned by looting the property of the society that included cattle, horses, sheep, and donkeys. Moreover, the enemy permanently bombed the villages and the houses. As a result, the peasants lost much wealth, which was their long-year effort.<sup>239</sup>

When Italian troops arrived in the area of Enäbsé Sar Meder they had destroyed many houses and shelters of the local people. They had used Aero Plane to drop bombs on houses, forests, and religious heritages. Moreover, they also tried to bring damage to the heritage orthodox churches and churchmen. From the outset of their conquest of the country, it seems that the Italians had a strong hatred for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its clergy whom they blamed for instigating the people to rebel.<sup>240</sup>

The contradiction between the fascists and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church reached its climax when the Italian *Abune Petros*, the Bishop of Wollo, in 1936. As he was said to have encouraged the people to resist the Italians by excommunicating those who were reluctant to fight.<sup>241</sup> Following the murder of *Abune Petros*, the clergy, monks and other members of the church strongly challenged the invaders either through anti-Italian preaching or by

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<sup>237</sup>Informants: Assäfa Mulu, Abité Ayähu.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> Tamirat Wasihun, "The patriot of Gayint (1936-1941)" MA Thesis in history, presented to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University May 1999, pp.19-20.

<sup>241</sup> *Ya Engliz Mangiest Wotadaroc yator Gize hig Awaj*, British military Jurisdiction proclamation. No.1, IES, MS, No. 2556, p.26.

communicating with those who were engaged in the resistance.<sup>242</sup> The Italians retaliated against these acts through brutal methods. For Instance, in May 1937 they destroyed the ancient monastery of Däbrälibanos. They had discovered a gun in the monastery.

#### **4.3.2. Positive Legacy**

When we see the Italian occupation from its good side, the invasion has left some important legacies. The Italians constructed several roads in various regions of the country.<sup>243</sup> To control the resistance in Enäbsé Sar Meder, Italians built roads. The first road was from Motta to Märtulämaram. Even though they constructed the roads for their purpose, they played a pivotal role in the fast integration of the country and the development of the road transportation system in Ethiopia in the post-liberation era.<sup>244</sup>

Besides road technology, the Italians established light factories, garages, and schools in the major urban center of Ethiopia. Though the Italians built many buildings in the capital, Addis Ababa, Gondar, Jimma, and Harar were the other cities where they built remarkable modern buildings.<sup>245</sup> Large-scale urbanization is also said to have started during the Italian occupation. There was an exodus of people to urban centers due to the war, which loosened the rural social structures. As informants, one of the positive effects of the Italian occupation in Enäbsé Sar Meder was urbanization.<sup>246</sup> The Italian occupation had a significant role in the development of the status of women in the post-liberation period. According to Minale, the war enabled women to be active in military, social, economic, political, and cultural aspects. It enhanced their political participation, provided considerable women with new jobs which previously had never been done by them such as hotel management, bars, and restaurants.<sup>247</sup>

#### **4.3.3. The Establishment of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association**

Another most important and enduring legacy of the fascist occupation is the establishment of the Ethiopian patriotic Association. It was established in Šäwa province, by the name, “*yä Təntawit Ethiopia jägñoč arbäñoč mahbär*” (ancient Ethiopian brave association). The Association aimed

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<sup>242</sup> Tamirat Wasihun, p.20.

<sup>243</sup> Bahru, A History of Ethiopia, p.172.

<sup>244</sup> Informants: Abä Käbäbäw, Abité Ayähu.

<sup>245</sup> Bahru, PP.171-172.

<sup>246</sup> Informants: Abä Käbäbäw, Abité Ayähu.

<sup>247</sup> Bahru, A History of Ethiopia, p.172.

to defend and liberate the motherland from external aggression and Occupation, to encourage and inspire the patriots in the region; to cooperate with other patriots from the rest parts of the country, and report the situation of the war to the emperor and also receive messages which encourage the patriots from the emperor.<sup>248</sup> For the establishment of this association, *Ras* Abäbä Arägay was a prominent figure who took the role of Leadership.<sup>249</sup> He tried to create a united and nationwide patriotic resistance movement. The patriots had understood the importance of unity when they had attempted to put danger on the force of Fascists in Addis Ababa in summer 1936.

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<sup>248</sup> Kabadd Tassama, *Ya Tarik Mastawasa*. (Addis Ababa: Artistic printing press, 1962), p.377.

<sup>249</sup> Kabadda, p.62.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

Patriotic resistance has a long history in Ethiopia. Ethiopians had won over a number of aggressors since the ancient period to the modern era. Ethiopia is the only African country, proud to be won over colonialism and also a symbol of independence for the people of the oppressed. The Amhara peoples were the core of Ethiopia and the symbol of freedom. They organized and led the rest people of Ethiopia against Italian colonialism and won over Italy at the battle of Adewa.

