# Amharic Praise Poems of *Däğğazmač* Bälay Zälläqä and the Patriots of Goğğam during the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia, 1936–1941\*

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This paper explores the relevance of Amharic oral poetry as a significant source material for recording the social and political situation of the resistance movement in Goğğam. Most of the Amharic poems presented in this paper praise and glorify Däğğazmač Bälay Zälläqä (Abba Kostər; 1912–1947) and his patriotic spirit, bravery, determination and skill in military leadership that he showed fighting the Italians in 1935–41. Other poems describe the battles, and praise the heroes and patriots of Goğğam. They further depict the intrigue of Bälay's rivals that caused him to be arrested and taken to the court, to Addis Ababa, where he was hanged. Finally, the paper presents poems lamenting the execution of Bälay. All these poems are still recited and performed by the rural people of Goğğam in a special genre of Amharic oral poetry know as qärärto-ənna fukkära ('war songs and heroic recitals').

#### 1. Introduction

Praise poetry is one of the most developed and elaborate poetic genres in Africa<sup>1</sup>. It focuses on the achievements of prominent figures – heroes, military and political leaders, etc. – describing the character, personality, power and skill that make them superior to others. Ruth Finnegan states: "The poetic style of praise poems emerges more colorfully when one considers the language and form of expression in some detail. Alliteration, parallelism, repetition and the use of metaphors and analogy are distinct features in praise poetry." In Goğğam, as elsewhere in Ethiopia, a marked military tradition, taking revenge on an enemy, hunting and other special achievements of the people are highly regarded, and praised in war songs and heroic recitals. Indeed, it has been an important culture and tradition to praise the skills, adventures and exploits of emperors, kings, nobles, warriors and great war-leaders in poetry and songs<sup>3</sup>. The social, political, historical

- \* The Amharic praise poems presented in this paper were collected from the patriots of Goğğam who are still alive and from other local poets and singers between 1992 and 1998. Most of the patriots were eyewitnesses and followers of Bälay Zälläqä and fought on his side during the 1936–41 resistance movement against the Italian occupation. I would like to express my gratitude to all my informants, particularly to *Fitawrari* Täsämma Laqäw, *Wäyzäro* Salələš Zälläqä, *Ato* Mässälu Gässäsä and *Aggafari* Mängəste Goššu for their kind assistance in reciting most of the praise poems and in providing me with their memories of the resistance struggle in Goğğam.
- <sup>1</sup> See, e.g., FINNEGAN (1970); OKPEWHO (1992); OPLAND (1998); AWE BOLANLE (1974).
- <sup>2</sup> See FINNEGAN (1970:117). Finnegan further pointed out that the language of praise poetry may be archaic and lofty, and there are often references to historical events or people that may need interpretation; veiled and figurative forms of expression are also common. Especially frequent are comparisons of the person praised to an animal or series of animals (cp., e.g., poems 5, 7, 16, 42 below).
- <sup>3</sup> Good examples of this are the old Amharic "Royal Songs" which were composed and recited in honour of 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> cent. Ethiopian emperors (GETIE GELAYE 2001:7f.). See also SCHACK HABTE MARIAM MARCOS (1974); PANKHURST GIRMA-SILASSIE ASFAW (1985).

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and literary contributions of praise poems and heroic recitals that were composed and recited during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936–41 have not been systematically documented and studied. Besides, only a few historians and writers have attempted to study the biography and the deeds of *Däğğazmač* Bälay Zälläqä<sup>4</sup>, and the resistance struggle of the patriots of Goğğam<sup>5</sup>. In an attempt to fill this gap, over 500 Amharic praise poems (most of them couplets) have been collected and classified by the author<sup>6</sup>. Out of this collection only 45 sample poems have been selected, translated and briefly analyzed in this paper.

## 2. Qärärto and Fukkära (War Songs and Heroic Recitals): Expressions of Praise Poetry in Goğğam

Qärärto and fukkära (qärärto-ənna fukkära) are the most widely appreciated poetic genres and are deeply rooted in the oral tradition of the Amhara people of Ethiopia in general, in Goğğam in particular. Historically, reciting them, peasants aroused male courage during war campaigns and before battles: they were mainly recited by warriors during campaigns and times of war, at battlefields and by hunters upon returning from hunting. Later, the people also articulated in this poetry their grievances, feelings of sorrow, and encouraged uprisings and revolts against invaders and enemies. Whenever conflicts between peasants and local officials arise, the former composed and improvised their qärärto and fukkära.

