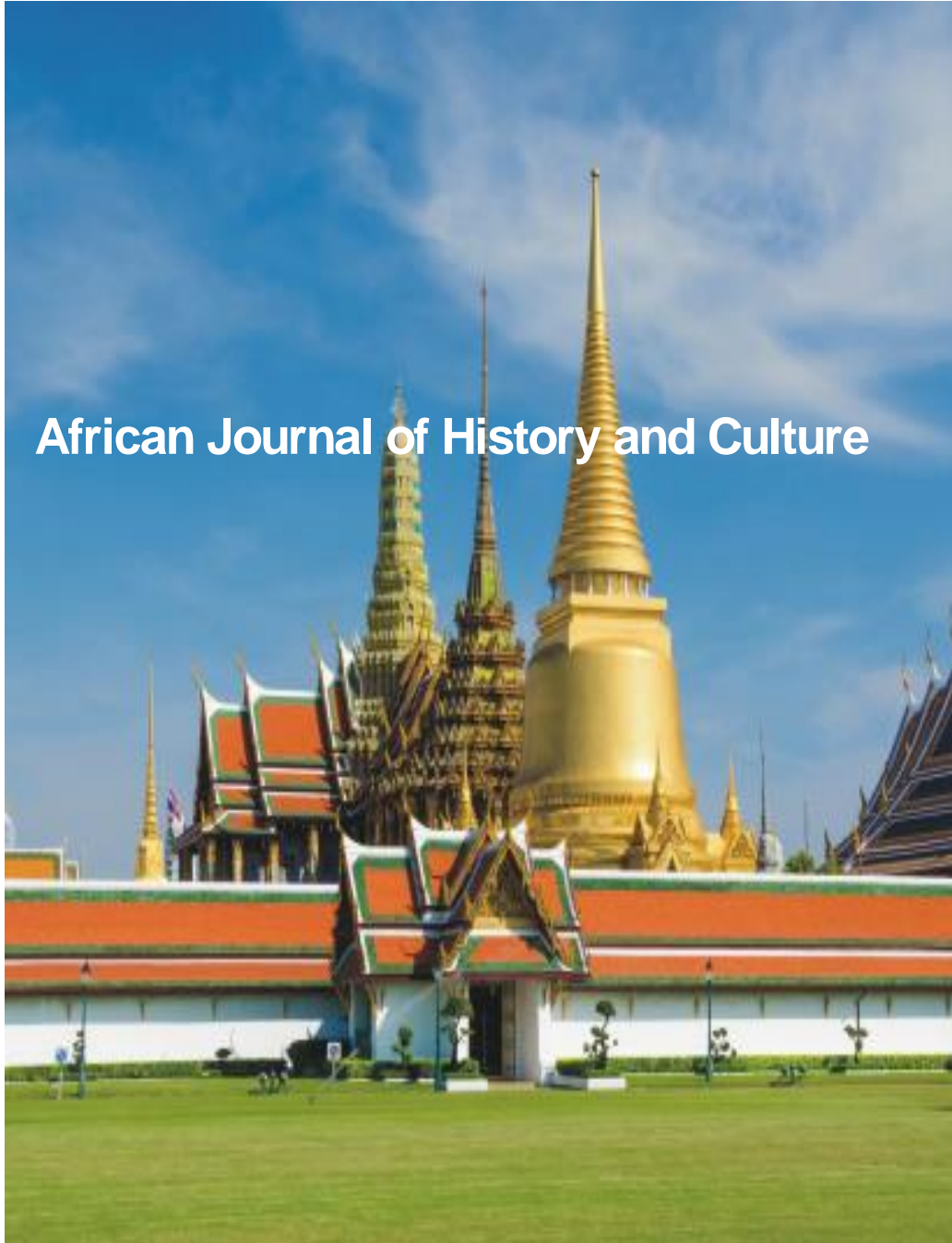


OPEN ACCESS



# African Journal of History and Culture

January-June 2020  
ISSN: 2141-6672  
DOI: 10.5897/AJHC  
[www.academicjournals.org](http://www.academicjournals.org)



**ACADEMIC  
JOURNALS**  
expand your knowledge

# ABOUT AJHC

The African Journal of History and Culture (AJHC) is published monthly (one volume per year) by Academic Journals.

