

**Full Length Research**

***Ametsegna Washa (The cave of Zeret), the cave of the last battle of the Italo-Ethiopian war; Guerrilla Fighting against Fascism and Colonialism during the Second Italo-Ethiopian War***

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The Second Italo-Ethiopian War was a colonial war fought between the armed forces of the Italy and the armed forces of the Ethiopia; started in October 1935 and ended in May 1936. The colonial war was ended in favor of Fascist force and consequently, this leads to the five year Italy occupation and bitter patriotic resistance internally and diplomatic offence externally. The five year Fascist Italy occupation was ended in 1941. However; the five year Italian rule over Ethiopia was not a peaceful experience of colonial rule. They were continuously harassed by Ethiopian patriots and had to live entrenched in their isolated fortifications. Italians also committed several crimes against humanity: they used poison gas burnt down villages and slaughtered civilians. In this case, Ametsegna Washa; some call it "the cave of Zeret" was one of the forgotten massacres which happened in 1939, where up to 2500 Ethiopians were gassed and machine-gunned. This paper, therefore, attempts to describe and analyze the forgotten massacres of the inhabitant of Menz in Ametsegna Washa (The cave of Zeret) by Fascist Italy in 1939.

**Key words;** Colonialism, Imperialism, Fascist, Guerrilla Fighting, Italy, Second Italo-Ethiopian War

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**INTRODUCTION**

**Historical overview of Italo-Shewan Relation**

Most of European countries that have historical relations with Ethiopia include Britain, France Italy, and Portugal. Each European country had developed an imperialist interest in Africa, and by 1899 all Ethiopia's neighboring

countries were under the rule of Britain, France and Italy. The relations of Ethiopia and these European powers were initially friendly and respectful and later would be changed in to colonialism. In this regard, among other countries, the interest of Italy seemed to be the strongest. Italo-Shewan relations had officially started with the

coming to *shewa* of an Italian geographical society mission (geographical studies team) under Antinori in (1969 E.C) 1876<sup>1</sup>. King Menelik, Later Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia, gave a site named *L'et Marefia*<sup>2</sup> in shewa to the Italian. Italy, however, used the place for its own colonial interest rather than peacefully relation. The place helped the Italian to further collect data and to accomplish their mission in the name of research and academics. The hidden mission, similar to those other European countries, of Italy was to colonize Ethiopia and to establish empire in the horn of Africa. Prior to the signed of *Wuchale* Treaty, the immediate cause of the first Italo-Ethiopian war at the battle of Adwa, two peaceful and friendship treaties were made between king Menelik and Italy. In 1882(3), an Italian envoy Count Antonelli and king Menelik of Shewa, later Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia, signed the treaty of commerce and friendship<sup>3</sup>. In this agreement both were agreed upon free movement of people and free trade. Nonetheless, it became clear that Italy wished to expand and link its holdings in the Horn of Africa<sup>4</sup>.

Italy started their expansion by violating the Hewett treaty and occupied coastal areas and continued in to *Mereb Mellash*. As a result, the then governor of *Mereb Mellash*, Ras Alula Engida also known as *Aba Nega*, warned the Italians to clear out of the Ethiopian regions. However, the Italians were not willing to leave out the regions because they have colonial interest in the Horn of Africa. For Italian, in this case, colonizing Ethiopia meant laying down a base to colonize Horn of Africa. Finally, Italy was defeated by the Ethiopian force at the battle of *Dogali*<sup>5</sup>.

After the battle of *Dogali* Italy need the support of King Menelik of Shewa more than he needs theirs, even Italy wanted Menelik to fight Emperor Yohanes IV from the south. However, King Menelik was not willing to fight against yohannis. The Italians wanted his neutrality in the

event of war with Yohannis. As a result, King Menelik of shewa agreed to the convention of Neutrality in October 1887. In this agreement the Italy promised not to take an inch of land in Ethiopia.