Qäräto and fukkära are popular and intrinsic forms of oral poetry among most men, and the favorite form among the peasants of Goğğam. Almost every adolescent learns them or trains to compose, memorize and recite his qäräto and fukkära or improvise poems and recitals composed by others. The praise poems are recited and improvised at weddings, harvests, funerals, religious feasts and other social gatherings. Both qärärto and fukkära are usually performed inside a house and in front of a crowd after plenty of food and local alcoholic drinks (tälla, aräqi) are served.

Traditionally, the two poetic forms are performed together. First, *qärärto* poems are recited repeatedly<sup>7</sup> to inspire and get the attention of those who would perform the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Däğğazmač (lit. 'commander of the gate') was the official title of Bälay Zälläqä. Aside from the popular horse-name, Abba Kostər (for the Ethiopian tradition of naming persons after their horses see MAHƏTÄMÄ SƏLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL 1969) and the various praise names that we find in the poems, there are other titles by which Bälay Zälläqä is known. These include: Ase Bägulbätu (lit. 'Emperor by his own might'), Nəgus ('King'), Ləʾul ('Prince') and Ləğ ('child of high birth'), see, e.g., KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA (1962:265); SHIRREFF (in PICES 11, vol. 1, 849). According to my informants, Bälay Zälläqä became a famous hunter and sharpshooter already during his adolescent years. The noun Kostər is derived from kosättärä ('to wipe out, exterminate'; KANE 1990:1408) and, here, means 'sharpshooter' (Abba Kostər, thus, lit. means 'father of sharpshooter'); it was given to Bälay by his companions after a hunt when he surprised them by killing an animal with one precise shoot. It became his "praise name", and later his popular "horse-name".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> YOHANNES BERHANU (1972); ZELALEM ASSEFA (1983); SAMSON CAHNE (1983); SELTENE SEYOUM (1999); ZÄWGÄ ZÄGÄYYÄ (1985); ANON. (1979; 1977); SBHHAT GÄBRÄ BGZI³ABHER (1972; 1995) contributed articles about Bälay Zälläqä and the patriots of Goğğam. Based on Bälay's biography, ABÄRRA ĞÄMBÄRE (1983) and ALÄMAYYÄHU GÄBRÄ H∃YWOT (1989) wrote a historical novel and a historical play respectively. See also TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE (1956); GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ (1960); SALOME GEBRE EGZIABHER (1969); PANKHURST (1969; 1970). Popular singers, such as Naway Däbbäbä, sang songs in honour of Bälay Zälläqä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See GETIE GELAYE (1999).

Oulturally, the one who recites the qärärto is expected to be skilled in repeating the most important words, (especially places and personal names) now and then so that they can be understood by the audience.

fukkära. The one who performs the qärärto is expected to have an appealing voice, to walk rhythmically and to recite his poems repeatedly in order to gain the attention of others and inspire them to join in the fukkära. Then the performer of fukkära appears who looks aggressive and war-like. He primarily praises himself: his personality, character, the kind of weapon he has, etc.; and either mentions the achievements he has already accomplished (e.g., chasing cattle, killing adversaries in disputes over land and property or blood feuds<sup>8</sup>) or what he intends to do in the future. The recital of each verse is confirmed and approved by his peers, friends and by the crowd at large. He then praises his family, his ancestors and his friends; he additionally praises his oxen, his harvest etc. He also mentions the names of renowned individuals and their adventures. In Goğğam, during fukkära recitals, a performer carries a hand gun or a staff (šəmäl) and begins by uttering some established expressions, such as: əmbi! zärraf! yä-kostər aškär! The patriots of Goğğam proudly claim that Bälay Zälläqä was not only a distinguished warrior, but also a famous composer and reciter of qäräto and fukkära poems<sup>10</sup>.

## 3. Bälay Zälläqä (Abba Kostər)

Bälay Zällägä was a hero and patriot leader who distinguished himself during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936-1941. He was born in 1912 in Çaqqäta, Wällo. His father, Bašša Zälläqä Laqäw, was a native of Lämčan in Goggam and his mother, Wäyzäro Taytu Asane, was a native of Gerru Gonta in Wallo. Balay's father was a loyal and close servant of Log Iyyasu, who bestowed him the title of Bašša, and is said to have had a considerable number of troops under his command<sup>11</sup>. After the fall of Log Iyyasu, Bašša Zällägä first moved to his wife's residence, in Caqqäta, and later to his native Lämčän in Goğğam, and there submitted to Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot. After a while, Zällägä killed a man and refused to submit peacefully to Fitawrari Embi'alä, the governor of Bičäna<sup>12</sup>. The Fitawrari marched to Lämčan to arrest Zällägä. In the skirmish that followed, Zällägä was killed in Qänto Maryam, and at Bokkänna his body was hung on a tree<sup>13</sup> for a day in order to intimidate the local people<sup>14</sup>. This events had a huge impact on the young Bälay and his entire family and relatives. Bälay with his brother, Hěgogu, and his mother left Lämčän for Čaqqäta. It was there that Bälay mastered his father's rifle and began his career as a *šofta* ('bandit'), cherishing the idea of avenging the blood of his father. Bälay, Hěgěngu (later known as Abba Qästo) and another companion were operating between Lämčän and Čaggäta and, in the lowland areas of the gorge of Abbay. Bälay's company was joined not only by his relatives but also by other brigands, criminals and outlaws