African Journal of History and Culture (AJHC) is an open access journal that provides rapid publication (monthly) of articles in all areas of the subject. The Journal welcomes the submission of manuscripts that meet the general criteria of significance and scientific excellence. Papers will be published shortly after acceptance. All articles published in AJHC are peer-reviewed.

## Contact Us

Editorial Office: [ajhc@academicjournals.org](mailto:ajhc@academicjournals.org)

Help Desk: [helpdesk@academicjournals.org](mailto:helpdesk@academicjournals.org)

Website: <http://www.academicjournals.org/journal/AJHC>

Submit manuscript online <http://ms.academicjournals.me/>.

## Editorial Board

**Dr. Antonio J. Monroy Antón**

*Department of Business Economics  
Universidad Carlos III ,  
Madrid,  
Spain.*

**Dr. Samuel Maruta**

*Southern Institute of Peace-building and Development  
2806 Herbert Chitepo Road,  
Ruwa ,  
Zimbabwe.*

**Prof. Christophe D. Assogba**

*Department of History and Archaeology,  
University of Abomey-Calavi,  
Benin.*

**Dr. Aju Aravind**

*Assistant Professor  
Department of Humanities and Social Science,  
Indian School of Mines ,  
Dhanbad, Jharkhand 826004,  
India.*

**Dr Jephias Mapuva**

*African Centre for Citizenship and Democracy  
[ACCEDE];School of Government;  
University of the Western Cape,  
South Africa.*

**Dr Aisha Balarabe Bawa**

*Usmanus Danfodiyo University, Sokoto,  
Nigeria.*

**Dr Wan Suhaimi Wan Abdullah**

*Associate Professor  
Department of Aqidah and Islamic Thought,  
Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya,  
Kuala Lumpur,  
Malaysia.*

# Table of Content

<b>The shared pain of a culture’s decline: A study of Femi Abodunrin’s ‘ The Dancing Masquerade’</b>	<b>1</b>
Ogungbemi Christopher Akinola.	
<b>Pawnship labour and mediation in colonial Osun division of southwestern Nigeria</b>	<b>7</b>
Ajayi Abiodun	
<b>Critical analysis of archaeological research trends in Uganda: 1920-2018</b>	<b>14</b>
Charles Kinyera Okeny, Elizabeth Kyazike and Gilbert Gumoshabe	
<b>The Amharic proverbs and their use in Gə‘əz Qəne (Ethiopian poetry)</b>	<b>28</b>
Hiruie Ermias	

*Book Review*

# **The shared pain of a culture's decline: A study of Femi Abodunrin's 'The Dancing Masquerade'**

**Ogungbemi Christopher Akinola**

Department of English Studies and Performing Arts, University of Limpopo, South Africa.

Received 18 April, 2016; Accepted 29 July, 2016

Although in recent years Africans have, through their very rich indigenous performing traditions, began once again to re-affirm the functionality of their arts, yet not many people today have tried to relate these to questions of mass mobilization and conscientization. It is believed that African art and particularly traditional African theatre, story-telling or art serve a social function with several pieces of African literature, such as *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe (1958) receiving significant worldwide critical acclaim for their analysis on the effect of colonialism on African cultures. This study is a critical examination of Femi Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade*. From the colonial and postcolonial perspectives, the study investigates a peoples' shared pain of perceived decline in culture. It scrutinises the uniqueness and relevance of African cultures as they interface with European and Western cultures in the present era of globalization "so that we are able to understand each other not simply as different but as bearers of a common humanity". Invariably, the study examines some adjustments which African cultures have had to make, or ought to make, as they come in contact with other cultures. It is assumed that through such an endeavour, the twenty-first century can find its freedom of choice and association.

