



The Historical Notes of "Liqä-Täbbäbt" Abbäbä Yeräfu

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# THE HISTORICAL NOTES OF *LIQÄ-ŢÄBBÄBT*ABBÄBÄ YERÄFU

## By BAIRU TAFLA

### I. Introduction

The elders of North-East Africa have long been renowned for their powers of memory on which their compatriots relied for genealogical lineages, rights of ownership, procedures of law, marriage customs and the like. Literate or otherwise, they all for the most part imparted their accumulated knowledge by word of mouth. Unlike the griots of West Africa, however, quite a few made use of written documents, at least in the form of notes. These documents are different from and independent of the royal and ecclesiastical records which are well known to scholars. These are private papers intended for personal use and as such contain valuable, uncensored, historical information. I realized how ubiquitous the practice was during my research travels in the various regions of the Ethiopian Empire during the years 1965-75. Whenever such an informant failed to recall a particular name, date or fact during an interview, or doubted the accuracy of the sequence of his narrative, he would quickly pull out his mnemonic aid from a box under his bed or would call for a family member to hand him the desired item. The mnemonic aid often consisted of scribbled scraps of paper, letters, photographs, invitation cards to weddings or commemorative feasts. Some possessed thin school notebooks <sup>2</sup> comprising sketches in Amareña, Tegreña or Arabic, sufficient to prompt the memory to produce a fluent narrative. The contents of such a notebook, and indeed a typical one of its kind, constitute the body of the present article.

These sketches were contained in a 32-page notebook measuring approximately 200 by 160 mm in the handwriting of the author himself with whose kind permission and in whose presence I had them copied.<sup>3</sup> The additional notes jotted down on small pieces of paper and inserted between the pages were incorporated in the course of copying. All the notes were adopted without change except in a few cases where the author insisted on dictating corrections; due reference is made to these in the footnotes.

This compilation of notes is characteristically different, at least in intent and presentation, from the royal annals or the well considered autobiographies of leading personalities which flourished after the liberation of 1941. In purpose it

<sup>2</sup> A few owned thick cash-books containing historical, autobiographic, poetic, and miscellaneous notes. Käntiba Dästa Meteké, one of the first Ethiopian journalists, had kept eighteen such

¹The system is by no means a recent development, though it is hard to say how far back it goes. It is a continuation of the centuries-old practice of jotting down particular facts on the collophons of parchment manuscripts. The sketchy royal chronicle published by R. Basset in 1882 was perhaps a precedent for the separate notebooks, some of which began to appear by the second half of the nineteenth century, their number increasing by leaps and bounds in the twentieth century. Cf. J. Kolmodin, Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega: Textes Tigrigna (Rome 1912) 264; Gärima Taffärä, Abba-Tatäq Kasa, Yäqwara Anbäsa (Addis-Abäba, 1961 A.M.) 88; Bairu Tafla, A chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV, 1872–89 (Wiesbaden, 1977) 33 n. 13; Heywät Hedaru, Yachi Qän Tärässach: Kätemhert-Bét Wada Qwänsela Sera, 1925–33 (Addis-Abäba, 1967 A.M.) pp. iv-x. See also the historical notes of azmach Gäbrä-Mika'él Germu in the collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis-Abäba, MS Nos. 325 and 326.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Because of the lack of a photocopying machine in the town, I had to reproduce the text in two ways: first, an assistant took down the text in its entirety by hand. Then, a cassette recording of the whole text was made from the original manuscript. Comparison has shown no significant discrepancy between the two versions. It may not, however, be fair to hold the author responsible for orthographic inaccuracies and I have, in consequence, refrained from commenting on the particulars of this aspect. The late Dr. Richard Caulk had xeroxed the original a few years later, but his copy was not available for further comparison in the process of this edition.

is private and not at all intended for the wider public. Hence, it is frank in expression and unpolished in style. The chain of statements does not necessarily express a sequence of ideas; rather it represents more or less a list of points, frequently with only faint relation to one another. For example:

In 1880 A.M., the year of St. John, a military expedition was launched to Armačeho. Ras Ar'aya-Sellasé died. The reconstruction of the great church of Feché-Giyorgis began in this year. On his return from Armačeho in säné, asé Menilek visited the newly begun work of reconstruction.

The death of the Prince had nothing to do with the royal expedition, and the King's visit was merely a by-product of the circumstances which obliged Menilek to take the route through Gojjam and Sälalé. Their only common factor is the year in which all took place.

The sketches are chronological in order. Particular days, months and evangelists are noted together with the years, though not altogether without errors, omissions or transpositions.<sup>4</sup> Some, if not all, of the errors have apparently arisen from the traditional method of reckoning time employed by the author. Usually people remembered the precise date and month of the births, deaths, foundations and convocations which were of interest to them, most of which were in any case associated with fixed holidays; but they seldom noted the precise year of the happening. Years are often given in relation to an outstanding event—a war, a devastating epidemic or a natural catastrophe imprinted on the memory of the society. These outstanding events formed the landmarks in the timespan which an individual used as points of orientation. Being a learned man, our author did not depend entirely on such points of orientation. He recorded particular years with their respective evangelists.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he did not abandon the traditional system altogether. He reduced it to a miniature and used it as a guideline within a particular year. The supposed major event of a particular year is given precedence in relation to the births, deaths, marriages, inaugural celebrations, promotions and demotions. An error is then likely to creep in if the so-called major event takes place at the beginning or the end of the year and the author (or his informant) fails to notice that the presumed minor event under consideration had actually taken place in another year, though only a few weeks or months earlier or later than the landmark.<sup>6</sup> For example:

<sup>6</sup>The date pertaining to the foundation of Feché cannot of course be included under this explanation. It is an error due to ignorance. Cf. n. 18 below.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The years 1847, 1848, 1863, 1865, 1877, 1900, 1910, 1919, and 1935 are not accompanied by the relevant evangelists. Insofar as the preceding and subsequent years are supplied with evangelists, whose sequence is constant, the omissions were presumably caused by negligence rather than by lack of knowledge on the part of the author. 1870 and 1881 are entered twice with different facts, first in the wrong sequence and a second time in the correct chronological order. '1925' is noted without a factual entry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Almost all Ethiopian chroniclers have persistently coupled an evangelist with a given year, but the purpose is rather obscure. The names of the four evangelists are used in the traditional Ethiopian calendar-reckoning to mark four consecutive years, thus forming an ever-recurring short cycle which also served as the lowest common multiple for a few of the higher cycles. If the chroniclers employed the system in this sense, then its historical role is minimal in that it was merely confirmatory in the writer's opinion to the accuracy of the given date. It is doubtful whether it was meant for calculation purposes which the chroniclers scarcely applied. They noted the evangelists even for the coronations which they themselves attended. Perhaps an explanation should be sought in the deeply-rooted tradition of associative interpretation of history. The evangelists (who are represented in the likeness of a human being, a lion, an ox and an eagle respectively) have been associated with natural forces. Matthew and Mark have been associated with fruitfulness and abundance; hence, the dictum: 'Bämatéwos eräs; bämareqos efäs' = 'Cultivate in [the year of] Matthew; harvest in [the year of] Mark.' Luke is identified with drought and epidemic, and John with war, hail, flood, and thunderstorm.

During Passion Week in the month of Mäggabit 1863 A.M., ato Dargé left Bulga and entered Feché in Sälalé. On Monday, 9 Nähasé of the same year, Dämessé Särşé was born. In the month of Hamlé of the same year, aşé Täklä-Giyorgis died. Aşé Yohannes was crowned in the same year.

Here, the appointment of a governor, to whose family the author was to be attached, is the landmark in relation to which other facts must be arrayed.

The birth of a kinsman is given priority over the political change in a remote area, and the fall of an emperor has apparently led to the presupposition that the vanquished was dead and the victorious crowned. Actually, Yohannes assumed the imperial crown early in the next year, and Täklä-Giyorgis died in captivity sometime thereafter. Such errors appear mainly in the period prior to the time of the author; and astonishingly enough, he has miscalculated by hardly more than a year.

The author, Liqä-Täbbäbt Abbäbä Yeräfu (1902–75) was, as his title indicates, a däbtära (precentor) closely attached to the Gännätä-Giyorgis church in Feché, approximately 110 km. to the north of Addis-Abäba where I made my acquaintance with him in 1971. His father, mämheré Yeräfu (1856–1938) who was also a cleric, came originally from the Amara area of Shäwa and settled in Sälalé in the 1870s. With the exception of a few brief sojourns in the imperial capital, Abbäbä spent his life entirely in Sälalé. His notes are, therefore, predominantly related to the events pertaining to this area. Strictly speaking, this compilation does not represent a diary. It comprises select dates, names and facts from the reminiscences of the elderly and the author's own observations, supplemented by extracts from books and newspapers. It covers a period of about ninety years (1855–1944), more than half of which preceded the life of the author. Over 250 particulars are mentioned which can roughly be categorized as follows:

	No. of
Particulars	entries
Government officials and members of the royal house	94
Ethiopian geographical names	61
Ethiopian titles, epithets, technical terms	40
Relations, acquaintances, and colleagues	23
Churches and monasteries	14
Holy days	5
Foreign nations and states	4
Foreign personalities	4
Foreign titles	3
Ethiopian ethnic groups	2
International treaties	1
Publications	1

Most of the entries are related to local history, preference being given to matters which concerned the author within the context of his extended family, his home region in the narrowest sense, together with the ruling aristocracy and the church. This very aspect underlines the essence of the document, which may contribute, however modestly, toward the writing of well-founded history. A few events of national and international significance are noted; these are none the less better served elsewhere. Several of the other entries are unique, and as such they are of special interest to historians. The contributions of this brief document are to be sought not only in the accurate new facts and dates, but also in the author's viewpoint imparted explicitly through the manner of his

selection of particular historical clues. Evidently, he held some historical developments in high esteem and pursued them with keen interest over a long period of time. One which captured his attention was, for example, the process for the collection of the tithe-taxation innovated by Menilek's decree of October 1892 to replace the old system of billeting soldiers on the peasantry. Our author leads us through a period of about four decades, giving glimpses into the inconsistencies of the government's methods of exacting and administering the tithe, as well as into the trustworthiness of the populace when they were given the responsibility. His opinion on the latter point contrasts sharply with that held by the two senior officials who have dealt with the subject. Another matter which captured his attention was the atrocities committed by the Italian Fascists during their occupation of Ethiopia in 1936-41. Unfortunately, for some unexplained reason he cut off his writing at a point shortly after the liberation. That he owned no other notebook was stated categorically in the course of interviews, and there is little justification for doubting his assertion; but his refusal to explain the reason for discontinuing his account may arouse the suspicion that the reason lay beyond lack of interest or want of time.

Finally, a word on the structure of the article. The entire text is reproduced here. The translation, which immediately follows it, is supplied with adequate footnotes intended to clarify vague points, define technical terms, describe institutions, document statements, compare dates and question allegations. The very local events (e.g. Dargé's activities in Sälalé) are of course not comparable in that, to our present knowledge, no records have survived. Personal and place names are not commented upon, as most of them are entered in the standard reference works. For the biographies of the persons mentioned in the article, see: Heruy Wäldä-Sellasé, Yä heywat Tarik (Addis-Abäba, 1915 A.M.); Giuseppe Puglise, Chi é? dell' Eritrea (Asmära, 1952); Mahtämä-Sellasé Wäldä-Mäsgäl, 'A study of the Ethiopian culture of horse-names', Journal of Ethiopian Studies, VII, 2, 1969, 195–303; The encyclopaedia Africana: dictionary of African biography, 1: Ethiopia-Ghana (New York, 1977); Chris Prouty and Eugene Rosenfeld, Historical dictionary of Ethiopia = African historical dictionaries, 32 (Metuchen, N. J. and London, 1981). For the place names, see: Carlo Conti Rossini, Catologo dei nomi propri di luogo dell' Etiopia contenuti nei testi gi'iz ed amhariña finora pubblicati = Estratto dagli Atti del primo Congresso Geografico Italiano (Genova, 1892); A. Bombaci et al., Elementi per la toponomastica etiopica (Napoli, 1937); Guida d'Italia della Consociazione Turistica Italiana: Africa Orientale Italiana (Milano, 1938); U.S. Defense Mapping Agency, Gazeteer of Ethiopia: names approved by the U.S. Board on Geographic Names (Washington, D.C., 1982).