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This mostly refers to those who are involved in conflicts, blood feuds and disputes over land or property.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Literally, "he who says no, who refuses to accept orders"; "he who slays with a sword, he who is a killer, a defender, etc."; "he who is the servant of *Abba Kostər*." These expressions are repeatedly recited in between almost every verse or stanza during the performance of *fukkära* (GETIE GELAYE in *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 2049; ID. 2001:42f.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> O.i.: Täsämma Laqäw, Salələš Zälläqä Mässälu Gässäsä, Mängəste Goššu and Högəgu Dästa. See also ANON. (1979:3) and SHBHAT GÄBRÄ HGZI°ABHER (1972:10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See ZELALEM ASSEFA (1983:2); SAMSON CHANE (1991:5); o.i. Täsämma Laqäw, ∃ğğəgu Dästa, ∃guwalä Ğämbäre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Seltene Seyoum (1999:166); Anon. (1979:3); Samson Chane (1991:2); Zelalem Assefa (1983:3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>My informants point out that the corpse of Zälläqä Laqäw was hanged on the gate of his house.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> ZELALEM ASSEFA (1983:4); SAMSON CHANE (1991:3); SELTENE SEYOUM (1999:166).

who sought refuge in the bush<sup>15</sup>. Bälay's popularity grew after he avenged the death of his father some time in the middle of 1927, and, later, looted cattle, captured firearms and defeated local officials. Bälay was noted for his courage and determination; he was elected the leader of the group in April 1935<sup>16</sup>.

The invasion of Ethiopia by fascist Italy changed the precarious situation in Goğğam. Bälay and his followers, who numbered some 50 at that time, got an opportunity to fight for a good cause and legitimize their rebellion. They tried to mobilize and recruit the local people, both peacefully and forcefully. They ambushed the Italians and attacked them in their fortifications, capturing numerous firearms. Italian attempts to subdue Bälay Zällägä through persuasion failed<sup>17</sup>. Bälay soon emerged as a prominent patriot leader<sup>18</sup>; between 1937 and 1939 most of the districts in Eastern Goğğam were gradually brought under his control; he was communicating with patriots in other regions, particularly with Ras Abäbä Arägay in Šäwa<sup>19</sup>. It has been documented that Bälay and the other patriots fought in over 23 important battles between 1937 and 1941 at various locations including: Abära, Bäränta, Bičäna, Çaqqäta, Däbrä Wärq, Däğän, Danssa, Dibisa, Dima, Dəlanta, Gonğa, Gubaya, Ğarso Innäbse, Lämçan, Makana Salam, Malka, Somma, Ţiq, Wasida, Waššage and Yage<sup>20</sup>. Bälay bestowed traditional titles and military ranks to the patriots and established his own administration<sup>21</sup>. As Italy was defeated and Haylä Səllase I returned from his exile through Däbrä Marqos on 6 April 1941, Bälay reportedly had 40,000-45,000 combatants<sup>22</sup>, who presented themselves in a military parade in front of the emperor, singing war songs and heroic recitals. Haylä Səllase was impressed and rewarded Bälay with 12,000 Thalers, and then invited him for a private talk.