After four decades, Italians again invaded Ethiopia. Unlike Adewa, Ethiopians had become unable to beat Italians in the conventional war. Italy won and controlled the capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. However, Italians were unable to administered Ethiopians. Shortly, patriotic resistance arose in Ethiopia. Especially, the people of Amhara opened a heroic resistance and Italy fade away. The resistance was much stronger in Šäwa, Gojjam and Bägémeder (Gondär). From the region of Gojjam the resistance was also strong in Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*. For a year Italians were in a best position in Märṭulä mariam from May 1936 to the beginning of the summer of 1937. But, since the summer of 1937 they faced harsh resistance. They also became unable to control the resistance of Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda*. In short the local people were totally refused Italians. The former collaborators were joined the resistance or supported the resistance as inner patriots. Even though, some local chiefs became a collaborator. But, most of them were the supporters of the patriots as inner patriot.

The local people in these areas had beaten Italy in the summer of 1937 and controlled the country side. Italians left a number of forts and later lived in the camps of Moṭṭa, Qéro and Märṭulä Maryam. Those camps were mostly under siege; especially the camp of Märṭulä Maryam was totally encircled by the patriots of Gonča Siso Enäse Sar Meder and Enäbsé until they left the camp.

During the five years of resistance, church officials and priests were supported the resistance as advisors, mediators between the patriots and as messengers. Children's also supported the

resistance, surprisingly; children's below age twelve were involved in the fighting. The people in Enäbsé Sar Meder had not wanted to lose their freedom and identity.

Women in every corner of the region, not only helped their patriot families and husbands, but, also they captured armaments from the collaborators and from the Italian by their own traditional instruments like *Muqaca* and *Ankase*. Individual patriot leaders were not entered to competition to be a superior. Patriots of Enäbsé Sar Meder were not only fought enemies in Moṭṭa. But, also they fought the Italians in different areas like; Bečäna, Däga Damot, Baher Dar, Dangela, Amhara Sayent, Dabraworke, Goncha siso Enäsé and other areas. Patriots had given a great respect for leaders. But, when they led a campaign beyond Enäbsé Sar Meder, patriots accept another chief as a leader. Their aim was only to beaten and wipeout the enemy.

Though, the patriots of Enäbsé lacked efficient and dedicated single leader. The leader, *Lej* Haylu Bäälläw was not active and dedicated to lead patriots. He was affected the coordinating effort of the patriots against Italians. But, the people were eager to support each other. Firstly, patriots faced shortage of armament. But later on, they were armed with modern armaments mostly captured from the Italians.

Finally, after Italians declared war on Britain and France, British decided to support Emperor Haylä-Selassé. Emperor Haylä-Selassé left London to Khartoum and organized a campaign with the British officers against Italy. Käbbäddä Tässämma sent to Gojjam. Then, Orde Charles Wingate and the Emperor entered to Gojjam and supported patriots. The main obstacle for the patriots of Enäbsé was a heavy machine gun to break the camp of Märtula mariam. They got mortar and beaten Italians in Märtulä mariam. Enäbsé Sar Meder *Wäräda* had become free around the month of October or November 1940.

Italians left the road built by them in the area, but it damaged shortly. Prostitution was the most important negative effect of the war. After the liberation, Haylä-Selassé appointed the patriots, inner patriots and collaborators as officials in Enäbsé.