<sup>7</sup> cf. Gäbrä-Wäld Engeda-Wärq, Yä'ityopeya Märétenna Geber Sem (Addis-Abäba, 1948, A.M.) 16-21; Mahtäma-Sellasé Wäldä-Mäsqal, Zekrä Nägär (2nd ed., Addis-Abäba, 1962 A.M.) 331-40.

## II. Text

(103914) 477638C (08- FP 1240C: 472 ስ-በስቲያምስን፤ ስብስቲያምስ አብዬን አብየυ! አምሪስ: ኪያስስሜ፣ 5000 ESPA : ከስት መለንን : አስትወለን 0013-178-3: 013: 178- 4/8/6/WG/23: 4/8/6/1/28 37-00 346006443 0008 674097 4 6627 WELT: 9023: HYDKOCAFT: +53: (DCAFT! 4 2 600 hmy : gorone : pressing : We4 : OUTITE +55-000% 00 40333 HISTON CAS PAS (1960) 40.63: 40-0+a-: 37-W. ad 8246773 887: 6093; cochat, 805403; 0008-84097= 486:70153. 1116842 9.40. PHHZ. K+3. KK trscon 476. 11 15 14 5 9. 40 - 4 & 6'00 644 - 90 + = & nL: nois: + + 17 11 79: 698-101: 13 4907: 08-79 0034m 1920517 EHON & ST TAGO + 90 77 HOR. + MLTS LOA 79: 69 81001: 8486:00/10073: 40763. 11763 400+10: 807-13+02: 89:11 MIERUE 9,40: 18 10 73, 10,406 8.64 . +0768! NIER 45 4. 40 nHary OPCPh: Lin: 803. two: 8.7 We4: 50004. he of 3. 834RC: 7-78 17894. 80 20 + 400m: 61: 403: PHUGF: 147973: +907+02:502. 144: 9004: 74 £ 98-00: 80 78-070- 89: 69807 43-9: +964: 8793: na: 4.6: 45: 4nta: 85: +76: NICS429,40: 17 HODY. (979), 902037. 1200+36: 1778. topacon & A : 4140amar Ag. JAHar hydra 28021:71: 1741143: 871. 880702 . hydr 62+3 WAY 19/10 63470 : 70:1828 ho arag: 4ch a: hr of3. >az: のできからをそろいかといりらいののかい。 タフク: カイクキダーのH午: 中し!!

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ሞቱ፡ በዚሁ፡ ዘመን፡ ኤስ፡ ጻርኔ፡ ቡልን፡ ግብተው፡
ተሾሙ፡፡፡ በ፲፻፸፫፫ ዓም፡ በዘመን፡ ሱታስ ኤሽ፡ ሽዩ፡ ዳርኔ፡
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በዚሁ. ዓመት ምኡርቱ፡ በቃለሴ፡ ፫ ቀሜ፡ ሰኞ፣ ዳምሬ፡
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የርስ ፕስ፡ ሃንሀታ።

のほどを見る、からめから かきゅうことれ、名はることをそこ 2月はスカス、中にがく!!

በ፲፻፶፫ የመ- በዘመኑ፣ የሐንስ፣ ሚያዜና ቪጅ ቀፕ፡ ማባመት ፡ ሃመታት ፡ ዘው-ዴቱ ፡ ተወለ ዩ.።

በ፲፱፻፱ ዓ.ም በዘመታ፣ ማታያስ፣ ከጓትር፣ በሕቷ፣ ሆነ።
በ፲፻፱ ዓ.ም ६ፕጣጣ፣ ፲ስጓና፣ ጉሁኔፕ፣ ሬጃ፡፡ በዚሁ!
ዓመት ማለቱ፣ በዘመታ ማርቀስ፣ አፄ፣ ያሐንስ፣ ወደ፡
፫ዮ መጠ። ከአፄ፣ ምሂልክ፣ ጋር፣ ታርቀው፣ ዴብረ: ኢባም፡
ስፕ፡ ስመሙ፤ ሂና።

በ፲፱፻፸፫ ዓ.ም፡ በዘመኑ ሱቃስ፡ ዓዜ፤ ተዘመታ፤ አፄ፡ ምኒልክያ: ៤ስ፣ ፍሮኔ።

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በ፫፫፫፫ ማ.ም በዘመኑ ዑታስ: ሐርሪን ተዘመድ ጥር፡ ፲፱፻፫፫፫ ማመ፡ በዘመኑ ውታስ: ሐርሪንን ተቸሙ። በ፲፫፫፻፫ ዓ.ም: በዘመኑ ማቴዎት ኤንዴሪን ሃርሱሽ: ከታጠ የው።

በ፲፫፫ ፫ ምን በዘመነን ዮሐንልን አርታማውን ተዘምፉን ፈስ፣አርክያ፣ መስሴን ሞቱን በዚሁን ዘመን፣ የፍቼን ጀምራንስ የተመጠከሙ፤ ትልቁን ቤተክርስቴያን፡ አማዳማና፣ ተማመህን ጀምሩንያን ሽቼን ይይልኝን። ከአርማ መንድ ሲመስሎ፣ በስኔ አይብቸው። ነሐሴ፡ ፬ ቀሜ፡ ጅ ምኑሜ፡ መብረቱ፡ መታመ-፡፡ መስክርመ፡ ይ፩ ቀሜ፡ በሎርሱ፡ ዝመሜ፡ %ሜጦጦ፡ ማርያናውን ታቦቷ፡ ግባች፡፡

በ፲፫፻፲፱ ፪ ዓ. ም፡ በዘመን ርጣቲያስ: ክብሩ፡ አሉቀ።
አፄ፡ የ‹ሉማስ፡ በዚሁ፡ ዘመሜ፡ በመንቢሩ፡ ሞቴ፡፡
ዮ፻ዝጣች፡ አሕቴም፡ በዚሁ፡ ዘመሜ፡ መስክርም፡
፲፱ ቀሜ፡ ተ፡፡፡ በዚሁ፡ ዘመሜ፡ አፄ፡ የተተኛስ:
መንቢሩ፡ ፱ ቀፕ፡ የተ፡፡፡ በዚሁ፡ ዘመሜ፡ ለቴ፡ ፫፻
 ቀሜ፡ አቪ፡ ከ በና፡ የርብ፡ ቀፕ፡ የቴ፡፡
በ፲፻፶፱፫ ዓ.ም፡ በዘመን፡ ማርቆስ፡ አፄ፡ ምሂልኝ፡፡
ፕተሠ፡ ሃ ገሙት፡ ተ ብለሙ፡ ፫ ዓሆደ፡ ተባሱ፤ ምቴምት፡
ከ፱ ቀሜ፡ ኧኧጦጠ፡ አይ፡፡ በዚሁ፡ ዘመሜ፡ ይቼ፡፡
የተቃጠለሙ፡ ቤተኝ፣ርስቲ ያሜ፡ የልታሙ፡ መጥቶ፡
ብዙ፡ ተጉ ሠ፡ ብዙ፡ የብር፡ ት ይኒን፡ በተመሉ፡
መር፡ ៤ስ፡ ፍርኔ፡ በኝነ፡፡ የርጤ፡ ውሽባ፡

በ፲፫፻፲፫ ዓ.ም; በዘመነና ፋቃስ: መጋኪት. ፫፫ ቱሜ: ቼቴኔ ፡ መነማ: ተመሪዱ። በዚሁና ዘመማ! ሁለ አሪቴ፡ በጥቱምት: ባሌ: ዘመተው። ለምሌ: ፫፫ - ገቡ። ተመልሰው ፡ ኇቼ፡ ገብተሙ፡ ከረሙ። በዚሁ: ዘመሜ፡ ሁለ፡ መሜጋቭ፣ ጜቴ ሃነያው፡ ወናም፣ ዘመተው፡ ሳያስ-ገብኑ፤ ተመሪሉ።

「IIIIIE 4.50: NHOOY: CPも中からりなど的に かいし、サニタスカンのかこれにいこHOOS: ハグ中かる

መወር አዲስ፤ አከባር ታዳለ፤ THULGO: HOW3: SWAL AA+7574: 0-223: ተባለ:- በዚሁም: ዘመን. 84: ምረለክ ለሁለ-ORYGO: CORHO: RPLIZ: 84 9700-11 MKG. HOO3: h牙管: 2PC2 A: 7454: 0064: +hm= OLN-90: 40h 6: 3003: 4003: 744: 4003: 43H197: 577: 403: 11/11/16: 0 47: 12+01: በፎ ተተስፋያል-በሀሲባምስ። በዚሁ - Hመን - ሂዳር -[E +7: 6λ: 8904. + OOR: 1. NH. U. HOO 7; しけれんし、たらりもころろれのないのです。このです。 かり、ちなのか、ちろい、ナルレニー したのいし、 7-11にいかや月か・ナフレターなりのことの-7のことらこ achwa= 30からこナーカリンサダHoy年: Uniozyka NHW-HOOZ- NURC: 3 +3: KLA! WHOLL 1890:90 + = NHLI-90 : HOOB: PFE: 75tzpczh. からかこかものこするので、タルナシにかせるよどかので、 ካለም: በዿኯ. የካ. 64. ፲፱ ቀሜ: በመብ 64: ተታጣለ። いかことにるかころかよいいは、やけこれかまいこれのやなっ 一月ののこうとれたいカカランとかいうかい、月代におって HOOM: NYCha: 85 ぞここではこかにあるらっちこ 4744: 48+m17: Q+87: (460-:+800L! nite 72 4.90- nHouse on a & h: HP& -+ HOUSE NITTIZ 4 90= 17 HODY: 6-\$1: 00905 + HOOK == ngc + ao ah := nhu - Haoz pon Ago; -114: +W4:= POD: PO:T-P-237-05 +Fao- -- 147-12: 48-1044- 73204-4008:

ハアアアア 995 ハHのらかけるか 名ののでき かとれまったな中、千のし、Hの中のこれのんまま 十中の十のことがらたるとでこれんして Hのるこれがによることがあるというできまった。 カスレーニ のしんこ Hoosi いれころころ カナローののもこけんこう 中に

10412: 8H71:008848 4: 87109717: 6t. +109: 61:008828621:897: 60 178-カロウンHIPTONS 8A. BRLTHURG: hit 中元 8790113:00-25:UP5= NITE HE 9.40: NHOOS: 19697: 196: 12 43: LAB: 15: 884: +018: 89# FOR: 08HO-18PLD- NOCE 8- 90+=nite of so. nHouse on Coff : KCn-+3: WA: 00433: FA: UAG: KTG: HOOF: NHU: HOUR SE: 28-CZA: N+ KOOL: NP 9004: 427.04: Wha: MAG: 029KS: hi +3= の名の:ナルセ:ハダーのロンフリニ MITE 36 9,40 NHOOS: 6-9/2: 7-96: 4836 9W74. US: Lin: 00375. Prh377: 48H=- NHLH: HOO3: ኪቀኛውን ኳስ: አ 8- ነርብ፣ ይ ጀችን አይ 6 ማር ዓም ውል 8 ሚ ካቴል፣ 70t:: nilgzeg. p. nHoos- Prhish: 4Logh: 4+09: +Wh: ሰካይቭ: የተባከሙ። በዚሁያው: ያመንቱ: ሰሳኤ: በንቡ: 1 his 4004: 61: 403: 00214: 18 49: 4893: 514: 270-90 PSALH87: PKO9: 14: 40:11 DH.U. : HOO3: 817/23: 4735: 83403: 18975 +19095 8G3+8A16: 960-3589:70AZ he 37: 7740-: 803- +100= 8465= かんこの見を子、たべけてをこナけかここの当りのこのから 1665: 39-7-16-17987: +hm= m&1ho: +4700== の道を置きなってい、ハイのケーのタもか、タを見か、そんのか 71+07: + \$ 001: NH. (+: HOO3: 8 \$ 7: 4740