After the liberation, the history of Bälay Zälläqä was dramatic. He was appointed governor of Bičäna, his home province, with the title of Däǧǧazmač; he was supposed to keep Goǧǧam's nobility in check. However, Bälay was disappointed: Mängäša Ğämbäre, who collaborated with the Italians, was appointed governor of Goǧǧam; several districts that were previously under Bälay's control were given to other noblemen. Bälay's adversaries began to disseminate rumors and send reports to Addis Ababa telling that Bälay refused to accept government orders and revolted against the imperial administration<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> SELTENE SEYOUM (1999:166).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> ZELLALEM ASSEFA (1983:8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ras Haylu Täklä Haymanot, the main collaborator of the Italians, attempted to persuade Bälay to submit to them so that he would be appointed governor of Goğğam. The Ras had also tried to give Bälay his daughter in marriage but Bälay refused all the offers (SHIREFF in PICES 11, vol. 1, 852; ID. 1995:32; SELTENE SEYOUM 1999:337).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Bälay's military skill was described by Stevens (see SAMSON CHANE 1991:3) as follows: "Lij Belay Zelleqe was the ablest soldier among the patriot leaders. He was the only one with a professional understanding of military tactics, the only one who could impose regular military discipline on his column: he was the only irregular commander capable of moving his host from place to place in secrecy and silence." Also SHIRREFF (in *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 849f.) wrote: "Mängäsha Jembere, Hailu Belew and Negash Bezabeh ... were all connected with *Ras* Hailu [Täklä Haymanot] the ruling family; Bälai Zallaqa was of peasant origin but an effective leader, who never submitted to the Italians."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>O.i.: Täsämma Laqäw and Mässälu Gässäsä. See also KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA (1962:263); SELTENE SEYOUM (1999:168).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Samson Chane (1991:25–28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See Samson Chane (1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> ZELALEM ASSEFA (1983:53); SEBHAT GÄBRÄ EGZI°ABHER (1972:12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ABÄRRA ĞÄMBÄRE (2003:456).

Troops from Goğğam, Wällo and Šäwa were sent to Bičäna to arrest him. Bälay decided to resist, and, together with his followers, he fortified himself in Somma. After three weeks of heavy fighting some of his combattants were killed, some wounded, others weakened, and some defected; finally, Bälay was arrested, taken to Addis Abäba and sentenced to life imprisonment. Later it was reported that on the way to Goğğam, after he attempted to escape from custody with other prisoners, he was brought to court again and was sentenced to death. The emperor confirmed the death penalty, and Bälay was publicly hanged, together with two of his brothers, on 13 January 1945 in Addis Abäba. He was 35 when he died; by four wives, he had three daughters (Yärome, Yäšašwärq and Yäšimmäbet) and four sons (Admasu, Goššu, Bahru and Mälaku)<sup>24</sup>.

## 4. Major Themes of the Praise Poems

Poems 1–3 introduce Bälay Zälläqä greeting him "in the name of the Father" and using the keywords: *sälamta* ('greetings'), *tammər* ('miracles') and *məsgana* ('praise'). These words in the first lines of the verses are chosen to match with the rhyming words in the second lines of the poems, and to convey the most significant message. Through these words the poet praises the bravery, military tactics and piety of Bälay Zälläqä.

Poems 4–10 describe Bälay metaphorically: "he whose face burns like midday fire", "he who is the lion of Lämčan", "the lion of the *filaw* ['low-land']". Additionally, the poems praise Bälay telling of his greatness and glorifying him as "he who puts on the trousers of brave men". The poems further extol Bälay as a messenger of St. George who is sent to chase out Italy and to defend the independence of Ethiopia. My informants, who were close followers of Bälay, recall that poems 9 and 10 were composed and recited by Bälay himself at decisive battles.

Poems 11–19 praise Bälay's military skills, his adept manipulation of artillery and the victories he achieved over the Italians: the news of his military superiority and strong resistance is broadcast on the radio of the "whites"; on the battlefield, Bälay defeated the enemy and "piled corpse over corpse".

Poem 20 metaphorically depicts how Bälay defeated both the Italians and the *askari*. Here he is praised as a hard working peasant who harvests plenty of *tef*, and is respected and admired in the region. Poem 21 is said to have been composed by Bälay himself. He boasts of killing his enemy with "both hands" and speaks of his adventure, the report of which "has reached Rome". Poems 21–28 seem to have been composed by the patriots. They praise their bravery and loyalty to Bälay, and describe their military escapades against the Italians.

Poems 29–45 refer to those who became Bälay's enemies after the liberation. The poems 30–36 depict how Bälay's enemies defeated him and describe the grief of the people of Goğğam lamenting the tribulations Bälay suffered, his execution at a young age, and recalling his victories and generosity. Bälay's belongings – his war trumpet, sword, cartridge belt, drinking vessels, ceremonial mules and horses, compound and carpets – are also praised. Poems 40–45 tell how Bälay's enemies conspired, arrested him and took him to Addis Ababa. In poem 40 Bälay's bravery is compared to the 16<sup>th</sup>-cent. *Imam* Ahmad Graññ ('the Left-Handed'). In poem 43 Bälay is metaphorically described as the elephant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> ZELALEM ASSEFA (1983:87).

The final poem compares Bälay with biblical king Solomon and Sirach; his generosity is compared to that of emperor Mənilək.