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## Lists of Informants

| NO | Name of informants                  | age | Sex | Date of interview | Place of interview | Remark  |
|----|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| 1  | Abä Kābābāw ( <i>Abuhay</i> )       | 92  | M   | 24/3/2024         | Yizema             | He has a good Knowledge about Enābsé and the patriotic resistance movement.                           |
| 2  | Ababa Mākonnea ( <i>Abuhay</i> )    | 98  | M   | 06/05/2025        | M/mariam           | He is aged and knowledgeable person about patriotic resistance movement.                              |
| 3  | Abité Ayāhu ( <i>Ato</i> )          | 89  | M   | 15/4/2024         | M/Mariam           | He has a good knowledge about patriotic resistance movement   |
| 4  | Adanā Bälätā ( <i>Ato</i> )         | 85  | M   | 07/05/2025        | M/Mariam           | He is aged and has knowledge about Enābsé Sar Meder <i>Wärāda</i> .                                   |
| 5  | Adanā Mehreté ( <i>Ato</i> )        | 76  | M   | 20/04/2024        | M/Mariam           | He has knowledgeable person about the <i>Wärāda</i> .   |
| 6  | Alābachāw Abābā ( <i>Ato</i> )      | 65  | M   | 10/05/2025        | M/Mariam           | He is a history teacher and has knowledge about the resistance movement and the study <i>Wärāda</i> . |
| 7  | Assāfa Mulu ( <i>Ato</i> )          | 74  | M   | 13/06/2025        | M/Mariam           | He is aged and knowledgeable person about the study area.   |
| 8  | Ayechāw Mākonnen ( <i>Mägabi</i> )  | 76  | M   | 27/03/2024        | M/Mariam           | He has a good knowledge about the resistance movement   |
| 9  | Basa Mällässā ( <i>Ato</i> )        | 85  | M   | 14/05/2025        | M/mariam           | He is the grand son of <i>Fitawrari</i> Bāzabh Yemam and good knowledge about patriotic resistance.   |
| 10 | Chané Mitiku ( <i>Ato</i> )         | 85  | M   | 30/03/2024        | Dāmbāza            | He has a good knowledge about patriotic resistance movement.  |
| 11 | Dānākāw Bālay ( <i>Ato</i> )        | 72  | M   | 26/05/2025        | M/Mariam           | He has a good knowledge about the study area.   |
| 12 | Dārāsā Sāgaw ( <i>Ato</i> )         | 79  | M   | 22/06/2025        | M/Mariam           | He was a teacher and knowledgeable person about M/Mariam town.  |
| 13 | Dāsālān Yizāngaw ( <i>Ato</i> )     | 70  | M   | 13/06/2025        | M/Mariam           | He is a teacher and knowledgeable person about Enābsé Sar Meder <i>Wärāda</i> .                       |
| 14 | Dibākulu ( <i>Märgeta</i> )         | 65  | M   | 30/05/2025        | M/Mariam           | He has knowledgeable person about M/Mariam St. marry Monastery.                                       |
| 15 | Fāntahun Alāmu ( <i>Qésagābāz</i> ) | 89  | M   | 18/03/2024        | M/Mariam           | He is a religious man and he has a good knowledge about M/Mariam and Enābsé Sar Meder <i>Wärāda</i> . |
| 16 | Fāntaye ( <i>Märgeta</i> )          | 70  | M   | 18/03/2024        | M/Mariam           | He is a religious man and he has knowledge about patriotic resistance movement.                       |
| 17 | Gābre Mākonnen ( <i>Ato</i> )       | 65  | M   | 21/04/2024        | M/mariam           | He is a history teacher and has knowledge about the resistance movement.                              |
| 18 | Gatachāw Nigusé ( <i>Ato</i> )      | 68  | M   | 25/04/2024        | M/Mariam           | He is a history teacher and has knowledge regarding peopling of Enābsé.                               |
| 19 | Gété Kābādā ( <i>Abuhay</i> )       | 99  | M   | 30/04/2024        | Dābryaeq           | He is an aged man and eye witness of  |