**Key words:** Africa, *The Dancing Masquerade*, shared pain, culture, globalization, mobilization.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Importantly, literature's foremost objective is to impact the reader or listener. This seems to be the aim of Robert Louis Stevenson, the Scottish essayist, poet and novelist who believes that the difficulty of literature is not to write, but to write what you mean; not to affect your reader, but to affect him or her precisely as you wish. His opinion is that the first merit which attracts in the pages of a good writer, or the talk of a brilliant conversationalist, is the apt choice and contrast of the words that are employed. He

adds that all speech, written or spoken, is dead language, until it finds a willing and prepared hearer. Therefore, Stevenson classifies art into two categories; some form of art like painting and acting, in his opinion, are representative or simply imitative while others such as music, dance and architecture, are, although self-sufficient, but merely presentative.

Although in recent years Africans have, through their very rich indigenous performing traditions, began once

E-mail: [olakriso@yahoo.com](mailto:olakriso@yahoo.com).

Authors agree that this article remain permanently open access under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

again to re-affirm the functionality of their arts, yet not many people today have tried to relate these to questions of mass mobilization and conscientization (Akinola, 2015). Traore believes that African arts and particularly traditional African theatre, story-telling or art serve a social function with several pieces of African literature, such as *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe receiving significant worldwide critical acclaim for their analysis on the effect of colonialism on African cultures. This study is a critical examination of a people's shared pain of culture's decline from colonial and postcolonial perspectives in Femi Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade*. It scrutinises the uniqueness and relevance of African cultures as they interface with European and Western cultures in the present era of globalization "so that we are able to understand each other not simply as different but as bearers of a common humanity" (Tembo, 2011). Invariably, the study examines some adjustments which African cultures have had to make, or ought to make, as they come in contact with other cultures. It is assumed that through such an endeavour, the twenty-first century can find its freedom of choice and association (Tembo, 2011).

Even if at the risk of being regarded as repetitive of postcolonial themes by African writers, the on-going misrepresentation of and bias against African cultures makes it important that we examine the peculiarity of Abodunrin's thoughts in *The Dancing Masquerade* concerning on-going postcolonial debate by African literati. Notable in this regard, according to Balogun and Saliu (2006), repetition becomes continuous emphasis for carving an enduring perception and image in the mind's eyes – especially in a situation of so much conscious and prejudiced misconstruction of experience.

Although a reiteration of peculiar themes on African postcolonial cultures and societies by writers like Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in *Petals of Blood* (1977) and Wole Soyinka in *The Interpreters* (1965), Femi Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade* is a re-presentation of in-grained postcolonial themes found in African societies. In another sense, a critical examination of Abodunrin's discourse in *The Dancing Masquerade* appears to open critics up to a necessary continuum of the long running debate pioneered by Augusto Boal on whether art should educate, inform, organise, influence, incite to action, or should it simply be an object of pleasure.

## SHARED PAIN IN THE DANCING MASQUERADE

Pain is a kind of shortcut to mindfulness. It makes us suddenly aware of everything in the environment. It brutally draws us into a virtual sensory awareness of the world, much like meditation (Konnikova, 2014).

The attention-centric nature of pain has long been recognized as one of its central characteristics, in both a physical sense-when something hurts, you turn toward it -

and an emotional one. According to Konnikova (2014), whether shared pain itself is sufficient to forge bonds of group loyalty is what Brock Bastian, a social psychologist has been studying for the last six years. His findings reveal that shared pain seems to play a central role in a group experience in a way that pleasurable or neutral bonding experience simply does not. We tend to overvalue pleasure, he says, but [shared] pain is a central part of what it means to be human and what makes us happy. For Bastian et al (2014), the loyalty that we experience after feeling [shared] pain goes beyond any need to reconcile dissonance or to signal commitment. He believes that when you go through and experience pain with complete strangers, that experience brings you together in a way that is formative. This seems like the intention and, or, outcome of Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade*. He appears to expose painful moments of unnecessary cultural frictions within Africans who have been to Europe, and frictions between them and those who may not have been to Europe. For the purpose of our study on the shared pain of a culture's decline in Femi Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade*, I will define shared pain as the sum of a people's frustration, disappointment, surprise and disbelief. *Frustration* because of the allurements that Euro centrism continues to offer Africans; *disappointment* at ways that even supposed custodians of a people's culture tend to betray the trust reposed in them traditionally; *surprise* that some Arrivants, in spite of European influences, still connect to their cultural roots, even if by selective amnesia and *disbelief* because the very core of a people's culture can be side-lined for the sake of other influences.