## 5. Amharic Poems in honour of Bälay Zälläqä: Translation and Commentary

1. እስቲ በስማም<sup>25</sup> ብዬ ልጀምር ሰላምታ Let me start greetings in the name of the Father, አባ ኮስትር በላይ የሃይማኖት ጌታ # Abba Kostər Bälay, lord of the faithful<sup>26</sup>. 2. እስቲ በስማም ብዬ ልጀምር ታምር Let me start relating the miraculous deeds, አባ ኮስትር በላይ የጦር ምንስቴር ። in the name of the Father, [Of] Abba Kostər Bälay, minister of war<sup>27</sup>. 3. እስቲ በስማም ብዬ ልጀምር ምስጋና Let me start praising in the name of the Father, ኮስትርን የሚያህል ምን ወንድ ተ**ገ**ኘና # Since not a single man is found who compares *Kostər*. 4. እንደ ቀትር እሳት የሚፋጀው ፊቱ He whose face burns like midday fire, አባ ኮስትር በላይ ለምጨን ላይ ነው ቤቱ # Abba Kostər Bälay's home is Lämçan. 5. *ጎጃም ዓይኑን ታሞ* ሲደነባበር Goğğam's eye has got sick and walks here and there, የለምጨት አንበሳ ይመራው ጀመር ። The lion of Lämçan began to lead [rule] it. 6. የወንዶችን ሱሪ ደርበህ ታጥቀህ Having put on, and put on the trousers of brave men<sup>28</sup>, አባ ኮስትር በሳይ ምን ይሆን ሥራህ? How great is your work, Abba Kostər Bälay? The lion of the  $filaw^{29}$ , 7. የፊላው አንበሳ *ማጣ* አሉ እ*ያገ*ሳ # Has come roaring, they say. 8. **የፊላው ንጉ**ሥ The king of the filaw, *ገባ አሉ ጣርቆ*ስ # Has reached [Däbrä] Marqos, they say. 9. በላይ ዘለቀ ላቀው Bälay Zällägä Lagäw, ቅዱስ ጊዮርጊስ የሳከው # He, whom Saint George has sent. 10. ባንዲራው የዘለቀ ልጅ The son of Zällägä, the flag, ጣሊያንን ደምሳሽ፥ He, who crushes Italy, የኢትዮጵያ ደም መላሽ ። He, who avenges Ethiopia<sup>30</sup>. 11. ታርበኞቹ ሁላ ይበልጣል ኮስትር Kostər is superior to all the patriots,

<sup>25</sup> The correct  $G_{\partial}^{c} \partial z$  (/Amharic) is *Bäsəma ab* ... 'In the name of the Father ...'.

ሺ ብረት ማራኪ ባንድ ናስማስር #

He, who captures a thousand rifles with one *nasmasar* $^{31}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> My informants in East Goǧǧam relate that Bälay Zälläqä was a pious Orthodox Christian. St. George was his patron and he always swore in his name. A certain monk called *Abba* Gäbrä Maryam of Dima is said to have been Bälay's Father Confessor, advisor and scribe who prepared a seal inscribed: በሳይ ዘስት ምልአስ ብርሃን ንብረ ጊዮርጊስ ('Bälay Zälläqä Angel of the Light, Slave of [St.] George'). The monk accompanied Bälay to the battlefield and he is said to have protected Bälay from bullets through his magic prayers. See poem 9; also Zelalem Assefa (1983:78–79); Sabhat Gäbrä agzi'abher (1972:13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The correct Amharic for "minister" is *minister*. It actually means that Bälay Zälläqä was a renowned warrior who became "master of war"; he was not "Minister of War" as such.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Därräba is 'to put another garment over the one being worn' (Kane 1990:1046), the methaphorical expression here meaning 'to become extraordinary strong; great'. Besides, the expression "to force someone to take off his trousers" is used by the people of Goğgam to describe deeds of valiant men and means: 'to defeat the enemy and humiliate him, to force him to flee'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The low-land (*filaw*) was a strategic area adjacent to the Blue Nile gorge, where Bälay Zälläqä and the patriots of Goğğam had their major stronghold and from where they began their military campaigns against the Italians (see Sabhat Gäbrä agzlabher 1972:11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Informants Täsämma Laqäw, Mängəste Goššu and Mässälu Gässäsä told that Bälay's seal was inscribed: በሳይ ዘለቀ የኢትዮጵያ ደም መላሽ 'Bälay Zälläqä Avenger of Ethiopia' (but cp. above, n. 26).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> "Rifle which has its barrel fastened to the stock by brass rings" (KANE 1990:1022–23).