& CB: COPAH: +WY: NHULL: HOOTS:

nite zur y.go: nHoors opern-hr&n: 9090-

BC= Pop3: 3700- +8164809 504=904:

(ሥሌ፣ ስለኤ. ታዘ: ፟፟፟፟፞ጳጳጳ፣ ተሰጣ፣ ያወ**៤**ኔ፡ አዳ**ስ**ርን. ተሸጣርሙ። ምሴ፤ ክስ ጭነሙ፣ አዲስ: ዓለም. መጡ። በዚሁ! ዓመቱ። መጋቢት። ፫፫ ቀፕ፡ አበበ። ይレፉ። ተመለጸ። ጻጃች: መማ ኡር መስኝ! ካሣ። ሐምሴ ተወስጹ።

NITERE SOME HURSTONE PAR NORTHER

በ፲፱፻፲፱ ዓ.ም: በHows: ሱታስ:፲፮-፫፯ጵ፡ ክብሩ፡ ተመለመለ፡- የቻቼ- ZPCZስያወ፡ ስሪል፡ በሙሉ : ተሠርዋ፡ አለቀ፤በምር፡ ፫ ቀሚ። በደጃቹ: በጽህ፡ ምስአኔናች። አዛዥ፡ ባልቻ፡ ንብሬ፡ ባሉ በት፡ ተሹ መው፡ ለለኤሜ፡ አመሩ፡ ተመማራቅ፡ ንዙ፡፡

በ፲፱፻ ዓ. 90፣ በዘመን፣ ዮሐን ስ፡ መስካርም፡ ፲፱ ቀሜ፡ ዩጀፑ፡ ይልማ፡ መካፕሜ፡ ሞቱ፡፡ በሃብታ፡ በሃሩያነቱ፡ አሜዳንጽ፡ ብር፣ በአጋለስ፡ አለም፣ በጭሁ፡ ብር፡ ተሰጠ፡፡ ዓኞፑ፡ ጣጽህ፡ አሕክሩ፡ ተቨርሙ፣ ልዥ፡ ሃሣ፡ ሂደሴ፡ የለባሌፕ፡ ምስቴኔነት፡ + \$ 1600 = + From : not some + horton: not chile ste.

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NIETE G. M. NHOWY OF CALL ROUNDS: HE AZ.

90, A.ST. +E/4/W. P. +3. KCA: KLS-: NIERZ 9.10. NHOUS: A- 47: 08. 484. ALE = +3: COB: 37W: 02980 SB: 88: NIEFE 3.90, MHODS: 8-ch73 KWUTRE 86F:7116: 9000 +7748 SW-M:+1160 HAM. MYOYEFF: HULA: HOUR COOM 4 WL14. 600 301W4: 400M-- 417:0082 07C390, VOLUNT 14. 16. 422. 00820 17:2-NIABA 2. 10: UHOODS: 028 DY: By 40 4: 5 4-13: PAL: 00/19: 01-28:195= 3710. 0248090: 474: 154: Wrong HAMMAS 1595 HTG 8-64 COURTAIN Fipp: HO-9 + : 9020873 739000 + 166: 104333: 80700 A. Ahar 837: 164: 3263: 44: 1601 843: 0283. 19tar and: AP:+カハウハ:+ムカ:のとりをの:+フでののここ 15 497: 12 of 7. 40 m & son. 400. 43. FP: FA: GGLT: AHU: HOOK: OSF. 4. SA: 10486: 7171 ACA: 67: 474: PORGHG. ZECZA, AZ: YBJFO-: +5UA: CM-6-189-1029KS: 88= 00\$853-4100 HA:08: 2912:00\$963. 85-6-40-: 4h 89: 80190 AF; ESA: OFFER. %カガギ+の: 名は: から、 APF で、そかかののa: MAO: 40: CPY: TIPEgo: + coon 1700- MITE पुरु गायप्रकित: 1846: 024780: 82h: KAM: 7A= MHUL HORZ MUS! HUME YOUL +hm :: 114814.80: 114 ans. 03 Cof 13: William To 0/3: 00 \$0068. SALKASON: KAR: SLG: できこナゆをニーハルは、Hのろこでやタマヤー・

37W 008828620 10+ 10+1 1144, HOOZ; URC: 6 43 Sint: 1986: 4086: Sils: +0008== Phin: 44:05= 00 S. HO. 09 4880 FM: 987. 4860- 143: 90: IOF3. 4717: co & g co -: 6 h = 4 4 = & h 3 ! + h 5 + co - : & & a : KAY- 12: + 0 90 man: 118- 09 5 8 90: +0001han: FF: 717: 114816 9.10" 114004 A SA: 8414C. WAK: 47: 411: 187: 00m= 406+ 188 1690: may 50: 42: hadw 48871: +86: nonple GAN: GLA: HLA: 3+FIR: 48-CO. E4. OC: 4/E 0/3: + 400m2 MUETE 4. 10: 194004 9037. 34904 643. 1607: 8003: 48.0.WAB: 1006 9 == 90039047. 7067: 17607-909: anho: 4601! MUSTE & p- MHOD: OPERA: KWL4. nassog. +16:5 NH.U-: HODB: OF: ESh: 496: +5401: +11ho 1102943: 00-17. 17p. 84: + & Ha= 411のここでは10% たがかる: のかした-のの名だのよう: +0008=10KK: HOOZ: 848-908083:Z 9004: +2456: 39W+: 47W+4: HOW 82+5. TAZOGA: +46: 102914: +69: 40m: +414ND PAJ 880098 90287 +749C any tait het how + hot BATOLI THU. HOOZ: neisc: OC= KAN= SILG: SICOH-Enc: hami-WIRE 18 6. 60 - WHOOK- CON COBY = 6 0 2 8. 41-177. 47 8387 1095 - FROI. 71 - 838. +1000001:- NHU-: HOUS: 4WL4-1860-8-09: +86: 0 F. ESA: +EUMW E +7: DU Stat: +nLar: FE: 9149:71-11

46:37~0: 41 hm 4 50 h. 1. HU: HOO3: 90 t== NH.U. HOO3 174016: 437 +66 008-18 %: 40 ti NIETE CT. 90: NHOUS: H-SPH: HAB: NOCA-6A: 74: 8 A + 397: 80067: 88A: +700+: hwh79= na 509- 8W&C-+76= NIEG 12 3.40 - NHOO- PATTA: MAA 188183 OTAC: THELOW: NHIL: HOOZOO: 13-4904: E+7: ACHA: 00473. 34 hounds: +019-== COSHO 4 HOZ 9 CZgo 102124. 13 43-90+ 5 7020 67: +665- 937:038:0043-44: 401-05: 102 8H. 9. 13 \$7: 8802: 4dh h: Ey op; + and har: 48h: 4nn: 717-55 NIEIZAGO: NHOOY: OPEPA: HOWE, 47: CO+RC: Anopha: not: HAMO: 84m: \$how.7. 4.E-838: 14200: 45. 4840: 80/10-3: Q-17h: +1/ho: +5,0065: +814av: hE \$3: 710435: 1790: 8027haz: 2167:17248.k-9:30700 +=9700+4: HOT & +5= FOOTOGIFTS +66: 800m 4: 0284.9: It +7: 9+66: 00437: +096:164: 8Rh: 4111: +416+== NIGIT 9.10: NHOUS: OGC Ph: 1700: 91904: 1P50: 48/d: M4: 1976 4.0 43: GOOD: S.CS: 90+5-114914 9.90: 6 tarbi: Untizerczh: ナイルいとうまるこのなこととれて、日下のよう 71-4: 076 PA: 90 +== MIHET 9.90: NHOWS: 8-43.7. ORHO. 073.8411761. 470033. nchccz-nn-d. nnn-c: σでデナロー: nn3n+: な見か: 4nn: 7ル!!

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#### III. Translation

[fol. 1] Transfer of government from Gondär to Shäwa; 8 Nägasi begat 9 Sebestyanos; Sebestyanos begat Abbeyyé; Abbeyyé begat Ameha-Iyyäsus; Ameha-Iyyäsus begat Asfa-Wäsan; Asfa-Wäsan begat Wäsän-Säggäd; Wäsän-Säggäd begat Sahlä-Sellasé; Sahlä-Sellasé begat negus Haylä-Mäläkot, märedazmach Haylé, Säyfu, Dargé Zännäbä-Wärq, Tänaññä-Wärq. 10 Haylä-Mäläkot begat Menilek II; Säyfu begat Mäshäsha; Tänaññä-Wärq bore Mäkwännen; Zännäbä-Wärq 11 married qoq-mariw 12 Abboyyé and bore negus Wäldä-Giyorgis, däjjach Lämma and märhabété Del-Nässaw; 13 märed-azmach Haylé begat Gullelaté.

On 5 Yäkkatit 1847 A.M. [11 February 1855], asé Téwodros was crowned. In 1848 A.M. [1855–56], Hayla-Mäläkot died. He was buried at Däbrä-Bäg'e. In Teqqemt [October-November], asé Téwodros came to Shäwa and took Menilek with him. Asé Téwodros doubted his [Hayla-Mäläkot's] death, exhumed the body from the grave and viewed it.14

On 23 Säné 1848 A.M. [29 June 1856], mämmeré Yeräfu was born.

In 1854 A.M. [1861–62], the year of St. Mark, ras Dargé was imprisoned. On 29 Teqqemt [7 November 1861], ato Säyfu entered Ankobär and installed himself in the throne of his father. 15 Ras Dargé was imprisoned, because he had fought Bäzzabeh. Aşé Téwodros became victorious in the same year, and the following was composed:

<sup>8</sup> Literally, 'When the government was transferred from Gondär to Shäwa'. This incomplete sentence was probably intended to serve as the heading for the genealogical list of the dynasty which eventually took over the imperial power, though not directly from Gondar. Shawan writers generally assumed that Téwodros II (1855–68), Täklä-Giyorgis II (1868–71) and Yohannes IV (1872–89) did not actually belong to the Solomonic Dynasty which was supposed to have branched (16) 2-63) did not actually octoing to the Solonino Dynasty which was supposed to have braining into the Shäwan and Gondäran houses. Cf. aläqa Gäbra-Sellasé, Tarikä Zämän Zädagmawi Menilek, Negusä-Nägäst Zä'ityopeya (Addis-Abäba, 1959 A.M.) 44, 67, 165; Heruy Wäldä-Sellasé, Wazéma (Addis-Abäba 1921 A.M.) 50; Bairu Tafla, Asmä Gioyorgis and his work: History of the Galla and Sawa (Wiesbaden, 1985) 457, 565, 697.

9 The verb which should have followed either the first or the last name in the list is missing from

the original. The general context as well as the Amareña particle 'n' make it none the less clear that wällädä' (= beget), or 'wällädäch' (= bear), as the case may be, is the relevant verb to be supplemented.

The original had 'Taffasa-Warq', but the author insisted without explanation that we adopt

'Tänaññä Wärq'. He made no adjustment in his notebook during our presence.

''According to one source, this person was named Ayahlushem. Cf. Mahtäma-Sellasé Wäldä-Mäsqäl, 'A study of the Ethiopian culture of horse-names', Journal of Ethiopian Studies, VII, 2,

1969, 267.

12 Literally, 'He who is merciful to a partridge'. This epithet was probably a nickname applied on account of the humaneness of Abboyyé, the son-in-law of Sahlä-Sellasé, whom Téwodros appointed representative governor of Shäwa with the title of afä-negus.

13 = 'Del-Nässaw of Märhabété'. He was perhaps referred to as such by the people of Mänz

and Tägulät on account of his life-long attachment to that particular region.