|    |  |    |   |            |          |  |
|----|--|----|---|------------|----------|--|
|    |  |    |   |            | ob       | patriotic resistance of Enäbsé 1936-1941.  |
| 20 | Häilä Mariam Tagälä ( <i>Re esa reusan</i> )   | 83 | M | 12/05/2025 | M/Mariam | He was abbot of M/Mariam Monastery and has deep knowledge about the Warada in particular and Gojjam ingenaral.   |
| 21 | Häilä Eyäsus G/Mariam ( <i>Re esa reusan</i> ) | 85 | M | 12/05/2025 | M/mariam | He was about of M/Mariam Monastery and has deep knowledge about the <i>Wäräda</i> .  |
| 22 | Häilä Eyäsus Tade ( <i>Abba</i> )              | 79 | M | 15/04/2024 | M/Mariam | He has a good knowledge about M/Mariam monastery and the <i>Wäräda</i> .   |
| 23 | Mäleke Käbädä ( <i>Ato</i> )                   | 72 | M | 13/05/2025 | Dibbo    | He is the son of one of patriot in Enäbsé Käbädä Yehun and has a good knowledge about the patriotic resistance.  |
| 24 | Mulatu Mällässä ( <i>Ato</i> )                 | 78 | M | 21/03/2024 | M/Mariam | He is the son of Mällässä Yehun and has deep knowledge about the patriotic resistance.   |
| 25 | Qaläsedeq Abäbä ( <i>Re esa reusan</i> )       | 54 | M | 21/03/2024 | M/mariam | He was a leader of M/Mariam monastery and has knowledge regarding the monastery.   |
| 26 | Täsa Mariam ( <i>Abba</i> )                    | 48 | M | 19/04/2025 | M/Mariam | He is a monk of the monastery and has a deep knowledge about the monastery and its heritage  |
| 27 | Täräfa Alämu ( <i>Ato</i> )                    | 72 | M | 19/04/2025 | M/Mariam | He was a teacher and head of the <i>wäräda</i> education office and has knowledge about Enäbsé.  |
| 28 | Teumäqal Molla ( <i>Abba</i> )                 | 65 | M | 23/05/2025 | M/Mariam | He is a religious man in M/Mariam monastery and knowledgeable regarding the monastery and the <i>Wäräda</i> .  |
| 29 | Wärknähe Mällässä ( <i>Grazmac</i> )           | 96 | M | 23/05/2025 | M/Mariam | He was the governor of <i>Wäräya meketel Wäräda</i> , Telat Gen <i>Wäräda</i> and Gonca siso Enäbsé <i>Wäräda</i> and has deep knowledge about Enäbsé and Gojjam patriotic resistance. |
| 30 | Yibältal Bäzabhe ( <i>Mägabi</i> )             | 85 | M | 25/05/2025 | Gunaguna | He is aged man and has knowledge about Enäbsé Sar Meder <i>Wäräda</i> .  |
| 31 | Yibälté Yitayäw ( <i>Ato</i> )                 | 73 | M | 25/05/2025 | Gunaguna | He has deep knowledge about the <i>Wäräda</i> .  |
| 32 | Yirsaw Mälaku ( <i>Ato</i> )                   | 87 | M | 28/04/2024 | M/Mariam | He was a head of Finance of Gojjam Province in 1960s and Enäbsé in 1970s and knowledge about Enäbsé Sar Meder <i>Wäräda</i> .  |
| 33 | Yirdaw Kassa ( <i>Ato</i> )                    | 80 | M | 25/05/2025 | Gunaguna | He is knowledgeable person about the <i>Wäräda</i> and the patriotic resistance movement.  |
| 34 | Yohannes Ejigu ( <i>Ato</i> )                  | 78 | M | 28/05/2025 | M/Mariam | He is the son of Ejigu Ewnätu one of the patriotic leader in Gojjam in general and in Enäbsé in particular.  |
| 35 | Zäwdé Mulualäm ( <i>Ato</i> )                  | 85 | M | 29/05/2025 | Domma    | He is a knowledgeable person about the <i>Wäräda</i> and the Patriotic resistance.   |

# Appendices

Appendix 1 Lists of different patriots in Motta *Awraja*.

The image shows a handwritten list of names in a notebook, organized into columns. The text is in a non-Latin script, likely Amharic. The list is numbered on the left margin. At the bottom right, there is a circular official stamp and some handwritten notes.