- 12. አባ ኮስትር በሳይ እባክህ ተቆጣ አንተም ራስ ተባል እኛም ጎጆ እንውጣ ።
- 13. እንማይ፥ በረንታ፥ ጥላትግን፥ ውድሚትም ፥ አዋበል፥ ማርቆስም፥ ወዮልሽ! ወዮልሽ! "ሞተ"፥ "ሞተ" ስትይ በላይ ዘለቀልሽ ።
- 14. ፈረንጅ ምድር ለቆ ቢሄድ በሰማይ

*ዓመናውን* አልፎ ዘለቀ በላይ ።

- 15. "አለቅን" አለ ፈረንጅ በራዲዎኑን ኮስትር እንዴት አርገህ ወግተኘው ይሆን?
- 16. ጣሊያን ፍየል ሁኖ ቅጠል ቅጠል ሲያይ ንብር ተመስሎ አረደመ በሳይ ።
- 17. የጣሊያኖች ሱሪ ረጅም ነወይ? በማድ አስወልቆ ታጠቀው በላይ ።
- 18. አባ ኮስትር በላይ ወጣቱ ጎልጣሳ አንባብሮት መጣ እፊሳ በፊሳ ።
- 19. አባ ኮስትር በላይ ያርበኛው ባለቤት ሣር አላበቀለም ነጩን የወቃበት ።
- 20. አባ ኮስትር በላይ አላወቀበትም ጉዛምነቱን አደባልቆ ወቃው ነጩን ተጥቁር ።
- 21. የሶማ ጎራዱ ሰገባው ነ<del>ም</del> ነው የኮስትር ጎራዱ ሰገባው ነ<del>ም</del> ነው የሚበላው ሥ*ጋ* የሚጠጣው ደም ነው ።
- 22. እንኳን ሥራሁበት በቀኝ በግራ እጄ ሮም ላይ ተሰጣ ጎጃም ተወልጄ ።
- 23. ይህ ሁሉ መሳ ነው ፥ ይህ ሁሉ መሳ ነው ያባ ኮስትር ታማኝ ውበቱ ትርፌ ነው ።

Abba Kostər Bälay, be more serious;

Title [yourself] ras so that we may well claim rank<sup>32</sup>.

Innämay, Bäränta, Ṭəlatgən and Wədmit;

[As well as] Awabäl and Marqos, woe! woe!

Though everyone thought that he died, he [Bälay Zälläqä] sprang on top.

Though the *färän*ǧ <sup>33</sup> have left the ground and travels in the sky,

He passed through the clouds, and went up [Zälläqä Bälay]<sup>34</sup>.

The färäng said on the radio "we are finished,"

Kostər, how did you attack them?

While the Italians looked for leaves like goats,

Bälay slaughtered them in the likeness of the leopard.

Are the trousers of the Italians long?

Having forced them to take them off, Bälay put them on.

Abba Kostər Bälay the youth, the strong one,

He came back having piled corpse over corpse. *Abba Kostər* Bälay master of the patriots,

No grass has grown where he had threshed the white<sup>35</sup>.

Abba Kostər Bälay is not aware of his being rich;

He threshes mixing the white with the black<sup>36</sup>.

The scabbard of Somma's<sup>37</sup> sword is white; The scabbard of *Kostar*'s sword is white:

Its food is flesh and its drink is blood.

I am proud of what I did with my right and left hands, My fame has reached Rome, me being born in Goǧǧam.

All is strategy, all is strategy,

Wubätu Tərfe<sup>38</sup> is loyal to Abba Kostər.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ras (lit.: 'head') was the highest title, next to the king (Nəgus) only, that existed in the Ethiopian monarchy. Here, the poet wishes the highest title for Bälay Zälläqä. However, as both the sources and informants indicate, Bälay was not interested in having any of the titles; whenever asked which title he wished to be bestowed upon him, he used to respond: "I do not need any more titles, my mother has already called me Bälay [e.i., 'above']." Bälay was asked the same question by Haylä Səllase I when both met in Däbrä Marqos in April 1941 (KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA 1962:295).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The term färänğ (pl. färänğočč) refers to white people or Europeans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>The name Bälay Zälläqä itself is a poetic pun and has two meanings. The first meaning refers to Bälay's power which caused him to emerge as a famous warrior. The second meaning praises the heroic adventures of Bälay Zälläqä (news of Bälay defeating the Italians equipped with the modern weaponry, reaching as far as Rome).

<sup>35</sup> Here the harvesting of the best quality white (näčč) tef is analogized with the victory of Bälay Zälläqä over the Italians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> This is a typical "wax and gold" (säm-ənna wärq) poem, with two meanings. The "wax" (surface meaning) compares Bälay Zälläqä with a hardworking peasant in Goğğam, who harvests plenty of white and black [red] *tef*. Its "gold" (secret meaning) is the praise to Bälay, who defeated both the whites (the Italians) and the blacks (banda and askari, Italian troops composed of native Africans).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Somma is a strategic mountainous area situated close to the Blue Nile gorge, where Bälay Zälläqä established his head-quarters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> He was one of the prominent patriots in East Goğğam.