The friendly relationship between Menelik and Italy reached its apex in the end of nineteenth century with the signing of the *Wuchale* Treaty<sup>6</sup>, which is the immediate cause of the first Italo- Ethiopian war, on May 2, 1889. This treaty can be seen as an attempt to conquer Ethiopia diplomatically. The content of the Treaty of *Wechale* had two version; Amharic and Italian Version. The treaty contains twenty articles, but the most important articles in terms of their relevance and cause of conflict to the first and second Italo-Ethiopian war was Article 3, and 17<sup>7</sup>. Article 3 of the *Wuchale* treaty was about boundary demarcation. Article 17 was related with foreign relation and policy. To this end, Article 17 of *Wuchale* Treaty had different meaning.<sup>8</sup> In Italian, the treaty stated that Ethiopia was "obliged to conduct all foreign affairs through Italian authorities, in effect making Ethiopia an Italian protectorate, while the Amharic version merely gave Ethiopia the option of communicating with third powers through the Italians." Thus, the Treaty obliged Ethiopia to handle her foreign affairs through Italian officials and it meant creating *adefacto* protectorate over Ethiopia. This article may be viewed as a Wax and Gold. This treaty clearly shows the imperialist and colonialist ambition of Italy over Ethiopia. Finally, in October 1889 Italy notified the major powers of Europe that Ethiopia had become her protectorate. Again this

<sup>1</sup> Bahiru Zewudie.1999. The History of Ethiopia; From 1847-1983. Addis Ababa University press, Ethiopia.

Tekletasdik Mekuria. 1983. *Atse Menelik Ena Yeethiopia andinet*. Kuraz Printing Press, Ethiopia. pp 35-37

<sup>2</sup> *Let Marefia* is the place which is found in the present day of North Shewa, near Ankober.

<sup>3</sup> This treaty was considered as the first treaty signed between King Menelik and Italy. The major objective of the treaty was to strength free trade, free movement of people and preaching of religion between the two countries. However, the relations of Ethiopia and Italy and also other European powers of the time were initially friendly and later automatically changed in to colonialism. Therefore, behind this treaty of friendship Italian had developed an imperialist interest. It is an attempt to conquer Ethiopia diplomatically.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. pp 81- 83

<sup>5</sup> Mamo Wudineh. 1979. *Alula Aba Nega; Tarikawi Libweled*. Kuraz Printing org., Ethiopia. pp 167-179

<sup>6</sup> *Wuchale* treaty was signed on May 2, 1889 between Italy and Menelik. *Wuchale* was a place found in the present day of Northern *Wollo* where the treaty was signed. The treaty was signed between Menelik and Count Pietro Antonrlli. It was a treaty signed between two unequal sovereign states. In this regard; the signatories of the *Wuchale* treaty had different purposes in mind when they signed the treaty. For Ethiopia, the purpose of the treaty was to cultivate the friendship of European power and inturn to create a link with Europeans to facilitate access to their technology. For Italian, however, the treaty was a tool to achieve their hidden colonial ambition over Ethiopia and to laid down their base in the horn of Africa.

Solomon Gasahaw. Eurocentric and Ethno nationalist Interpretation of Ethiopian History available at [file:///D:/web%20research%20publication/menelik%20and%20adwa%20papers/Adowa-Solomon\\_1.pdf](file:///D:/web%20research%20publication/menelik%20and%20adwa%20papers/Adowa-Solomon_1.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Tekletasdik Mekuria. 1983. *Atse Menelik Ena Yeethiopia andinet*. Kuraz Printing Press, Ethiopia. pp 35-37 pp 42-47 Bahiru Zewudie.1999. The History of Ethiopia; From 1847-1983. Addis Ababa University press, Ethiopia. pp 82-83

<sup>8</sup> Solomon Gasahaw. EUROCENTRIC AND ETHNONATIONLIST INTERPRETATION OF ETHIOPIAN HISTORY available at [file:///D:/web%20research%20publication/menelik%20and%20adwa%20papers/Adowa-Solomon\\_1.pdf](file:///D:/web%20research%20publication/menelik%20and%20adwa%20papers/Adowa-Solomon_1.pdf)

shows her (Italy) commitment for the implementation of the Berlin conference<sup>9</sup>.

### The genesis of the second Italo-Ethiopian war

On 3 October 1935 the Second Italo-Ethiopia War<sup>10</sup> (also referred to as the Second Italo-Ethiopian War) began when Italian forces crossed into the territory of present-day Ethiopia. The Italian came 40 years later both to erase the 'shameful scar' of their defeat at the battle of Adwa fought on 1 March 1896. They were determined to restore the glory of the old Roman Empire. Fascist Party was highly dedicated in restoring Roman glory<sup>11</sup>.