<sup>14</sup> The same allegation is also made by Asma-Giyorgis and Heruy. Cf. Bairu, 1985, 553; and, Asfa-Wossen Asserate, Die Geschichte von Sawā (Athiopien) 1700–1865. Nach dem Tārika Nagast des Belāttēn Gētā Heruy Walda Sellāse (Wiesbaden, 1980) 60. The emperor's suspicion was allegedly motivated by the superb morale of the army in his opponent's camp, an attribute seldom manifested in the absence of a leader. Chronicler Gäbrä-Sellase who asserts (cf. p. 47) that Tewodros was impressed by the Shäwan army, does not mention this curious incident. The three chroniclers of Téwodros also mention nothing of the kind. One of them recorded that the emperor arrived at the burial place shortly after the funeral, and that he mourned the death of Haylä-Mäläkot. Cf. Enno Littmann, *History of King Theodore* (Princeton, 1902) 23. Except for the purpose of translating the remains of a deceased person to a holier venue, the practice of exhumation to prove anything was

apparently uncommon in Ethiopia. It is, therefore, not clear whether the story was malicious propaganda against the conqueror, or whether it was one of the idiosyncrasies of the sovereign.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, this event took place in 1859–60. Cf. Littmann, 1902, 46; Casamir Mondon-Vidailhet, Chronique de Théodoros II, roi des rois d'Ethiopie 1853–68 (Paris, 1904) 1, 20; Gäbrä-Sellasé, 1959, 53; Chris Prouty Rosenfeld, A chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, 1844–1913: Emperor of Ethiopia, 1889–1913 (East Lansing, 1976) 23. For some obscure reason, the author has employed at this point the Amareña familiar form of address in reference to also Säyfu in contrast to his brothers. this point the Amareña familiar form of address in reference to ato Säyfu in contrast to his brothers,

who are consistently referred to in the respect form.

Asé Téwodros was indeed degraded, Bowing to all the people of Shäwa, he withdrew.<sup>16</sup>

In 1857 A.M. [1864-65] the year of St. Matthew, Menilek escaped from the hands of asé Téwodros at Mäqdäla, arrived in Shäwa, defeated ato Bäzzabeh on the day of St. George of Nähasé, 17 and entered Ankobär on 27 Nähasé [1 September 1865], the day of the Redeemer of the World. The Battle of Gadilo took place on 23 Nähasé [28 August 1865].

In 1858 A.M. [1865–66], the year of St. Mark, ato Säyfu founded the town of Feché. 18 The rule of Galla balabbatoch ended. [fol. 2.]

On Easter Monday, 6 Miyazya 1860 A.M. [13 April 1868], the year of St. John, the English defeated asé Téwodros, and he died. In the same year, ras Dargé went to Bulga over which he was appointed.

During Passion Week in the month of Mäggabit 1863 A.M. [March-April 1871], ato 19 Dargé left Bulga and entered Feché in Sälalé. On Monday, 9 Nähasé [14 August 1871], of the same year, Dämessé Särsé was born. In the month of Hamlé [July-August] of the same year, asé Täklä Giyorgis died. Asé Yohannes was crowned in the same year.

On 23 Hamlé 1865 A.M. [29 July 1873] ras Dargé founded Feché-Giyorgis.

On Thursday, 12 Miyazya 1870 A.M. [19 April 1878], Shenkurt-Mika'él was founded.<sup>20</sup> At the time asé Yohannes and asé Menilek made peace between them on the mountain above the river, it is alleged that asé Yohannes said: 'Build [a church of St. Mika'él on this spot and name it on my behalf "Däbrä-Sälam" [" Mount Peace "]."

On 22 Miyazya 1868 A.M. [29 April 1876], the year of St. John, negestänägästat Zäwditu was born.21

In 1869 A.M. [1876–77], the year of St. Matthew, the känter 22 disease raged. In 1870 A.M. [1877–78], smallpox exterminated the Galla and the Guragé.<sup>23</sup>

16 Originally the author had recorded only the first line of the couplet and he dictated the rest in the course of the copying. The couplet was at any rate widely known for its pun: 'ej nässa' = 'greeted by prostrating himself' can equally mean 'render a person handless'. In this expedition the sovereign punished hundreds of captives by the mutilation of the hands and feet. Cf. Littmann, 1902, 46; Mondon-Vidailhet, 1904, 20 f.; Bairu, 1985, 575.

17 The available sources differ on the date of this battle. Gäbrä-Sellasé, 1959, 59 and Asfa-Wossen, 1980, 64 give 16 Nähasé while Asmä-Giyorgis (cf. Bairu, 1985, 587) prefers one day later. Only the last source specifies a date for the arrival of Menilek in Ankobär which concurs with that of our present text. Rosenfeld, 1976, 31 mentions only the month in connexion with the battle and places the so-called coronation of the negus in September.

18 This date is incorrect not only because the death of Sävfu had already occurred in June 1860. 16 Originally the author had recorded only the first line of the couplet and he dictated the rest in

18 This date is incorrect not only because the death of Säyfu had already occurred in June 1860, but also because the town was much older. As early as 1848 Säyfu had used it as his centre during a campaign against the Oromo of Sälalé. Cf. Bairu, 1985, 543.

15 The original had 'ras,' an anachronism which the author noticed and he insisted that we adopt ato'. Other similar cases have, none the less escaped his attention.

This date is rather perplexing, because most of the available sources assert that Yohannes and Menilek left Sälalé (the former for Därra and the latter for Däbrä-Berhan) several days earlier. Chronicler Gäbrä-Sellasé states (cf. pp. 83-5) that Yohannes left for Därra on 26 Mäggabit (= 2 April) and that Menilek accompanied him for some distance before he returned to his capital Leché. Aşmä-Giyorgis reckons (Bairu, 1985, 677) the accompaniment as far as Qaroda near Feché to nine days. See also Rosenfeld, 1976, 79. But this brings us only to 11 April. The foundation stone must have, therefore, been laid either a week earlier than the given date or one must assume that it was

have, therefore, been laid either a week earlier than the given date or one must assume that it was executed through a royal representative.

<sup>21</sup> Rosenfeld, 1976, 68 has 'July 1876'.

<sup>22</sup> Dästa Täklä-Wäld, Addis Yamareña Mäzgäba Qalat (Addis-Abäba, 1964, A.M.) 662 defines this epidemic as 'a disease which kills swiftly'. Epidemic diseases were given names in traditional Ethiopia in accordance with their symptomatic manifestations and/or consequences. Cf. R. Basset, Etudes sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie (Paris, 1882) 26, 45, 52-3; Littmann, 1902, 27; Mondon-Vidailhet, 1904, 18; Bairu, 1977, 62. This particular epidemic is not mentioned by name in Menilek's chronicle; but Rosenfeld, 1976, 73, notes for the same year: 'Menilek's campaign is plagued by disease, lack of food and poor morale.'

food and poor morale.'

23 Visitation of this ravaging epidemic was rather frequent in traditional Ethiopia, and royal chroniclers as well as foreign travellers often noted its outbreak and devastation. Apparently, this one was not regarded by the contemporary chroniclers as significant perhaps on account of its occurrence in the secondary regions of the empire.

In this year, i.e. the year of St. Mark, asé Yohannes came to Shäwa. He made peace with asé Menilek, paid reverence to Däbrä-Libanos, and departed.

In 1871 A.M. [1878–79], the year of St. Luke, a military expedition against Därra was launched by asé Menilek and ras Dargé.

In 1872 A.M. [1879–80], the year of St. John, Jelta-Täklä-Haymanot was founded.

On 3 Hedar 1873 A.M. [11 November 1880],<sup>24</sup> the year of St. Matthew, lej Kasa Haylu was born of wäyzäro Tessämmé Dargé in Lasta.

On Tuesday, 30 Genbot 1874 A.M. [6 June 1882], the year of St. Mark [fol. 3] the Battle of Embabo was fought. In the same year, four bishops came to asé Yohannes.25

In 1875 A.M. [1882–83], a star with a tail was seen over the tent.<sup>26</sup> In this year, asé Yohannes appointed mämher Akalä Wäld, and founded the Sellasé [Church] at Boru-Méda. On 5... of the same year of St. Luke, abunä Matéwos came to Shäwa.<sup>27</sup> In Tequemt [October-November] a star with a tail appeared at dawn. Seré-Mädhané-Aläm was founded, as the result of a vow made at the campaign of Embabo.

In the lent of 1877 A.M. [1885], ras Dargé led a military expedition against Marego.<sup>28</sup> Entotto-Maryam and Ragu'el were founded in the same year.

In Genbot 1878 A.M. [May-June 1886], the year of St. Mark, both asé Menilek and ras Dargé led a military expedition against Arusi. On 3 Pagumén of the same year [7 September 1886], the Arusi were defeated. His Majesty returned, whereas ras Dargé spent the rainy season there. While staying in Arusi, ras Dargé defeated the mobilized Arusi on Tuesday, on 3 Pagumén, and flogged all his officers for fighting before he gave the order.<sup>29</sup> On Thursday, 29 Tahsas [6 January 1887] of the same year, asé Menilek and ras Dargé defeated Abdullahi and returned.

In 1879 A.M. [1886–87], the year of St. Luke, the military expedition against Harär was launched. Balambaras Mäkwännen was appointed over Harärgé on 1 Ter [8 January 1887].<sup>30</sup>

In 1881 A.M. [1888–89], the year of St. Matthew, the Dervishes burnt Gondär.31

In 1880 A.M. [1887–88], the year of St. John, a military expedition was launched to Armaçeho.<sup>32</sup> Ras Ar'aya Sellasé died.<sup>33</sup> The reconstruction of the great church of Feché-Giyorgis began in this year. On his return from Armačeho in Säné [June-July], asé Menilek visited the newly begun work of reconstruction. [fol. 4] On 4 Nähasé [9 August 1888], lightning struck the unfinished edifice. On 21 Mäskäräm [1 October 1887] of the same year, the tabot of Entotto-Maryam was installed.

<sup>24</sup> This date is not given in any of the usual reference works; but the same date is contained in a mimeographed lengthy biography of the notable issued by the family on the occasion of his funeral in 1959, a copy of which is preserved at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis-Abäba.

25 The formulation of this statement, as well as the one pertaining to abuna Matewos in the next entry, betrays the author's prejudice against Emperor Yohannes IV who actually strove to bring the dignitaries from Egypt. He assigned them to the various parts of the Empire.
26 Such a natural phenomenon was regarded ominous by the Ethiopian society and usually the chroniclers recorded it as a prediction of a disastrous future. Cf. Gäbrä-Sellasé, 1959, 109; Mondon-Widelibet 1904, 18, Paira 1905, 745

Vidailhet, 1904, 18; Bairu, 1985, 745.

<sup>27</sup> According to Gäbrä-Sellasé, 1959, 113, Yohannes assigned the dignitary to the Kingdom of Shäwa on 8 February and he arrived in his diocese on 2 March 1883.

<sup>28</sup> This expedition is not entered in Rosenfeld's chronology.

<sup>29</sup> Among the victims of his anger were two of his sons: Tasamma and Asfaw (Bairu, 1985, 769).
<sup>30</sup> Rosenfeld, 1976, 122, gives 27 January as the date of his appointment.
<sup>31</sup> Rosenfeld, 1976, 128, has 18 January 1888 for this event.

<sup>32</sup> Menilek undertook this expedition at the instruction of Yohannes IV between December 1887 and June 1888. Cf. Rosenfeld, 1976, 127–31. 33 Rosenfeld, 1976, 131 has 10 June 1888.

In 1881 A.M. [1888–89], the year of St. Matthew, cattle perished.<sup>34</sup> Asé Yohannes died in the month of Mäggabit of the same year. Oäññazmach Ashené was born on 11 Mäskäräm [20 September 1880] of the same year. Asé Yohannes died on the 1st of Mäggabit [9 March 1889] of the same year.<sup>35</sup> On Friday, 27 Säné [3 July 1889] of the same year, ras Gobäna died.<sup>36</sup>

On 25 Teggemt 1882 A.M. [3 November 1889], the year of St. Mark, asé Menilek was crowned King of Kings at Entotto, and he became the janhov. 37 In the same year, a great many volleys were fired and feasts given in Feché, as the beam of the burnt church was erected. In the rainy season, ras Dargé underwent weshba 38 treatment at Qertè in the month of Hamlé [July-August 1890].