24. የአባ ኮስትር አሽከር እስጢፋኖስ ገብሬ ሰው እያባረረ ይባላል እንደ አውሬ ።

- 25. አንተ ቁመህ ተከስ እኒያ ይሩጡ የአባ ኮስትር አኘስር ንብሬ ባለቁርጡ ።
- 26. አዙሪህ ታጠቀው አልቢኑን እንደ ድጉ የአባ ኮስትር ታናሽ አባ ቀስቶ እጅጉ #
- 27. የአባ ኮስትር አሽከር ድልንሣ አባ ይባስ ቆርጦ ቆርጦ ጣለው የጣሊያንን ምላስ ።
- 28. እስቲ ላንሣሣው በግጥም አርጌ የአባ ኮስትር አገስር አ*ጋ*ፋሪ *ማንጌ* ።
- 29. የኮስትርን ሱሪ ሰፊ አበላሽቶበት መንገሻ ጀምበሬ ጉልበቱን አየበት።
- 30. ወንዱ አባ ኮስትርን ጉልበቱ በደለው ቢቆም አይለቀንም የሚል ሰው ገደለው።
- 31. ለምጨን አገራችን ሽምብራ ተዘርቶ ዓባይ አገራችን ሽምብራ ተዘርቶ ንቀሉት በጮር*ቃው መ*ጠርጠሩ ቀርቶ።
- 32. ሞፌሩን ቀንበሩን ጎጃም ቆርጦልኝ

"*ማ*ንቂያው ሸዋ ነው" ብሎ ሰደደኝ።

- 33. አበባው በላይ ፡ ወጣቱ በላይ ሄደህ ቀረህ ወይ?
- 34. በቅሎ ሳሻው በቅሎ እሚሰጠውን በልጅግ ሳሻው በልጅግ እሚሰጠውን ችኮዝ ሳሻው ችኮዝ እሚሰጠውን አሻግረው ሰቀሉት በሳይ ዘለቀን።
- 35. የን ደቦ<del>ው</del> ጌታ፥ የን ገምባው ጌታ

Abba Kostər's servant,<sup>39</sup> Estifanos Gäbre, Hunts and kills men like wild animals.

You shoot standing, let those run,

Abba Kostər's servant, Gäbre the resolute.

Carry the *albin*<sup>40</sup> in reverse like the  $d g^{41}$ ,

Abba Qästo, ∃ǧǧəgu the younger [brother] of Abba Kostər.

Dəlnässa *Abba Yəbas*, the servant of *Abba Kostər*, He sliced and sliced up and threw down the Italian tongues.

Let me mention [praise] him in a poem Aggafari<sup>42</sup> Mänge<sup>43</sup>, the soldier of Abba Kostər.

The tailor has spoiled Bälay's trousers,

[Hence] Mängäša Ğämbäre could see his knees<sup>44</sup>.

Abba Kostər is disadvantaged by his manliness, Someone, fearing of his being alive, killed him.

Lämčan our country, being sown with chickpeas,

Abbay our country, being sown with chickpeas, They supplanted it [him] while still young<sup>45</sup> instead

of cracking out [the peas].

The Goǧǧames have cut for me the plow-beam and the yoke,

They send me to fetch the yoke-rods from Šäwa<sup>46</sup>.

Bälay, the flower,

Bälay, the youth,

Alas! you went [to Šäwa] but never returned back! He who gives a mule to one who needs a mule, He who gives a bälǧəg<sup>47</sup> to one who needs a bälǧəg, He who gives a čəkkoz<sup>48</sup> to one who needs a čəkkoz, They took Bälay Zälläqä across [Abbay] and hanged

Lord of däboč, lord of gämbaw<sup>49</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Aškär is a soldier-servant who is loyal to his master and follows him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> This is an *Alpini* rifle of Italian manufacture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> "A sort of cummerbund of 25–30 yards of cloth wrapped around the body over the clothing from the chest to the waist" (KANE 1990:1828).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> A title given to the one who were responsible for welcoming, introducing and supervising guests at banquets during the imperial era (KANE 1990:1332).

 <sup>43</sup> Mänge is a short form of address for Mängeste Goššu, one of Bälay Zälläqä's followers (who is still alive).
44 The poem's "secret meaning" is that Mängäša Ğämbäre, a native of Damot, challenged Bälay and defeated him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Čorga means 'immature, unripe'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> This poem refers to Bälay's rivals who had him arrested and transported to Šäwa [Addis Ababa].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> A Belgian-made rifle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> A type of rifle manufactured in the former Czechoslovakia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Däboç was the name of Bälay Zälläqä's favourite horse; Gämbaw was Bälay's war bugle [trumpet] and also the name of his drinking vessel.