Tensions between the countries dated to at least 1887, when Italy first invaded Ethiopia. Italian forces were been defeated by Ethiopia at the Battle of Adwa on 1 March 1896<sup>12</sup>. The victory over Adwa resulted criticism of the

<sup>9</sup> Berlin conference was a colonial conference held in Berlin from November 1884 to February 18 1885 by major European powers in order to partition Africa peacefully without war.

Tedla ZeYohanes. 2004. The History of Ethiopia; Italy in Ethiopia; From Walwal to Gonder (from May 1927- November 1934). Mankusa Publishing. p.l.c. pp. 8-10.

Ibid., pp 11-18

<sup>10</sup> <http://militaryhistory.about.com/od/battleswars1800s/p/adwa.htm>

The First Italo-Ethiopian War was fought between Italy and Ethiopia from 1895 to 1896. The war was ended in favor of Ethiopia and consequently Ethiopia became the only African country successfully resist European colonialism with a decisive show of force. The victory of the battle of Adwa had been viewed as a victory of Black over white for the first time in the recorded history. The victory at Adwa; externally, shocked imperialist Europe and internally became the beacon of freedom for Black African's and for the rest of the world who were fighting against imperialism and colonialism. The Second Italo-Ethiopian War was a colonial war that started in October 1935 and ended in May 1936. The war was fought between the armed forces of the Italy and the armed forces of the Ethiopia. The war resulted in the five year occupation of Ethiopia by the imperialist Italy power.

Solomon Gasahaw. Eurocentric and Ethno-nationalist

Interpretation of Ethiopian history available at

[file:///d:/web%20research%20publication/menelik%20and%20adwa%20papers/adowa-solomon\\_1.pdf](file:///d:/web%20research%20publication/menelik%20and%20adwa%20papers/adowa-solomon_1.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> Bahru 1991, 151; Baer 1967, 7-9 as cited in Minale Adugna. Women and Warfare in Ethiopia: A Case Study of Their Role during the Campaign of Adwa, 1895/96, and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-41.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/297461/Italo-Ethiopian-War>  
[https://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/First\\_Italo%20%80%93Ethiopian\\_War.html](https://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/First_Italo%20%80%93Ethiopian_War.html)

Italian government and brought widespread public demonstration. It also forced Italy to recognize the absolute independence of Ethiopia and accepted the cancellation of the *Wuchale* Treaty, which established Defacto protectorate. Moreover, the battle of Adwa shows the victory of black peoples over the white and it becomes a symbol of black dignity and self rule. However, with the coming power of the Fascist leader Berto Mussolini, Italy wanted to take revenge and restore its glory. The Italians under Benito Mussolini were determined to have Ethiopia as their colony and make it pay for the humiliating defeat it had inflicted upon them at the Battle of Adwa in 1896<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, this incident and a desire to acquire a larger colonial presence motivated the Italian decision to attack in 1935. With the bitter memories of their defeat at the battle of Adwa in 1896, 40 years earlier, the Italians were determined to succeed this time round, and used all means at their disposal to the extent of committing atrocities and war crimes, employing prohibited weapons like poison gas.

Italian forces had more modern military equipment than the Ethiopian forces and Italy also possessed tanks and a larger, more sophisticated air force<sup>14</sup>. The Ethiopian forces under the overall command of Emperor Haile Selassie had largely outdated equipment that included rifles and artillery, but most Ethiopian soldiers were armed with traditional weaponry, especially spears. Italian forces entered Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, on May 5, 1936<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, this incident leads to the five year Italy occupation and bitter patriotic resistance<sup>16</sup>. Thus, spontaneous uprisings and protracted guerilla resistance campaigns began in most parts of Ethiopia within the first year of Italian rule. In defiance of the ensuing occupation, Ethiopians became involved in a multi-dimensional 'patriotic resistance' to drive the invaders out of their country (Aregawi Berhe). Italian rule faced considerable and organized resistance. According to Sbacchi, as cited in (Sarbo, Dima Noggo, 2009) "organized Ethiopian resistance forces were estimated at between 100,000 and 300,000, the lower estimate given by Italian sources and the higher estimates by Ethiopian and British sources".