On 25 Mäggabit 1883 A.M. [2 April 1891], the year of St. Luke, etégé Mänän was born.<sup>39</sup> In the same year, ras Dargé led a military expedition to Balé in the month of Teggemt [October-November 1890] and returned on 12 Hamlé [18 July 1891].40 Upon his return, he spent the rainly season in Feché. In the same year, ras Mängäsha Atikäm led a military expedition against Wälamo, but returned without conquering it.

In 1884 A.M. [1891–92], the year of St. John, the näfas-bäshita broke out. 41 The kefu-qän worsened.<sup>42</sup> On 30 Genbot [6 June 1892] of the same year, the tabot of St. Mary came from Azazo, Gondar, and entered Dabra-Libanos ceremoniously. On 16 Hamlé [22 July 1892] of the same year, asé Haylä-Sellasé was born. 43 His Majesty [Menilek] came 44 to Ankobär where he spent the rainy

In 1885 A.M. [1892–93], the year of St. Matthew, the decree of grain tithe was issued.<sup>45</sup> In the month of Teqqemt [October–November 1892] of the same year, Addis-Abäba was renovated. [fol. 5] This year was named 'a glimpse', because grain could be harvested. In the same year, asé Menilek gave wäyzäro Shäwa-Rägga to ras Mika'él in marriage. 46 In the same year, land was granted to the

34 The devastating rinderpest which broke out in this year raged until 1892. Cf. R. Pankhurst, 'The great Ethiopian famine of 1889-92', University College Review, 1 (Addis-Abäba, 1961) 90-103; P. Paulitschke, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas. 1: Die materielle Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl (Berlin, 1893) 327; U. Braukämper, Die Kambata. Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes (Wiesbaden, 1983) 87.

35 Rosenfeld, 1976, 136 has 10 March 1889.

- <sup>36</sup> Asmä-Giyorgis (Bairu, 1985, 803) also gives the same date, and states correctly that it was Wednesday
- <sup>37</sup> Literally, 'His Majesty'. In this context it is obviously used in the sense of 'the Emperor' or 'the King of Kings' <sup>38</sup> A traditional method of treating rheumatic or syphilitic patients through heat and medicinal
- ointment. Cf. Dästä, 1964, 467 f.
- <sup>39</sup> This event is not mentioned in Rosenfeld, 1976. E. Ullendorff, The autobiography of Emperor Haile Selassie 1: 'My life and Ethiopia's progress' 1892-1937 (Oxford, 1976) p. 41, n. 1 dates it around 1890.
- <sup>40</sup> This expedition is briefly mentioned in Menilek's chronicle, but it is not entered in Rosenfeld,
- <sup>41</sup> This is a reference to the ravaging cholera which accompanied the famine and drought of 1888-92. The phrase literally means, wind disease '. Wind was believed to have been the spreading 1888–92. The phrase literally means, 'wind disease'. Wind was believed to have been the spreading agent of heat and cold, drought and fertility, disaster and blessing, devastation and happiness depending on the direction from where it came. The Book of Hénok (Inoch) distinguishes some twelve such winds. Cf. chs. 18, 56, and 76. See also Dästä, 1964, 868; Kidanä-Wäld Keflé, Mäs'hafä Säwasew Wäges Wämäzgäbä Qalat Haddis (Addis-Abäba, 1948 A.M.) 647. There appear to have also existed local or regional winds with particular attributes. Cf. Bairu, 1985, 823.

  42 Literally, 'wretched day(s)'. This phrase is a descriptive name for the drought, rinderpest, and cholera which prevailed in the years 1888–92. Cf. n. 22 supra.

  43 Rosenfeld, 1976, 156 and Ullendorff, 1976, 14 have 23 July.

  44 This yerh which could suggest the author's location at the time of writing may in this context.

44 This verb, which could suggest the author's location at the time of writing, may in this context imply the source of our author who was then not yet born.

45 Gäbrä-Wäld, 1948, 16 dates it 3 Teqqemt 1885 A.M. (= 12 October 1892). Rosenfeld, 1976, 157

gives 13 October.

\*\* Rosenfeld, 1976, 155 gives January 1892, and states that the first issue from this marriage was

clergy of Feché-Giyorgis. The wäräb 47 pertaining to it was performed on 6 Nähase [11 August 1893]. In the same year, däjjazmach Dästa Dargé died on 4 Hamlé [10 July 1893] and was buried at Däbrä-Libanos on the 5th [11 July 1893].<sup>48</sup> In the same year, ras Emmeru was born on 15 Hedar [23 November 1892].<sup>49</sup> In the same year, the following were imprisoned: fitawrari Gullelaté, däjjazmach Mäshäsha Wärqé, aläqa Admasu.50 Fitawrari Gäbrä-Mäsqäl was flogged. The main scribe who was named Abbäba was punished by [the mutilation of his tongue. Qäññazmach Habtä-Mika'él died on 6 Hedar [14 November 1892] of the same year. Fitawrari Bayyu too died.

In the same year the Gännätä-Giyorgis church of Feché, whose construction was complete and its painting begun, caught fire from a lamp [candle?] and burnt down on 11 Yäkkatit [17 February 1893]. Ras Dargé sent word from Addis-Abäba saying: 'Mourn just as if Dästa has died today.' Restoration work of Féche-Giyorgis began with the removal of the coal in Nähasé [August] of the same year.

In 1886 A.M. [1893–94], the year of St. Mark, an expedition was launched to Zwav.51

In 1887 A.M. [1894-95], the year of St. Luke, a military expedition was launched against Wälamo.<sup>52</sup> He [Menilek] returned in Ter [January–February]. In the same year, wag-shum Berru was imprisoned.<sup>53</sup> Wag-shum Gwangul was appointed over Wag. In Pagumé [September], ato Berhane Heywät was born.

In 1888 A.M. [1895–96], the year of St. John, asé Menilek led a military expedition to Adwa in Tegré, fought and defeated the Italians. In this year, ras Dargé remained behind to guard the capital. [fol. 6] Ras Täsämma, ras Wäldä-Giyorgis, and däjjach Le'ul-Säggäd participated in a military expedition under the command of wähni-azzaž Wäldä-Şadeq against Awsa, and they were victorious. On 28 Hedar [7 December 1895], the Battle of Amba-Alagé took

On Wednesday, 27 Ter 1889 A.M. [3 February 1897], the year of St. Matthew, lej Iyyasu was born.54 His mother, wäyzäro Shäwa-Rägga, died, as the result of labour.

On Friday, ... 1890 A.M. [1897–98], the year of St. Mark, ras Mäkwännen led a military expedition against the country of Sheh-Hojälé.55 Three years and six months after its commencement the building of Feché-Giyorgis was completed in this year and the tabot entered ceremoniously on Saturday, 23 Miyazya [30 April 1898].

<sup>47</sup> An extract of the zemmaré and mäwas'et hymns sung and danced to the accompaniment of the drum as an expression of satisfaction and gratitude. Cf. Mängestu Lämma, Mäs'hafa Tezzeta Zä'läga Lämma Haylu Wäldä-Tarik (Addis-Abäba, 1959 A.M.) 159 and 253.

<sup>48</sup> The last entry for this notable in Rosenfeld, 1976, is 6 February 1890 when he was with

Menilek in Wällo.

<sup>49</sup> The birth of this prominent notable is omitted from Rosenfeld, 1976. In his autobiography, Emperor Haylä-Sellasé asserts that Emmeru was born four months after himself, a fact which agrees with the statement of our author. Cf. Ullendorff, 1976, 14.

<sup>50</sup> Chronicler Gäbrä-Sellasé mentions only these three notables in connexion with the treason and the trial that followed. According to Rosenfeld, 1976, 159, the treason was made public on 11 March and the trial took place on 21–26 May 1893.

<sup>51</sup> This expedition was undertaken in December-January 1893-4. Rosenfeld, 1976, 162 and 164 asserts that he set out on 14 December and returned in January.

52 The expedition was announced in August 1894, but actually took place between 15 November 1894 and mid-January 1895. Cf. Rosenfeld, 1976, 167-9.

The arrest was made in May 1895 on grounds that the official had received bribes from Italy. Cf. Rosenfeld, 1976, 171.

<sup>54</sup> Rosenfeld, 1976, 175 records this date with a query, but does not mention the death of the princess. This date is also inscribed on the façade of the Church of the Redeemer at Däsé built by negus Mika'él.

55 According to Rosenfeld, 1976, 186 and 188, Mäkwännen departed on 14 December 1897 and returned on 6 May 1898.

In 1891 A.M. [1898–99], the year of St. Luke, a forced military expedition to Ashängé, Tegré, was undertaken and ras Mängäsha Yohannes was arrested.56 In the same year, liqä-mäkwas Adenäw and däjjach Haylä-Maryam Wäldä-Mika'él died.57

In 1892 A.M. [1899–1900], the year of St. John, the town of Korämash which was named Salayesh was built. On Saturday, 15 Mäggabit [23 March 1900] of the same year, ras Dargé died twenty-nine years after his entry in Sälalé. 58 It was on the eve of däbrä-zäyt. In the same year, the right portion of Sälalé and Ensaro were given to däjjach Täsämma Dargé, and the left portion of Sälalé and Yayya-Gullällé to däjjach Asfaw Dargé. Arusi and Balé were given to däjjach Le'ul-Säggäd. Later, the whole of Sälalé and Yayya-Gullällé were given to däjjach Täsämma.

In 1893 A.M. [1900–01], the year of St. Matthew, the town of Addis-Aläm was founded.<sup>59</sup> In the same year, däjjach Asfaw Dargé was imprisoned at Mäqdäla. On 3 Ter [11 January 1901] of the same year, negus Täklä-Haymanot died.60

In 1894 A.M. [1901–02], the year of St. Mark, Sälalé was ordered for the construction of Addis-Aläm. [fol. 7] and, hence, däjjach Täsämma went over to Meräné, Ada-Bärga, had limestone loaded and went up to Addis-Aläm. On 24 Mäggabit [1 February 1902] of the same year, Abbäbä Yeräfu was born. Däjjach Wänd-Wäsän Kasa was born on Hamlé ... [July? ...].61

In 1895 A.M. [1902–03], the year of St. Luke, the town of Holota-Gännät was built.62 The construction of the road from Addis-Abäba to Addis-Aläm commenced. On 1st Nähasé [6 August 1903] of the same year, Säyfä-Sellasé Säyfu was born in the country of Jerru.

In 1896 A.M. [1903–04], the year of St John, wäjzäro Ehetä the wife of ras Dargé died.63

In Genbot and Sané 1897 A.M. [May-July 1905], the year of St. Matthew, locusts devoured the crops.64

On Thursday, 3 Ter 1898 A.M. [11 January 1906], the year of St. Mark, däjjach Täsämma Dargé died. The death of däjjach Asfaw Dargé also occurred on Thursday, fifteen days thereafter. 65 Ras Mäkwännen died on 13 Mäggabit [21 March 1906].66 In Genbot [May-June], däjjach Täfäri Mäkwännen was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> This expedition took place between September 1898 and March 1899. Cf. Rosenfeld, 1976,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Rosenfeld, 1976, 194 dates the death of the latter on 6 March 1899, while that of the former is not mentioned at all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> With the exception of the death of this notable, none of the facts in this entry are included in Rosenfeld's chronology. 'Däbrä-zäyt' (= 'Mount Olive') refers to the Sunday marking the middle

of Lent.

So Construction of the town began in November 1900. Cf. Rosenfeld, 1976, 200. The imprisonment of Asfaw Dargé and the participation of Täsämma Dargé in the construction of Addis-Aläm are not included in Rosenfeld's chronology.