"ተሰቅ<mark>ሎ</mark> አደረ" አሉ የጥምቀት'ለት ጣታ።

36. ተሰቀለ ቢሎኝ ዝናሩ ነው ብዬ

ተሰቀለ ቢሎኝ ናስማስሩ ነው ብዬ

ለካስ አንገቱ ነው መከራውን ያዬ። 37. እጅጉ ባይቆስል ሽፈራው ባይሞት ማን ይደፍረው ነበር የበሌን ግዛት?

- 38. እንዳልተበሳበት ሥጋ በቢላዋ እንዳልተጫነበት ዋርዲና ሳምና እንዳልተጠጣበት ጠጅ በማብረጃ እንዳልተነጠፈ ወሳንሳና ግምጃ በአባ ኮስትር ግቢ በቀለበት ምጃ።
- 39. ተበላይ ዘለቀ ተተሰቀለው ይሻላል ሽፈራው ሶማ የቀረው ።
- 40. አባ ኮስትር በላይ በቃ ተከተተ *ያንተ* ወደረኛ *ግራኝ* ነበር ምተ።
- 41. "ተእንግዲህ ወንድ አለ" ብየም አሳወራ ጀማንታቱ አለቀ ተአባ ኮስትር *ጋ*ራ።
- 42. የበሳይ ኵራቱ ገመድ ነው ራቱ።
- 43. ወይ! በላይ ዘለቀ ታላቁ ዝሆን "ጦር መጣልህ" በሎት ይንሣ እንደሆን።
- 44. እናርጅና እናው*ጋ* ሲጠራኝ አገሬ

"አቤት!" እለው ነበር ወይ! አለ*ማ*ኖሬ።

45. እንደነ ሰሎሞን፥ እንደነ ሲራክ፥ እንደ ደጉ ንጉሥ፥ እንደ ምኒልክ መች ተዋፎ ያልቃል የኮስትር ታሪክ? "Was hanged over night" they say, on the day of Epiphany.

When they told me, "he was hanged" I thought it was his cartridge belt,

When they told me, "he was hanged" I thought it was his *nasmasər*,

Alas! It was his neck that had the tribulation.

Had ∃ǧǧəgu not wounded, had Šəfärraw<sup>50</sup> not died, Who would've dared to invade Bäle's<sup>51</sup> governorate?

As if no meat was eaten with knives in it,

As if no Wardi and Samuna<sup>52</sup> were saddled in it, As if no *täǧǧ⁵³* was drunk with serving jag in it, As if no *wälansa* and *gəmǯa⁵⁴* were spread [in it], Weeds have grown at *Abba Kostər*'s palace.

Than Bälay Zälläqä who was hanged Is Šəfärraw better who died in Somma. *Abba Kostər* Bälay is finished and gone; Your rival was Graññ who is dead.

Henceforth I shall not speak of manliness, [For] heroism has ended with *Abba Kostər*.

The proud of Bälay,

Rope has become his dinner [in the end]. Oh! Bälay Zälläqä, the great elephant! Tell him: "war has come" in case he rises up.

When my compatriots in Innarg and Innawga, and my country called upon me,

I would have responded to them [Alas!] had I been alive<sup>55</sup>.

Like [king] Solomon, Sirach and others,

Like Mənilək, the kind king,

Kostər's [life] history cannot be completed by writing.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Däǧǧazmač Šəfärraw Gärbaw, Bälay's cousin, one of the top commanders of the resistance movement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> A short form of endearment for Bälay.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Wardi and Samuna were the names of Bälay Zälläqä's mules.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ţäǧǧ is an Ethiopian honey wine. In the past, the drink was reserved for rulers and the upper class.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Wälansa, gəmğa are decorated carpets that were spread during banquets at the court of Bälay Zälläqä.

<sup>55</sup> In this poem, the singer recites as if the song would have been composed by Bälay Zälläqä after his death.

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Aggafari Mängəste Goššu, age 90, interviewed in Gädäb Giyorgis, 25–26.6.1990.

Aggafari Hğğəgu Dästa, age 77, interviewed in Tängumma Mika'el, 27.6.1990.

Abba Taggälä Kasa, age 90, interviewed in Däğğ Mariyam, 23.6.1990.

Wäyzäro Yäwubdar Ayyälä, age 72, interviewed in Gädäb Giyorgis, 26.6.1990.

Ato Täsägga Bälaččäw, age 77, interviewed in Bičäna, 29.6.1990.

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