According to him;

<sup>13</sup> Tedla ZeYohanes. 2004. The History of Ethiopia; Italy in Ethiopia; From Walwal to Gonder (from May 1927- November 1934). Mankusa Publishing. p.l.c. pp. 8-10.

<sup>14</sup> Harie Atkins. The History of Ethiopia. pp 60.

<sup>15</sup> Sarbo, Dima Noggo, "Contested Legitimacy: Coercion and the State in Ethiopia. " PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2009 available at [http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk\\_graddiss/98](http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/98)

<sup>16</sup> During the five years Italy occupation, there were three viceroys – Marshall Pietro Badoglio, conqueror and the first viceroy, followed by Marshall Rodolfo Graziani (1937) and Duke Amedeo of Aosta (1938-41).

..... *Mussolini and Marshall Badoglio were reported to have estimated that it would require at least twenty years to pacify Ethiopia and eliminate all armed resistance, though the Italian public was said to be more skeptical and thought that half a century would be needed to accomplish that task (Sbacchi, 1997: 165).*

The 1935–36 Italian fascist invasion and subsequent occupation of Ethiopia were accompanied by numerous atrocities: the use of mustard gas, the execution of captured prisoners without trial, the killings at Debre Libanos monastery, and massacre.

### The history and culture of Zeret, Menz

Menz also spelled Manz previously Menzihel, the historical province of an Amhara area of about 850square miles located in the present day of North Shewa of Amhara regional state particularly in the north east horn of north shewa<sup>17</sup>.

The place is characterized by high plateaus over 3,000 meters above sea level, surrounded by dramatic basalt cliffs and carved out by deep ravines and canyons<sup>18</sup>. According to Pro. Donald;

*Manz lies on abroad plateau at about10, 000ft above sea level. This plateau is cross-cut by a number of rivers which flow westerly to become part of the great Blue Nile basin. The valleys of the rivers are flanked by fairly abrupt cliffs, which make travel from one Part of Manz to another slow going. These rivers form boundaries between the geographical divisions within Manz, which is divided into three major parts: Mama Meder in the south, Lalo Mider in the centre, and Gera Meder in the north.*<sup>19</sup>

But in current administration Menz is divided in to five broad districts namely *Menz Gera* in the center and its capital is *Mehal Meda*, *Menz mama* in the south and its

<sup>17</sup> Levine, D. 1964. On the history and Culture of Manz. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 9: 204-211.

Levine, D. 2000 [1974]. *Greater Ethiopia. The evolution of a multi-ethnic society*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

<sup>18</sup> González-Ruibal, Alfredo , Sahle, Yonatan and Ayán Vila, Xurxo(2011) 'A social archaeology of colonial war in Ethiopia', *World Archaeology*, 43: 1, 40 有 65 available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2011.544897>

<sup>19</sup> Levine, D. 1964. On the history and Culture of Manz. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 9: 204-211.

capital is wegerie, *Menz Lalo* in the south west and its capital is Molalie, *Menz Gishe* in the north east and its capital is Gishe; and *Menz Keya* in the North east where *Zeret* is located and the name of the capital is Zemero.. The boundaries of Manz proper include the Mofar River in the south, the Adabay River in the west, and the Wenchet River in the north easet and the Jema River.

*Menz previously Menzihel* is inhabited by Amhara peasants. They are Orthodox Christians who figure among the most conservative believers in Ethiopia (Levine, 1964: 206). The Manz Amhara adheres to a strong ethos of bravery and systematically resists foreign influences even they also resist modern education and most of them resist sending their children to government schools because of the feeling that these schools are tainted by their connexion with the culture of the heathen foreigner. The father of Emperor Menelik II, Haile mekot, the founder of modern Ethiopia and victor over the Italians at Adwa in 1896, was from this area. Again the father of Emperor Hailessilasie was also from Menz particularly from Doba near Zeret. The Manz Amhara thus say that their country is *ye amara min'ch* and *yānegus agar* (King's country), the source of the Amhara people and land of kings (Levine, 1964: 206, 211). Moreover, for Menzie, Menz implies M- melawu (meaning all), N-Nigussawi (Kings) and Z-Zirya (line) which means they are the direct descendent of king Menelik I, the grandchildren of Queen Sheba and king Solomon of Israel. In this regard, the local people Menz reiterate oral poetry to invoke lineage with Menelik I as

Afq'era the child of Gole,  
Dibini the child of Tsegga,  
Moret the child of Tsedu,  
Gishe the child of Awsabé  
Gidam the child of Leta  
Aradma the child of Asbo,  
Agancha the child of Amdé.