The narratives in *The Dancing Masquerade* presents according to Balogun et al (2006) a first person account of "reasons and effects of colonisation in the imaginary country of Baluba". The narratives, divisible into sub-titles from six parts, including the preface (*If The Masquerade Dances Well* and *The Era of Bad-Feeling*), and epilogue has in the first part, *The Great Traditions* and *The Dancing Masquerade* while the second part, features *The Arrivants* and *Once More With Passion: What is Love?*. The third part is *The Auction Bloc* while the fourth part is *The Return*. Physically located in Europe, Port city and Aiyeru, the narrative has its plots around Tunji, his family and neighbours. The preface is a summation of the story: a poetic description of the personage of the masquerade and also a metaphorical representation of postcolonial African society.

As revealed by Balogun (2006), The first part reminisces on Ayeru's rural communal scenario in Baluba, highlighting, according to Balogun and Saliu. (2015), its friendly, simple, innocent, and familial comfort in existence in an African setting in spite of the influence of colonialism. The second part sets in a Western influenced island of Port city. The third part depicts the life of the narrator, Tunji, abroad as well as his friendship

and common interests shared with Paul, Mike and Mary (new generations of non-colonial Britons) and Bukola and Olu as well as the return of the “team” to Baluba while the epilogue marks the conclusion of the narrative.

Largely, Abodunrin employs metaphor to represent actual historical and current realities of the Nigerian postcolonial scenarios, alluding to de-familiarisation of Africans by white colonialists. For example, the fictional Baluba label put on the people because of their closeness to the river in Abodunrin’s narrative is not alien to the historical name, Nigeria, which was given by Flora Shaw (Lord Lugard’s mistress) to the area that fell around the River Niger. Also, according to Balogun and Saliu. (2015), Port city with its slums, lagoon, network of roads and ‘posh’ areas paints a mental picture of Lagos state while the Owode and Oja Oba markets are popular South Western Nigerian markets.

*The Dancing Masquerade* presents Femi Abodunrin’s agreeableness with Niyi Osundare on the kissing and painful quarrelling that occurs (or ought to occur) at the *meeting* and *melting* of two cultures. According to Osundare (Abodunrin, 2002) when two cultures meet, they kiss and they quarrel. In an instance, a painful experience from encounters of cultures ensues at the Port in Port City as Tunji and others receive the Arrivants. At that moment when Tunji, according to Baluba’s age-long salutation tradition accorded elders, makes to prostrate to greet his arriving parents, everyone laughed at the gesture. Tunji, not amused, painfully wondered if he did something wrong or stupid to have expressed a Baluban culture of respect and honour for elders. According to his Baluba upbringing, one that Tunji assumes his parents and Baamiagba at the scene ought to be better informed of, he mused, “don’t girls kneel before the elders and boys prostrate”?

Retrospectively, Abodunrin’s narration of this incidence expounded the shared pain which average Africans feel (or ought to feel) when African cultures are treated with disdain and neglect. The Yoruba nation in Nigeria, which Abodunrin represents, like most pre-colonial African cultures treats honour and respect for elders as of utmost importance. Among the Yoruba, it is commonplace that by this show of respect, or a lack of it, the ‘sanity’ or otherwise of the younger generations are indeed measured, whether consciously or otherwise. To show honour and respect or gratitude, the younger males prostrate while the younger females fall on their knees.