60 Rosenfeld, 1976, 201 dates his death 'c. 10. January'.

<sup>61</sup> The author has left the date open, and none of the available sources mention any particular date for his birth. Wänd-Wäsän or Bäwäsän is the only one of the Kasa family mentioned in this respect, probably because he was the same age as our author. According to Ullendorf, 1976, p. 84, n. 21, his dates are 1903-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> The construction began in January 1903. Cf. Rosenfeld, 1976, 211.

<sup>63</sup> This fact is not entered in any of the available sources.

This fact is not entered in any of the available sources.
 According to Rosenfeld, 1976, 203 and 223, Asfaw died in June 1901 and Täsämma on 14 January 1905. On the other hand, the autobiography of Mäkwännen Endalkachäw Mälkam Béta Saboch (Asmära 1948 A.M.) and the reminiscences of the old in Sälalé affirm that the two brothers died at Mäqdäla in January 1906.

68 Rosenfeld, 1976, 224 gives 22 March 1906.

appointed to the office of shalaqa of Salalé. 67 He governed Salalé for eight months. Fitawrari Defabachäw and gäññazmach Qwälläč, as well as the judge, ato Molla, spent the rainy season watching out for the country.

In 1899 A.M. [1906–07], the year of St. Luke, one of every sixty head of cattle was levied.<sup>68</sup> On 5 Ter [13 January 1907], the whole painting of Feché-Giyorgis was completed. Both däjjach Bäshah as the mesläne 69 and azzaž Balcha Gäbré in his original post governed Sälalé for a year and a half.

On 29 Mäskäräm 1900 A.M. [10 October 1907], däjjach Yelma Mäkwännen died.70 A ber was levied for every head of cattle of any sort, and an alad71 for every pack animal. A ber was paid per tail. 72 Däjjach Bäshah Ashkäru was dismissed from office, and lej Kasa Haylu [fol. 8] accepted the appointment to the office of mesläné of Sälalé.73 He was appointed in Hamlé [July-August] and he arrived in the town of Feché in Nähasé [August-September]. On Friday, 4 Hamlé [1174 July 1908], a dängärä-cat 75 was found on the alga 76 of janhov.

In 1901 A.M. [1908–09], the year of St. Matthew, Menilek II fell ill and came to Däbrä-Libanos for the holy waters. Mämré Pawlos Dästa was born in the town of Feché on 24 Genbot [1 June 1909].

In 1902 A.M. [1909-10], the year of St. Mark, ras Abatä fought däjjach Abräha [of] Tegré at Koräm, defeated and brought him back. 78 In the same year, lej Kasa Haylu was promoted to däjjach.

<sup>67</sup> Appointment of the future Emperor Haylä-Sellasé is not included in Rosenfeld's chronology. The proclamation was released on 2 Genbot 1898 (= 9 May 1906) and retained the office until his next appointment to part of Sidamo on 27 Mäggabit 1900 (= 4 April 1908). In actual fact, he remained in the capital and went to school. Cf. Ullendorff, 1976, 26 and 28. 'Shaläqa' or 'yäshaläqa' was any governor of a province or district acceding to the office usually as an outsider and for a temporary period. Later, the term was applied exclusively to the military rank corresponding to major. Cf. Dästa, 1964, 1226.

<sup>68</sup> The practice of exacting a certain number of cattle as a government tax was apparently an old

- 68 The practice of exacting a certain number of cattle as a government tax was apparently an old tradition in Ethiopia, but the rationale behind the number '60' in this context is rather obscure. The Portuguese Jesuit Fathers asserted in the early seventeenth century that cattle owners had to submit one in ten heads every three years. Cf. Richard Pankhurst, Introduction to the economic history of Ethiopia (London, 1961) 188. The asrat 'tithe' system was also applied to other agricultural products. The government may have preferred the number '60' as it was traditionally the optimal size of herd known as 'mänga' in Amareña and 'mägarya' in Tegreña, i.e. a herd whose size was supposed to be ideal for control by herdsmen. Throughout north-east Africa such units existed, but the numbers constituting a unit varied in different regions from 25-300. Cf. Hans Georg Schinkel, Haltung, Zucht und Pflege des Viehs des Nomaden Öst- und Nordostafrikas (Berlin, 1970) 116 f.; Werner Münziger, Über die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos (Winterthur, 1859) 77; Paulitschke, 1893,
- 131.
  69 Literally, 'on my behalf'. A general term referring to a proxy or representative governor or administrator.
  - 70 Rosenfeld, 1976, 232 gives the same date.
  - 71 A coin worth half a taler.
- "A coin worth half a taler.

  72 This statement belongs logically to the first sentence of the entry. 'Čera' is actually more specific than the English term 'tail' and refers mainly to the hairy tip of the tail of a cow or horse. Traditionally, it was used as a whisk for chasing flies. Here it is apparently used as a technical term of taxation. Cattle are referred to in Amareña as 'yäqänd käbt' = 'horned animals'; but insofar as the horn is not necessarily a universal attribute of head of cattle and because of its appearance in pairs the 'čera' was probably preferred as a metonomy for cow or steer heifer calf etc. pairs, the 'cera' was probably preferred as a metonomy for cow, ox, steer, heifer, calf, etc. Rosenfeld, 1976, 161 mentions that in September 1893, oxen, horses, donkeys and some land were
- taxed in Maria Theresa taler, but specifies no amount.

  73 Neither this appointment, nor his promotion to a higher status some time later, nor his diplomatic mission to England in 1911 is mentioned in Rosenfeld's chronology.

  74 Rosenfeld, 1976, 237 has 12 July 1908.

  75 cf. Rosenfeld, 1976, 237. The Amareña term is a derivative of dänäqqärä and signifies 'to block, to be a stumbling block'. Cf. Dästa, 1964, 371. The term is used for any slaughtered animal or object intended for an ominous purpose. One version for the explanation of Menilek's illness was, therefore, that his enemies exercised magical power over him. therefore, that his enemies exercised magical power over him.
- A bed, divan or throne. When compounded with particular terms, it also signifies 'prince'.
   According to Rosenfeld, 1976, 240, Menilek left his capital for the monastery together with the empress and his French physician on 28 November 1908.
   Rosenfeld, 1976, 250. The battle was fought at Koräm in September 1909, and the prisoner
- was sent to the capital in November; Abatä himself, however, did not return until March 1910.

On 3 Miyazya 1903 A.M. [10 April 1911], the year of St. Luke, ras Mängäsha Atikäm and ras Täsämma Nadäw died. 79 In the same year, Tullosa-Mika'él was founded. On 7 Miyazya [14 April 1911], the Sellasé [church] of Adäré-Čeggo was founded. On the next day, Saturday, the sun was eclipsed for about an hour.<sup>80</sup> [It happened] when the people were going to the market.

In 1904 A.M. [1911–12], the year of St. John, lej Iyyasu went to Däsé, visited negus Mika'él, came to Däbrä-Libanos in Genbot [May-June], celebrated Abunä-Täklä-Haymanot, and spent the rainy season in Holota. In Genbot [May-June] of the same year [1912] lej Iyyasu went to Gimira. 81 He returned to Addis-Abäba and fought against fitawrari Gäbrä-Maryam. Ras Abatä was also imprisoned in the same year.82

On 22 Ter A.M. [30 January 1913], the year of St. Matthew, le'elt Tänañña-Wärg Haylä-Sellasé was born.83

On Friday, 3 Tahsas 1906 A.M. [12 December 1913] the year of St. Mark [fol. 9] Menilek II died.84

On 5 Säné 1907 A.M. [12 June 1915], the year of St. Luke, lej Iyyasu went to negus Mika'él in Dasé.

In 1908 A.M. [1915–16], the year of St. John, it was declared that the cultivators themselves should under oath and threat of excommunication give in the tithe dues, and they paid in honesty to the government more tithe than any other year. 85 Abba Wäldä-Maryam became a monk on 12 Genbot [20 May 1916].

On 7 Teggemt 1909 A.M. [17 October 1916], the year of St. Matthew, the Battle of Tora-Mäsk was fought. 86 Negus Mika'él mobilized Säbat-Bét-Wällo and came as far as Sägälé, Shäwa. The Shäwans also enthroned Zäwditu Menilek, nominated Täfäri Mäkwännen crown prince, appointed däjjach Kasa Haylu ras, and gave him Därra and Midda; the whole of Shäwa mobilized and engaged in a battle against negus Mika'él, and Shäwa won the victory on Friday, 17 Teggemt, [27 October 1916], the day of St. Stephen.<sup>87</sup> Lej Iyyasu resorted to Mäqdäla in the same year, as the result of which le'ul-ras Kasa

79 Both notables died in the same Ethiopian calendar year; but the date given here pertains only

"Both notables died in the same Ethiopian calendar year; but the date given here pertains only to Täsämma. Mängäsha died in October 1910. Cf. Maurice de Coppet, Chronique du règne de Ménélik II, roi des rois d'Ethiopie (Paris, 1930–31) II, p. 538, n. 2.

80 According to the planetary chart of Steinbrüchel, this phenomenon occurred on 17 April 1912, which was a Wednesday. A. Steinbrüchel, 'Tafel der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse der Neu- und Vollmonde von 1265 v. Chr. bis 2345 n. Chr., mit erläuterndem Text', Neujahrsblatt der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich auf das Jahr 1937 (Zürich, 1937), 24 f. The day of the week given by our author was, however, correct. Cf. D. Hans Lietzmann, Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1–2000 nach Christus (Berlin, 1956) 74 and 84

<sup>81</sup> Aläqa Kenfé Haddisu, who included this event in his unpublished historical notes in the possession of his descendants in Addis-Abäba, adds that the prince avoided the capital where he was awaited by many people who, as a result, were very disappointed and offended.

<sup>82</sup> After his abortive attempt to bring the crown prince under his tutelage in May–June 1911, this notable was arrested in December of the same year and taken to the prison of Mäqdäla in January

1912.

83 Neither Ullendorff, 1976, not Mosley give any date for the birth of the 'eldest' daughter of the emperor. Other available sources also have ignored it.

<sup>84</sup> For the correctness of the day of the week given here, see Lietzmann, 1956, 74 and 85. Several dates were suggested by local and foreign speculators as that of the death of the sovereign who was incapacitated since 1909 as a result of repeated strokes. The date given by our author was the official one commemorated by his survivors.

85 This assertion is diametrically opposed to the allegation by Mahtäma-Sellasé, 1962, 331-40 and Gäbrä-Wäld, 1948, 16-21 who, probably in conformity with the government's view, accuse the

peasants of dishonesty.

6 cf.Ullendorff, 1976, pp. 53-4. Negus Mika'él won the battle, and ras Le'ul-Saggad, who commanded the army of Shäwa, and most of his men, were killed.

87 cf. Ullendorff, 1976, 55. According to Mäshafä Gessawé (Addis-Abäba, 1945 A.M.) 24, at least 5 saints are celebrated on this day, including Stephan the Martyr; but it is not clear why the author preferred this particular saint.

started out from his home on the day of St. George of Miyazya [1 May 1917]. The whole of Shäwa left in Miyazya [April-May]. While they were besieging Mäqdäla, lej Iyyasu broke out from Mäqdäla and went to Däsé. Furthermore, lej Iyyasu mobilized Wällo and besieged the Shäwans at Däsé. [But] Wällo was defeated. The Shäwans returned and entered Addis-Abäba on the day of hedarmika'él, 1910 A.M. [21 November 1917], the year of St. Mark. In the same year, Boräna 88 was given to ras Kasa.

On 11 Mäskäräm 1910 A.M. [21 September 1917] Abbäbä Yeräfu presented for the first time a gené piece in Däbrä-Libanos. 89 On 6 Teggemt of the same year [16 October 1917], ras Abatä died. On 24 Yäkkatit [3 March 1918] [fol. 10] negus Wäldä-Giyorgis also died. On 1st Hedar of the same year [10 November 1917], Dästa Bädané was born of Şädalä Yeräfu. A daughter of ras Kasa, wäyzäro Man-Yahleshal, married däjjach Ayyalé Berru on 10 Ter [18 January 1918]. Immediately thereafter, ras Kasa was given Dasé where he went and resided, and returning from there, he entered Feché on Säné-Maryam [29 June 1918].