Zeret, a city in Ethiopia about 360 km North-East of Addis Ababa, the country's capital, is found in one district of Menz, Amhara Regional state. The cave of Zeret( In Amharic *Ametsegna washa*) is located in Zeret.<sup>20</sup>

### **Ametsegna Washa, the cave of the last battle of the Italo-Ethiopian war**

During the second Italo-Ethiopian war, Italy carried out a systematic mass extermination campaign in Ethiopia with poison gas sprayed from airplanes and other horrific atrocities that claimed the lives of no less than 1,000,000

<sup>20</sup> For more information see at

<http://etio.webs.com/apps/photos/album?albumid=3763301>



**Figure 1.** General overview (external sphere) of *Ametsegna Washa*; the cave is located in the center.

Ethiopian men, women and children, including 30,000 massacred in only three days in Addis Ababa as well as the reprisal killings of the entire monastic community at the historic Debre Libanos Monastery. In addition, 2,000 churches and 525,000 homes were destroyed by the Italian Fascists. However, the massacre that was happened in *Ametsegna washa* was not documented.

In 1936 the Italians banned any reference to Shewa which was a distasteful reminder of their defeat at Adwa. In the five year Italy occupation and patriotic resistance, Shewa became the center of anti-imperialist Italy<sup>21</sup>. According to oral informants, a few months following the fall of the capital to the enemy, many men did join the guerrilla fighters of Shewa and performed bravely particularly in and after 1939. In this regard, *Ametsegna Washa* was one of the place where the inhabitant of *Menz* were massacred by the Italy. Figure 1

*Ametsegna Washa* ; some call it “The cave of Zeret” is the place (cave) where Italian troops massacred a large guerrilla group during the five year Italy occupation particularly in 1939<sup>22</sup>. *Ametsegna Washa* was the place of the refuges of a large guerrilla group that was massacred by the Italian colonial army in 1939<sup>23</sup>. It is found in *Menz Keya Gebreal* district near *Zeret*. In 1939, the peoples who inhabited *Menz*, southern *wollo* province and *Jiru* rebelled against the imperialist Italy rule and continued fighting against imperialism and colonialism until the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 with the British military support. The leaders of the rebelled group were Ras Abebe Aregay, later he became the prime minister and Dejazmache Teshome. According to Bishaw

Tesema<sup>24</sup>, an eye witness, the villagers who had taken refuge from the burning and pillaging of their homes were more than 2500.

According to Matthew Dominiononi<sup>25</sup> (2006, 2008), he was the one who has studied in depth the raids conducted by the Italians in the Ethiopian countryside, the cave of Zeret was a remote place where hundreds of followers of Abebe Aregai had taken refuge. He describes the event as follows:

*..... the attack on the cave with mustard gas and the execution, by machine-gun, of 800 men who had surrendered. Many of the people inside the cave were women, children and old people. The siege was short lasting, April 9th to the 11<sup>th</sup>. Only 15 men managed to escape during the battle and a handful of women and children reportedly survived as prisoners, according to Italian documents and testimonies of local people<sup>26</sup>.*

The massacre happened in April 1939 after the gassing

<sup>21</sup> Tewelde Tekue(Dr).1990. *yeethiopia andinet ena Italiya*.Addis Ababa.

<sup>22</sup>

<http://mediterraneanworld.wordpress.com/2011/05/16/postcolonial-archaeology>

<sup>23</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Bishaw Tesema

<sup>25</sup> Matthew Dominiononi, a historian of Italian colonialism, had already brought to light that yet another dark chapter in Italian history in his book “The collapse of the Empire”. Dominiononi, as he says in the introduction of *Chemical Platoon*; “My name is John Boaglio and the son of the person who used the gas in the cave Zeret. I always knew of the existence of the cave. My father has left a diary in which he speaks of the massacre. “*Chemical Platoon* was the diary of Alexander Boaglio, the one who used the gas in *Ametsegna Washa*, edited by his son John Boaglio and by other author Matthew Dominiononi. It was written after his return to Italy.