| No. | Name | Address | Other Info |
|-----|------|---------|------------|
| 1   | ...  | ...     | ...        |
| 2   | ...  | ...     | ...        |
| 3   | ...  | ...     | ...        |
| 4   | ...  | ...     | ...        |
| 5   | ...  | ...     | ...        |
| 6   | ...  | ...     | ...        |
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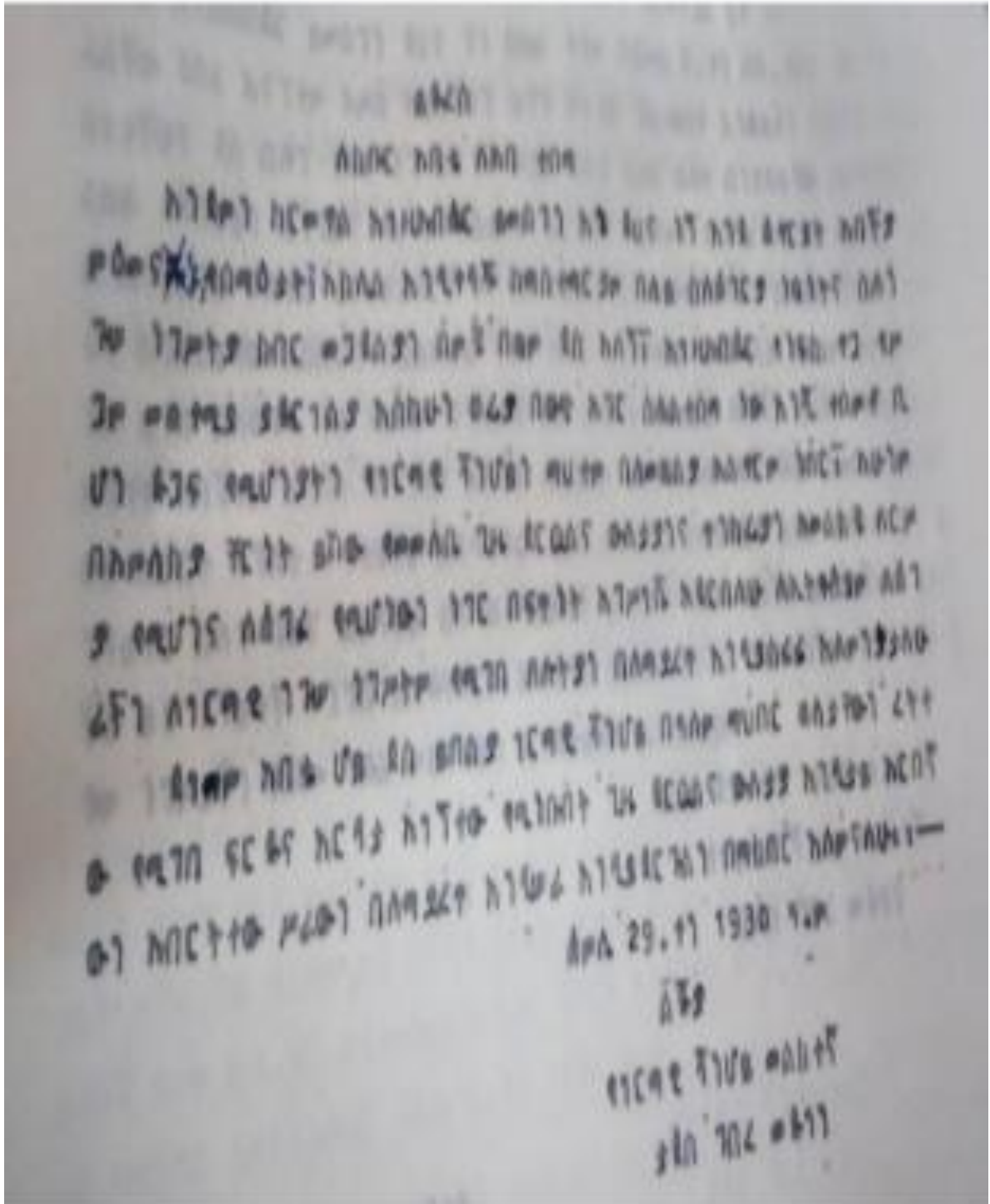