On the day of Hedar-Sellasé 1911 A.M. [16 November 1918], the year of St. Luke, infectious catarrh [sal-bäshita] broke out. 90 The tithe dues were recorded by a scribe at the dictation of the daj-sälam-mälkäñña 91 and the zägi. 92 In Hamlé [July-August], Abbäbä Yeräfu entered the service of ras Gétachäw and remained there for two months and fifteen days.

On 2 Teggemt 1912 A.M. [13 October 1919], the year of St. John, le'elt Sähay Haylä-Sellasé was born. 93 The government tithe was recorded by a scribe at the threshing-floor.

In 1913 A.M. [1920–21], the year of St. Matthew, the tithe was recorded at the threshing-floor. In the same year, it was alleged that lej Iyyasu was arrested in Tegré and the whole of Shäwa departed; he spent the rainy season under arrest. On 24 Teggemt [3 November 1920], Masräsha Wäldä-Qirgos was born. In the same year, negestä-nägästat Zäwditu and Crown Prince Täfäri commemorated remarkably the seventh anniversary of the death of Menilek II. The commemoration of Menilek II took place on 3 Tahsas [12 December 1920], and mourning was done on his behalf.94 In the month of Hedar [November-December] of the same year, Abbäbä Yeräfu received a salary of 2 ber. 95

In the month of Hedar 1914 A.M. [November–December 1921], the year of St. Mark, one out of sixty head of cattle and one out of every ten sheep and goats was levied. In the same year, the tithe was recorded at the threshing-floor.

<sup>88</sup> Boräna of Wällo, bordering Amara-Saynt.

<sup>89</sup> i.e. the first official presentation of his poetic composition. This was a turning-point in his life insofar as his effort to be accepted as a learned member of the clergy depended on the recognition of his composition as genuine, original, and impeccable. Cf. Menghistu Lamma, 'Ethiopian classical poetry', in Alaka Imbakom Kalewold, *Traditional Ethiopian church education* (New York, 1970) 33-8.

90 cf. n. 22 supra. The date refers probably to the outbreak of the epidemic (influenza) in the area

where the author then was. Various local sources give slightly different dates. Dästa, 1964, 208 asserts that the 'hedar bäshita' broke out on 5 Hedar 1911 A.M. (14 November 1918) '... after a disaster had reigned in the night of Thursday' and that many young people died. For an account of this epidemic see R. Pankhurst, 'The history of cholera in Ethiopia', *Medical History*, 12, 1968,

<sup>262-9.</sup> A dignitary of the lower rank appointed or elected in charge of a church precincts. Cf. Dästa,

<sup>92</sup> A minor dignitary or official in charge of the keys and gates of a church or palace. Cf. Dästa, 1964, 478.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Mosley, 1964, 298 has '1920' as the year of her birth. <sup>94</sup> cf. n. 84 supra.

<sup>95</sup> In the course of our reading the author laughed heartily at this point and tried to explain to us how high the value of the ber (silver taler) then was in terms of purchasing power in relation to the inflated ber (paper dollar) of our time.

On Sunday, 2 Tahsas [11 December 1921], of the same year, lej Iyyasu entered the town of Feché as a prisoner. 96 [fol. 11] Afä-negus Estifanos died in the same year. In Nähasé [August-September] of the same year, däjjach Täfäri Wäldä-Sadeq died.97

In 1915 A.M. [1922–23], the year of St. Luke, the crop in Sälalé was assessed according to the estimate of le'ul-ras Kasa. It was also announced that the tithe should be measured at the threshing-floor.

In 1916 A.M. [1923–24], the year of St. John, soldiers had the grain measured in Sälalé. On 5 Țeqqemt [16 October 1923] of the same year, le'ul Mäkwännen Haylä-Sellasé was born. 98 On 30 Mäggabit [8 April 1924], wäyzäro Tessämmé Dargé died. 99 Crown Prince Täfäri and däjjach Wänd-Wäsän Kasa left for Europe on 16 Miyazya [24 April 1924] and returned to Addis-Abäba on 29 Nähasé [4 September 1924]. 100

In 1917 A.M. [1924-25], the year of St. Matthew, soldiers were granted the tithe in terms of a gasha in lieu of salary with the instruction that they should leave até-qolo, 101 i.e. one-fifth [of the tithe], in the hands of the zägi and use the rest, and so it commenced. On 23 Tahsas [1 January 1925], negestä-nägästat Zäwditu and Crown Prince Täfäri launched in Ethiopia the newspaper entitled, 'berhanenna-sälam'. <sup>102</sup> On 19 Miyazya [27 April 1925], the Täfäri-Mäkwännen School in Addis-Abäba was opened.

In 1918 A.M. [1925–26], the year of St. Mark, the dry season became a rainy season, and crops spoiled. On 4 Yäkkatit [11 February 1926], Dämägä Yeräfu died.

On 3 Tahsas 1919 A.M. [12 December 1926], fitawrari Habtä-Giyorgis died. 103 Abunä Matéwos died on 25 Hedar [4 December 1926]. 104

In Genbot of 1920 A.M. [May-June 1928], the year of St. John, wäyzäro Man-Yahleshal came from Semén by train via Harargé and entered Addis-Abäba. 105 [fol. 12] Soon she arrived in Feché via Däbrä-Libanos, visited her mother and father, and went back by animal transport via Boräna in Säné [June-July].

On 15 Teggemt 1921 A.M. [25 October 1928], the year of St. Matthew, Ethiopia signed the Kélog Treaty. 106 On 23 Teggemt [2 November 1928] Crown

% According to another source, the prince departed from Korämash on 29 Hedar (8 December 1921) and, hence, the journey lasted approximately four days. Cf. aläqa Kenfé, n.d., 100.

<sup>99</sup> This event is not mentioned in any of the available sources.

- <sup>97</sup> A son of Tessame Darge, and hence the author mentions him.
  <sup>98</sup> Ullendorff, 1976, p. 238, n. 2 gives '1922'. L. Mosley, *Haile Selassie: the conquering lion* (Liverpool, 1964) 298, gives the same date as our author.
- 100 cf. Ullendorff, 1976, 81-123. A number of notables accompanied the Crown Prince and Regent Plenipotentiary on his visit to Europe; among them was Wänd-Wäsän whom the emperor lists way down among secondary officials. The fact that our author pairs the official with the Crown Prince is explicable through the significance of the Dargé family to himself.

101 I. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico-italiano (Rome, 1901) 76.
102 R. Pankhurst, Economic history of Ethiopia, 1800–1935, 679–80, dates the launching of this newspaper as 1923 and credits only the Crown Prince with its establishment.
103 The coincidence of the death of this notable with that of his royal master is taken in the reminiscences of the old as evidence of the cordial relationship between the two.

104 cf. Berhanenna Sälam Gazétta, 30 Hedar 1919 A.M.

105 This detour was occasionally undertaken not only by the notables of Semén and Tegray, but also by government envoys from Addis-Ababa. In the north, the journey began by mule to the border of Eritrea from where one went by vehicle to Massawa and then by ship to Djibouti and continued by train to the Ethiopian capital. Though an exciting experience for the highlanders, travellers were often disappointed by the distance, the extreme heat and the enormous cost of lodging and transport, as well as by the passport and customs house control. Thus, the daughter of ras Kasa decided to journey the few hundred kilometres between Sälalé and Semén by mule at the height of the rainy season.

The Kellog-Briand Pact, also known as the Pact of Paris, was a multi-lateral agreement attempting to eliminate war as an instrument of national policy. It was signed on 27 August 1928 by the United States of America. Japan and seven Western European powers including Germany and Prince Täfäri Mäkwännen was crowned negusä-nägäst. 107 On 3 Teqqemt [13 October 1928], Abbäbä Yeräfu was imprisoned in Addis-Abäba and was released three months later. 108 Let God reckon the maltreatments he suffered. On 17 Tahsas [26 December 1928] wäyzäro Şähay-Wärq 109 died in prison at Wusha-Gädäl where she was confined and where she had become a nun.

In Maskäräm 1922 A.M. [September-October 1929], the year of St. Mark, Assälläfäch came to Sälalé and I employed 110 Akalnäsh. We separated in Nähasé [August-September]. In the same year, ras Gugsa Wälé rebelled in Gondär. Le'ul-ras Kasa sent däjjach Wänd-Bäwäsän Kasa together with his major officers. Negus Täfäri also sent many mäkwännent with däjjach Mulugéta. They fought on Monday, 22 Mäggabit [31 March 1930] and the Shäwans won the victory. 111 Ras Gugsa Wälé died the same day. On the Shäwan side, däjjach Kefätäw died. His body was brought by an aeroplane to Addis-Abäba, and after it was viewed, ras Kasa took it down to Däbrä-Libanos where it was buried. Negest Zäwditu rested on Wednesday, 24 Mäggabit [2 April 1930], and His Majesty, negusä-nägäst Täfäri acceded to the alga [throne] on the same day. 112 [The area] from Gondär to Saynt was given to le'ul-ras Kasa. Ras Kasa appointed his son, däjjach Wänd-Bäwäsän, over Gondär, and däjjach Wärqnäh Mulatu over Saynt. [fol. 13] On 21 Miyazya [29 April 1930], ras Kasa went to Gondär; and having mourned the death of his men and having re-established those who survived, he returned and entered Feché on 3 Hamlé [10 July 1930]. 113

On 23 Teggemt 1923 A.M. [2 November 1930], the year of St. Luke, Haylä-Sellasé I was proclaimed the negusä-nägäst of Ethiopia. On the 1st of Yäkkatit [8 February 1931], abéto Sahlä-Sellasé Haylä-Sellasé was born. 114

On...Genbot 1923 A.M. [May...1931], the year of St. John, lej Iyyasu escaped from the town of Feché and went to Gendäbärät. 115 The whole of Shäwa went in search, and he was arrested in Gojjam on Saturday, 23 Säné [30] June 1931]. On Sunday, a great deal of rejoicing took place. On account of having lej Iyyasu escape, ras Haylu forfeited all his wealth and was imprisoned. Many people who participated in the plan and realization of this matter were financially penalized. Many people perished as the result of flogging, incarceration and hanging. Among the many, two servants of ras Kasa named Yantä 116

Italy, an irony which probably prompted the author to single out this particular international treaty as historically significant. The Soviet Union joined the signatories a few days later, and almost all nations of the world soon followed suit. Cf. D. H. Miller, The Peace of Paris: a study of the Kellog-

Bations of the World soon followed suit. Cf. D. 11. Whitel, The Feder of Faris: a study of the Reing-Briand Treaty (New York, 1928) 247-8, 260-1, 281 and passim.

107 Actually, he was proclaimed only negus (king), a success achieved after a protracted struggle for power. Cf. Ullendorff, 1976, 151-6; Mosley, 1964, 143-50.

108 The author refused to comment on the reasons behind his imprisonment, which refusal may

suggest that he was implicated in the political power struggle at the capital. His patron, ras Kasa,

was a potential candidate, though he quickly compromised with ras Täfäri.

109 A daughter of ras Dargé who repeatedly ran into conflict with the regent in the 1920s and was eventually accused of treason.

110 This is a euphemistic expression for 'marriage on the basis of salary payment 'which was then in practise. It was arranged through a contract by which the woman received an annual payment in cash and/or kind for her services as a servant and wife. She had no right to the property of the husband and could be dismissed any time; but the children from this contract were recognized as legitimate.

of Ullendorff, 1976, 156–63. Ullendorff, loc. cit.

113 This noble tradition of human relations between commanders and soldiers, unfortunately, disappeared after 1941. The commander personally visited the family of each deceased, wounded or sick soldier and expressed his deepest sympathy, condolences or good wishes, as the case may be. Cf. N. Pearce, *Life and adventures in Abyssinia*, II, (London, 1831) 195-6.