<sup>26</sup> Dominiononi 2006 and 2008 as cited in Alfredo González-Ruiba et al



**Figure 1.** *Ametsegna Washa* (source: <http://etio.webs.com/>)

of a special cave at Zeret, in Menz<sup>27</sup>. The man who ordered the cold blooded killing of civilians after a siege was named General Ugo Cavallero. He was the chief of staff of the over 100,000 Italian soldiers in Ethiopia, by then part of a new Colonial Empire. He was never and never will be tried for this, nor for the other crimes that brought to the gunning of women and kids in Zeret. Chief partisan Abebe Aregay, later a Prime Minister under Haile Selassie and Dejazmach Teshome were the target of the repression, they were never caught. Few survived, as General Cavallero ordered the killing of all prisoners made.<sup>28</sup> Figure 2

Once the Italians located the rebel troops in Zeret i.e. *Ametsegna Washa*, they attacked the mouth of the cave with artillery and machine-gun fire. Given the probable difficulty in taking the place without suffering many casualties, the Italians requested flamethrowers and mustard gas and even considered blowing out the facade of the cave and burying the patriots and their families alive. Mustard gas was eventually dispatched from the port of Massawa (Eritrea) in the guise of a C500T bomb<sup>29</sup>. This was an aerial gas bomb widely used by the

Italians during the war and after<sup>30</sup>. *Ametsegna Washa* prevented the use of airplanes for delivering the gas and forced the fascist troops to resort to other methods. According to Dominioni (2008) as cited in Ruiba, Alfredo, Mortars were used elsewhere in the Mofar Wuha, but in Zeret another, more effective method was devised.

According to oral informants, during the moonless night of April 10th Dijazmach Teshome, one of his lieutenants, derided the many shooters guarding the mouth of the fort-cave from a dozens of meters, descending from the very steep east end, fully armed, with many of his, dark shadows on black basalts<sup>31</sup>. The Italians thought Abebe himself had escaped, or feared, simply, what general Cavallero would have done knowing the rebel leaders had cheated them. They knew perfectly the cave was unattainable: any charge on its walls would have meant being under fire, as neat silhouettes against a strong light, firing in unscrutable darkness. According to oral informants, almost all of the refugees in *Ametsegna washaw* were died in the massacre.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the above, we can summarize that by exposing colonialism and imperialism this may bring some local as well as international acknowledgment of these historical facts, and intrun, it may contribute to rethink its legacies in the present. *Ametsegna Washa* was a powerful

<sup>27</sup> Repression in the Menz area in April 1939 was meant to capture Abebe Aregay, the former chief of Addis Ababa Police turned patriot. His actions, also around a masterpiece of a 650m tunnel connecting two steep mountain slopes full of astounding flowers, the access to Eritrea, had become unbearable.

<sup>28</sup>

<https://sites.google.com/sit/internationalbrigadesproject/introduction-and-aims/archaeological-fieldwork/colonial-wars>

<sup>29</sup> Dominioni 2008: 210 . as cited in González-Ruibal, Alfredo , Sahle, Yonatan and Ayán Vila, Xurxo(2011) 'A social archaeology of colonial war in Ethiopia', World Archaeology, 43: 1, 40 有 65 available in <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2011.544897>

<sup>30</sup> Del Boca 1996, 2010: 102-152; Longo 2005: 829-830 as cited in González-Ruibal, Alfredo , Sahle, Yonatan and Ayán Vila, Xurxo(2011) 'A social archaeology of colonial war in Ethiopia', World Archaeology, 43: 1, 40 有 65 available in <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2011.544897>

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Negese Tesheberu, Bishaw Tesema

argument against fascism, colonialism and imperialism, perhaps because the remains illustrate in an intimate way civilian, domestic life (cooking, eating, grinding cereals), shattered in an instant by the minions of a remote ideology. The palace is not protected and, therefore, the government as well as the other concerning bodies should give serious attention in preserving and memorizing the historical cave.

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**INTERVIEW**

Interview with Bishaw Tesema

Interview with Negese Tesheberu



Appendix I