Official stamp: A circular stamp with Amharic text and a central emblem.

| №   | ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ | ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ | ΜΕΤΡΗΣΗ | ΜΕΤΡΗΣΗ | ΜΕΤΡΗΣΗ | ΜΕΤΡΗΣΗ | ΜΕΤΡΗΣΗ |
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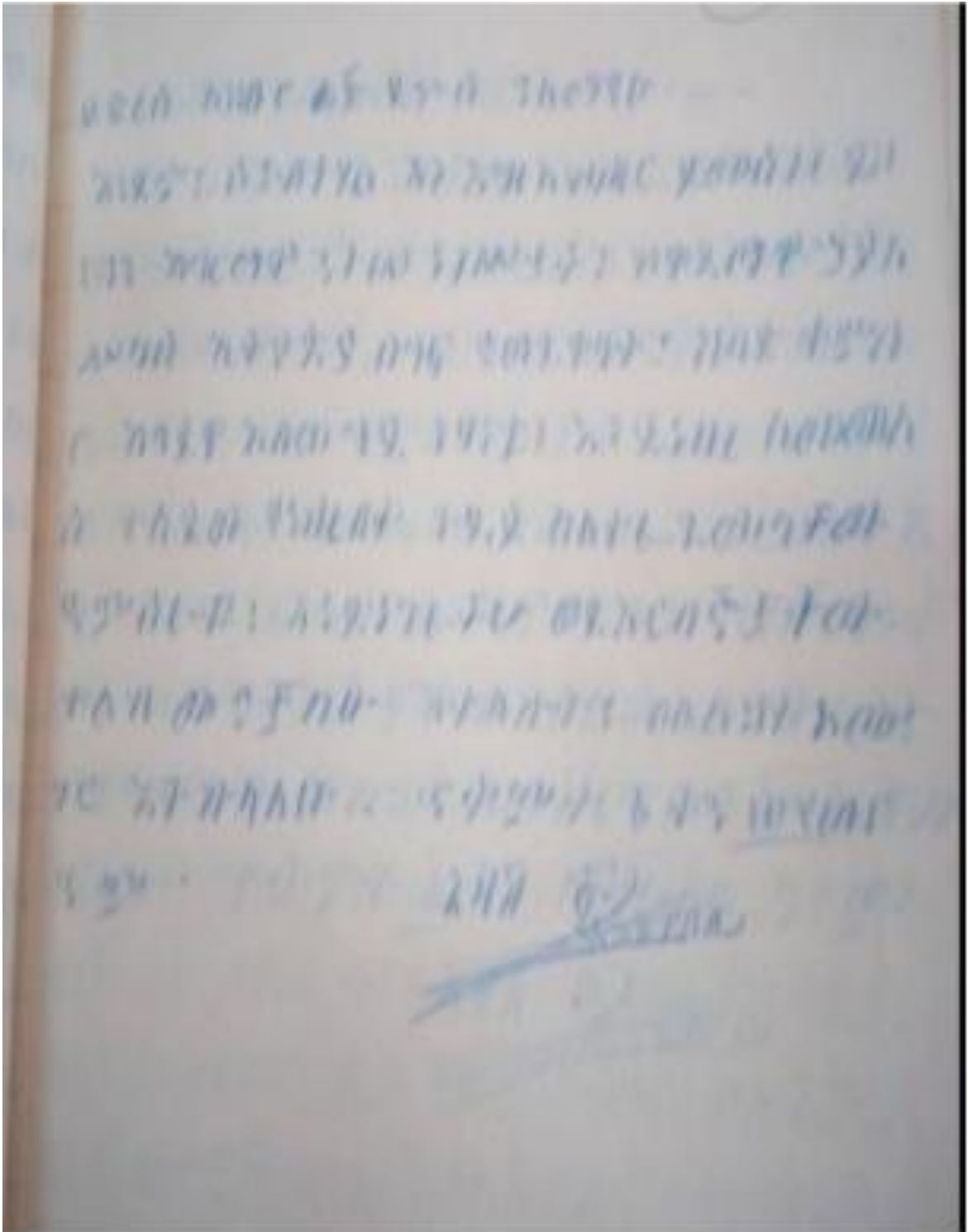