114 None of the available sources give a precise date for the birth of this prince who died in 1962.

115 According to the *procès verbal* recorded in writing shortly after the event, the prince escaped on 10 May and was recaptured 13 June 1931. Cf. Kinefe-Regb Zelleke, 'The episode of Eyassu Menelik (1896–1935)', a paper submitted to the seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies at Lund, April, 1982, 24.

116 According to Kinefe-Regb, 1982, 22, 'Woy-Anta'.

Haylu and Wärqu Sänbäté were hanged at Aräré-Gäbäya. On 29 Hamlé [5 August 1932], Dämessé Fantayé died. On 4 Genbot [12 May 1932], of the same year, Abbäba Yerafu was appointed with derreb, 117 warq-kabba 118 and sagatqämis 119 to the office of aggafari of Feché-Giyorgis.

In 1925 A.M. [1932–33], the year of St. Matthew . . .

On 26 Tahsas 1926 A.M. [4 January 1934], the year of St. Mark, wireless 120 was introduced in Ethiopia. On 27 Ter [4 February 1934], of the same year, ras Kasa was deprived of Saynt and Boräna, and he was appointed over [the area] between Čačäho-Bär and Adal. It was ordered that até-qolo—one-fifth of the tithe exacted from Sälalé—should be paid in to the negus.

On 21 Mäggabit 1927 A.M. [30 March 1935], the year of St. Luke, le'ul-ras Kasa [fol. 14] left for Bägémeder via Gojjam, because a military expedition was planned. Balambaras Mäsfen [and] Täklu Wäldä Hanna went with him. 121 On 25 Ter [2 February 1935], His Majesty negusä-nägäst Haylä-Sellasé visited the island[s] of Zway. 122

On 10 Mäskäräm 1928 A.M. [21 September 1935], the year of St. John, mäl äkä-gännät Estifanos died. On 22 Mäskäräm [3 October 1935], the Italians began war on Ethiopia. 123 Haylä-Sellasé I, the negusä-nägäst, issued the awaj of mobilization on 23 Mäskäräm [4 October 1935]. 124 On 27 Mäskäräm [8 October 1935], däjjach Abärra Kasa left via Semén for the Tegré campaign. On the 1st of Teggemt [12 October 1935], Ethiopia's war on Italy was declared through an awaj. 125 Assisted by däjjach Wänd-Wäsän Kasa, däjjach Ayyaléw, ras Emmeru and ras Seyyum, le'ul-ras Kasa fought the Italians on Ter-Mika'él [21 January 1936]. 126 The chief military commander, Badolyo [Badoglio] and his army, arrived on trucks. 127 While in Salalé, däjjach Abärra Kasa ordered the country

<sup>117</sup> A garment of honour, woven from a mixture of cotton and various coloured silk yarns. It was awarded together with the qämis and the kabba to state officials and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The quality of the cloth varied according to the rank of the recipient, that of the most distinguished being braided with gold. Cf. Dästa, 1964, 384; Gäbra-Wäld, 1948, 26; Guidi, 1901, 658 and suppl., 1955, 189.

118 A special cape decorated with gold and worn by sovereigns, high functionaries and ecclesiasti-

cal dignitaries. Cf. Guidi, 1901, 552.

119 Also known as abdälla-käni: a flowing velvet gown or shirt braided geometrically with fine thread and worn by state officials and church dignitaries as an insignium of rank or honour. Cf. Dästa, 1964, 1077; Guidi, 1901, 248; J. Perruchon, Les chroniques de Zar'a Ya'eqob et de By'eda

Maryam, rois d'Ethiopie de 1434 à 1478 (Paris, 1893), 24.

120 · Näfas-selk ' literally means ' wind-wire '. Later, such foreign terms as ' radio '. ' telegraph' and 'telegram' were adopted in Amariña. The phrase has, however, survived as the name of the southern outskirts of Addis-Abāba, where the wireless station was first established. The second element is also used ultimately with 'telephone'. With regard to the date, Pankhurst, 1968, 341 defers by stating that a temporary station was set up by a French and a Swedish engineer in the service of the Ethiopian government which was inaugurated in October 1933 and that a larger one was inaugurated on 31 January 1935.

121 It is not clear whether these names refer to one, or two or three persons. The verb hédu 'went' is a singular, third person, masculine respect form as well as third person, masculine and feminine plural. Judging it from the title, it must refer to one person, in which case the author knew two men with precisely the same personal and father's names and hence he found it necessary to add the name

of the grandfather of the one concerned.

122 The purpose of this visit is unknown. The emperor does not mention it in his autobiography. Traditionally, Ethiopian sovereigns visited particular monasteries or churches before they went on a military expedition.

123 According to Ullendorff, 1976, 227-30 the Italians crossed the Ethiopian border in the north on 2 October 1935 and bombarded the town of Adwa from the air. The Italian declaration of war was, however, issued in Asmära on 4 October.

124 Ullendorff, 1976, 227 has 22 Mäskäram = 3 October.

125 This proclamation has not been identified. It is perhaps a mistake for the imperial speech to the parading army on 8 Teqqemt 1928 (= 19 October 1935), cf. Ullendorff, 1976, 235–7.

126 This prince was appointed commander-in-chief of the northern front in the summer of 1935, and most of the notables, including the minister of war, were placed under his command. Cf.

Ullendorff, 1976, 233-5.

127 This is probably a reference to the Italian entry into Addis-Abäba which took place on 5 May 1936. Cf. P. Badoglio, *Der abessinische Krieg* (Munich, 1937), 175.

to go up to Addis-Abäba and fight; he left toward evening on 16 Hamlé [23 July 1936], but the whole country failed to follow him. 128 He was defeated, fled from Addis-Abäba and entered Feché. On 27 Miyazya [5 May 1936], aggafari Abbäbä resigned his office of aggafari at his free will and went to reside in Wändossa for fear of air raids. On 7 Yäkkatit [15 February 1936], bitwäddäd Mäkwännen Dämessäw fell on the battlefield. On 19 Yäkkatit [27 February 1936], däjjach Bäyyänä abba-säbseb fell on the battlefield. On 11 Mäggabit [20 March 1936], the Italians threw poisonous gas on Koräm.

On 27 Mäskäräm 1929 A.M. [7 October 1936], the year of St. Matthew [fol. 15], a battle between the patriots and the Italians took place at Jemma-Gännäté. 129 On 9 Tahsas [18 December 1936], ras Haylu [and] Colonel Garéli [Garelli] entered Feché together with an Italian army. On Monday, 12 Tahsas [21 December 1936], däjjach Abärra and däjjach Asfa-Wäsän... [surrendered] at eight o'clock in the evening. 130 To delude the people, the Italians commenced land tax and grain tithe. On 12 Yäkkatit [19 February 1937], many Ethiopians—women, children, men, the old and even babies—were indiscriminately killed in cruelty in Addis-Abäba on account of Grasiyani [Graziani]. This history of atrocity must be studied and learnt in detail. This has been named the commemoration of the dead, the year of atrocity. On 16 Yäkkatit [23 February 1937], ras Dästa and däjjach Bäyyänä died. On 13 Genbot [21 May 1937] of the same year, the Italians exterminated the monks of Däbrä-Libanos. 131 On 29 Genbot [6 June 1937], the Italians searched and destroyed Däbrä-Besserat.

On 19 Mäskäräm 1930 A.M. [29 September 1937], the year of St. Mark, a battle took place between the patriots and the Italians at Tamo-Şeyon. On 13 Yäkkatit [20 February 1938], a battle took place between the patriots and the Italians at Agämsa. On 18 Mäggabit [27 March 1938], the patriots and the Italians fought a battle at Gefata.

On 9 Mäskäräm 1931 A.M. [19 September 1938], the year of St. Luke, blatténgéta Heruy died. On 6 Miyazya [14 April 1939], Fanayé Abbäbä married. On 6 Genbot [14 May 1939] Assälläfäch and I were rejoined; Gännätä-Giyorgis Qawlos was born on 10 Nähasé [16 August 1939].

On 22 Hedar 1932 A.M. [2 December 1939], the year of St. John, Russian soldiers invaded Finland. On Sunday, 5 Ter [14 January 1940] of the same year, *mämré* Yeräfu died in Aboté; his body was brought to Feché where it was prayed over the whole night and was buried in Däbrä-Libanos on Monday.

On 12 Ter 1933 A.M. [20 January 1941], the year of St. Matthew, His Majesty Haylä-Sellasé I [reached] Omédla. On 23 Miyazya [1 May 1941], Haylä-Sellasé I, the *negus*, arrived in Feché. He had hoisted the flag on the Ethiopian border.

<sup>128</sup> According to Salome, his men had become suspicious of his intentions, as a result of his friendly correspondence with the Italians. Cf. Salome Gabre Egziabher, 'The Ethiopian patriots: 1936–1941'. *Ethiopia Observer*, xII, 1969, 70–1. It is, however, implied in this article that the massive desertion took place following his defeat in Addis-Abäba on 29 July.

1936–1941. Ethiopia Observer, XII, 1969, 70–1. It is, nowever, implied in this article that the massive desertion took place following his defeat in Addis-Abäba on 29 July.

129 On the various campaigns of the patriots, see Salome, 1969, 63–91; M. D. Weerts, 'The late Mr. Antonin Besse and the Ethiopian resistance during the years 1935–40', Journal of Ethiopian Studies, VII, 2, 1970, 171–80; R. Pankhurst, 'The Ethiopian patriots and the collapse of Italian rule in East Africa', Ethiopia Observer, XII, 1969, 92–127; R. Pankhurst, 'Italy and Ethiopia: the first four years of the resistance movement (1936–41)', Africa Quarterly: Journal of Indian Counsel for Africa, IX, 4, 1970, 338–73; A. del Boca, The Ethiopian war, 1935–1941 (Chicago, 1969) 239–52.

130 The author omitted the yerb, which was perhaps the equivalent of 'submitted'. The available

130 The author omitted the verb, which was perhaps the equivalent of 'submitted'. The available sources do not agree on whether he and his two brothers surrendered or were taken captive. The former opinion is maintained by Salome and Rosenfeld. Cf. Salome, 1969, 72; C. Prouty and E. Rosenfeld, *Historical dictionary of Ethiopia* (Metuchen, N.J., 1981) 1. On the other hand, R. Pankhurst asserts that Wänd-Wäsän Kasa was captured on 10 December 1936, while Asfa-Wäsän and Abärra were taken captive on 21 December. Cf. Pankhurst, 1970, 345.

132 The relevance of the Finnish-Soviet war of the winter of 1939–40 to either the history of Ethiopia or the life of the author is unknown. At any rate, the war broke out on 30 November 1939.

On 27 Miyazya [5 May 1941], Haylä-Sellasé I hoisted the flag in Addis-Abäba, and it was established through an *awaj* that it should be celebrated in the new era as independence day.<sup>133</sup>

On 19 Hedar 1934 A.M. [28 November 1941], the year of St. Mark, General Nazi, the Italian, was defeated in Gondär and was brought as a prisoner. On 22 Säné [29 June 1942], Wälättä-Giyorgis Mäsräsha was born. On 7 Nähasé [13 August 1942], Bäträ-Giyorgis was born. On 11 Nähasé [17 August 1942], *le'elt* Şähäy Haylä-Sellasé died in the 22nd year after her birth.

On 23 Hamlé 1935 A.M. [30 July 1943], Abbäbä Yeräfu held the offices of näggadras and chief of the tithe in Wärrä-Jarso.

On 7 Ter 1936 A.M. [16 January 1944], the year of St. John, the inaugural service was held at the Mänbärä-Säba'ot 134 Holy Trinity Church.

134 'Seat of the Lord of the Hosts'. Cf. Isaiah 1: 24, 2: 12, 5: 7. Each of the full-fledged churches in Ethiopia has a high-sounding name related to the patron angel or saint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Following the revolution of 1974, this holiday was changed to a date almost a month earlier on the grounds that the patriots arrived in Addis-Abäba four weeks before the emperor. Ironically, the anniversary of the revolution is celebrated not on 11 Yakkatit, the day of the general outbreak, but rather on 2 Mäskäram, when the emperor was dethroned.