Appendix 3

Letter Written from *Dājzmač*käbädä Tässma to his Father.

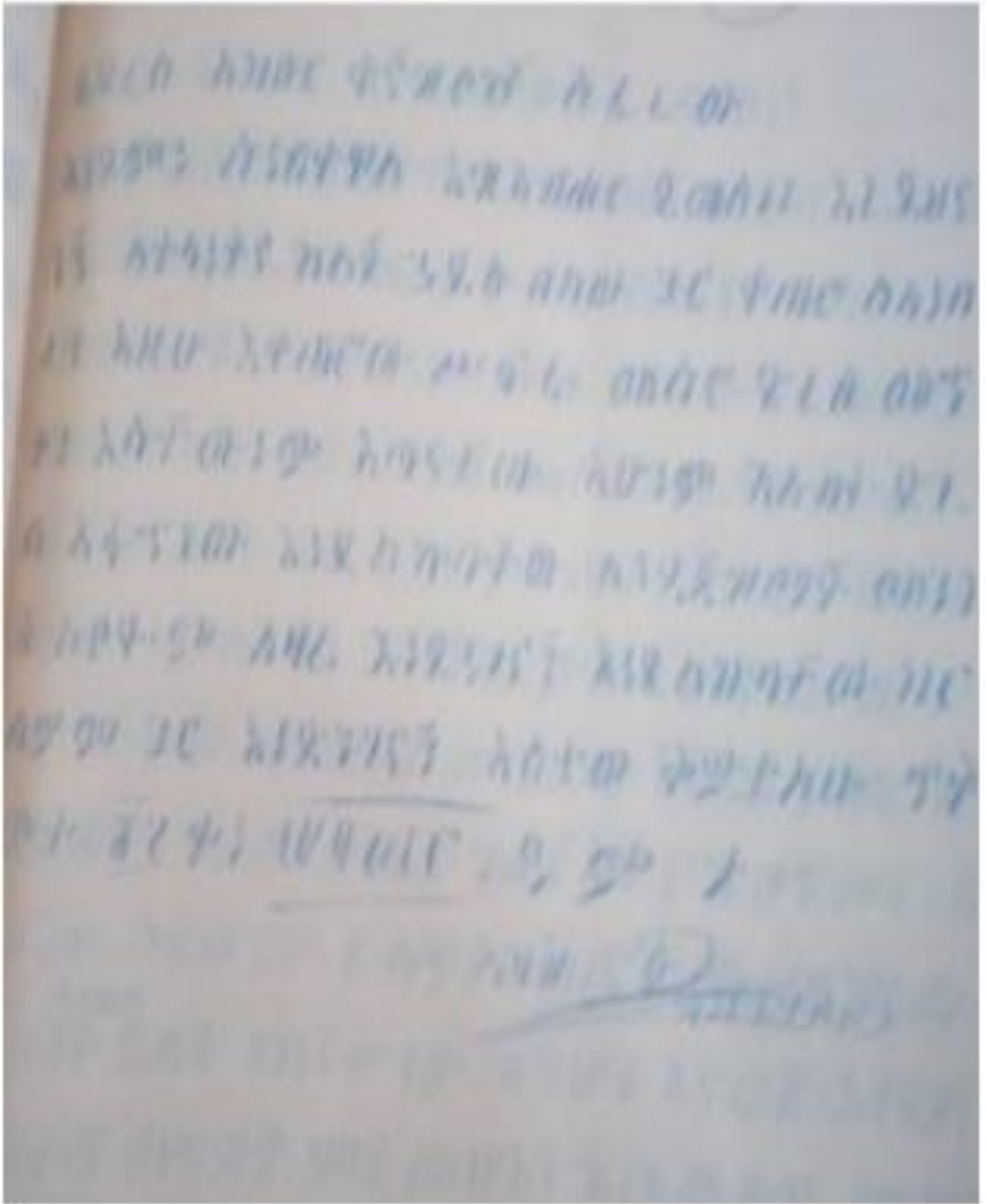


**Appendix 4** Letter Written from *Däjazmac* käbädä Tässma to *Lij Dämesé Alämayähu*.



Appendix 5

Letter Written from *Dājazmać* kăbädä Tăssma to *Qăññazmać* Shiferaw Răta.



**Appendix 6**

Letter Written from *Däjazmač* kăbädä Tässma to *Lij* Häilu Bäläw.



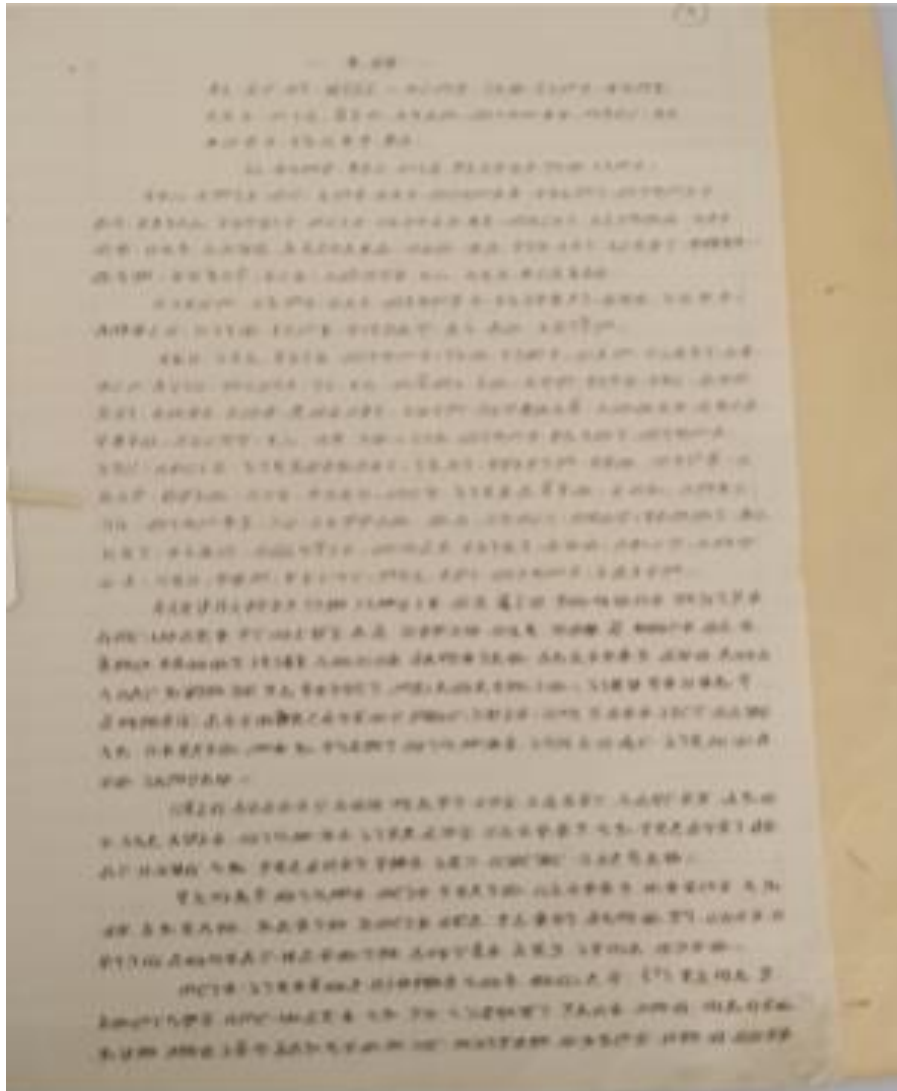
## Appendix-7

The official proclamation was declared by Emperor Haile Selassie during the second Italian invasion of Ethiopia



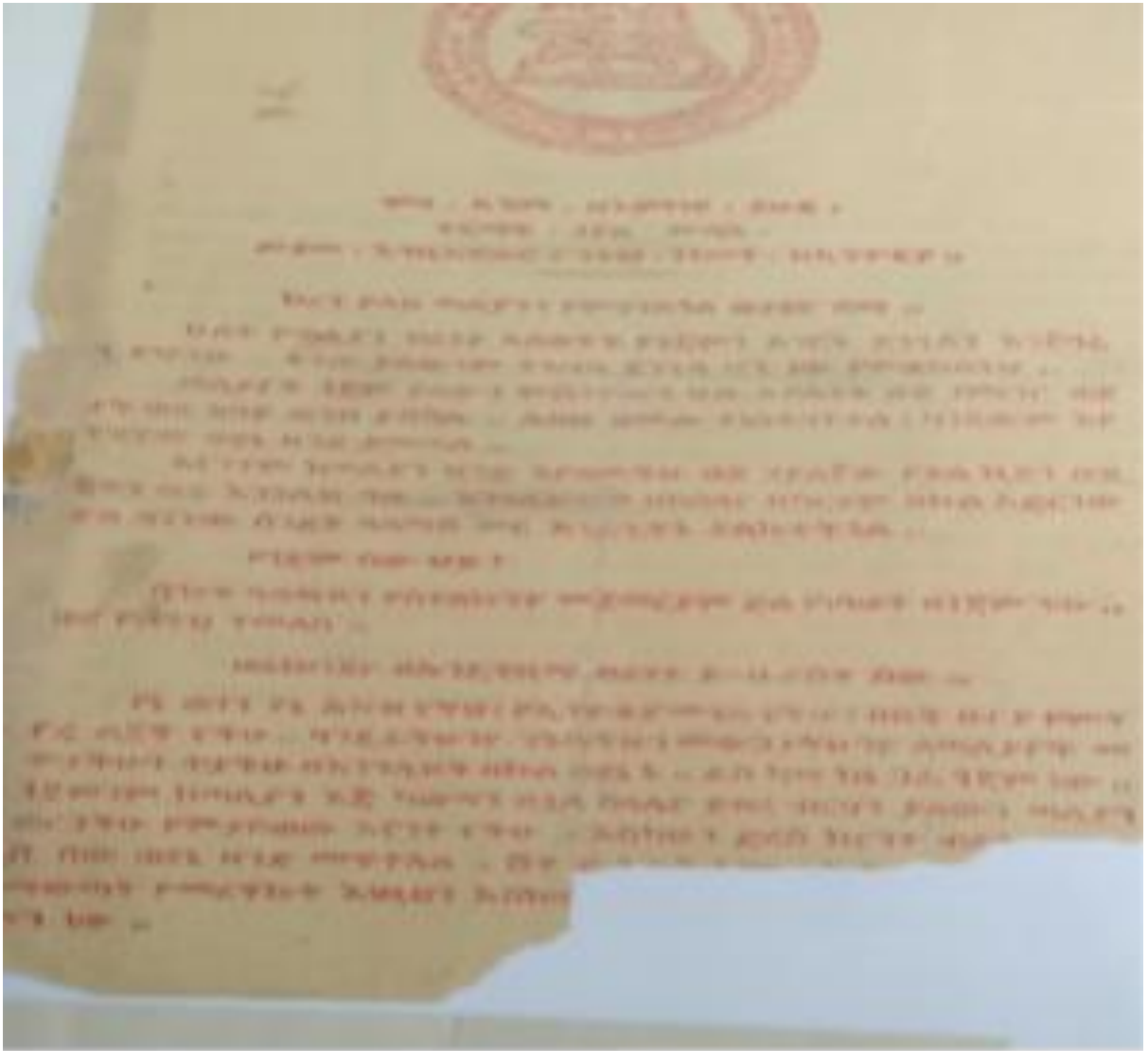
Appendix-8

Emperor Haile Selassie appealed about the Italian invasions of Ethiopia to the League of Nations, in Geneva.



**Appendix-9**

Emperors decree bands of Keren, Gojjam, and Šäwa to support the British Army.



**Appendix-10**

Emperor's Decree to Ethiopian People about Hoisting's Ethiopian Flag at Gojjam, Omedella.



Appendix-11

Declaration of the Emperor to patriots of Ethiopia from Khartoum.