In *The Dancing Masquerade*, Abodunrin presents a youthful Tunji who epitomises this age-long Yoruba culture. This youth approaches his parents, at the presence of elders, presenting to them his most valuable possession: Respect, honour and gratitude, through a symbolic act of prostration but, painfully, only to be turned down. Tunji, representing the continuum of age-long culture of Yoruba’s respect for elders, here encounters mockery from the same elders whose duty it is to preserve and pass on to future generations the cultures

and values of a people. Tunji would rather be glad (just like Bukola when she encounters her mother’s forgetfulness of Baluban culture) if these elders could tap “into humanity’s collective storehouse of knowledge and wisdom instead of the monolithic after-thoughts of the land of their sojourn”. Bukola, on her part, had rather shockingly, chided her own mother, another Arrivant, by saying:

“Yes Maami, you are still one of us. That is one of the wisest sayings of our people – if the farmer is slow in apprehending the thief, it is in the nature of thieves to turn around and accuse the farmer (Abodunrin, 2003).

The farmer here, according to Nigerian Yoruba orature, is the rightful *owner*, as concerns possession or *custodian*, as concerns culture. The proverbial thief represents the ingrate or usurper. The older woman, Bukola’s mother, ought to be the ‘owner’ and ‘custodian’ of Baluba cultures by the significant reason of her age, but she has painfully switched role with her own child, who ought to be “feeding” from her, culture-wise. And again, that Bukola refuses to take offence after her mother slaps her on the face exudes a type of calmness and maturity in handling conflicts attributed mostly to elders. Painfully, the mother plays the child while the child plays mother, in a matter as complicated and as simple as culture! At another painful instance, after been offered a bottle of coke, Tunji respectfully, again as his custom is, prostrates to Mama Lati in gratitude but felt embarrassed when the woman “looked rather surprised” (Abodunrin, 2003). As if in answer to his internalised pain and confusions, Tunji “remembered the women missionaries who visited our school in Aiyeru and the way they shook hands with the teachers”, perhaps signifying the possibility of Abodunrin revealing that Mama Lati’s exposure to European culture must have contributed to the neglect and contempt of her own culture. However, Abodunrin’s clamour to protect a culture from further decline features again when Tunji notes that “luckily enough, our parents’ accents were not badly affected”. Subsequently, even Tunji was shocked when Baami mouthed the refrain that “afterall no religion can say that we shouldn’t appreciate the practices of our forebears!”, as if to respond to another shared pain inflicted by Bukola’s mother who does not expect someone who is called a Christian to mix respect for God with the worship of idols (Abodunrin, 2003).

In lending a voice against the shared pain of a culture’s decline, Davidson (1992) seems to add his thoughts that nothing in this context remains more depressing, than the incapacity of European states at the end of the twentieth century to accommodate the reasonable expectations of ethnic diversity. Abodunrin is not amused by the pain inflicted on his people by Africans who, on arrival from Europe abandon their culture. For instance, when her mother threatens her with hunger, Bukola is quick to remind her that “this land and its people taxed themselves so hard to send you and others like you to go

and learn about the white man's power – his secrets – and not go and become white yourselves". She further bemoans that:

We thought you were going to return with the theories and practices of liberation and not icons of further colonization and enslavement! (Abodunrin, 2003).

In what appears like a residual sense of hope for a culture in decline, Abodunrin presents Tunji and Bukola who, in spite of the painful culture's decline around them, represent the undying allegiance of Africans to their cultural bents in the face of the popularisation of Euro centrism by the Arrivants.

### CULTURE'S DECLINE IN THE DANCING MASQUERADE

It was Spengler (1926), in his *The Decline of the West*, who said that the meaningful units of history are not epochs but whole evolving aspects of cultures. *Decline*, as a word, is believed to render, more accurately, the intended meaning of Spengler's original German word *Untergang*, often translated as "downfall". However, Spengler does not refer to *decline* to mean the catastrophic demise of a people's culture but, rather, a protracted fall. A people's culture, according to Rufus (2013), includes things as diverse as songs, novels, customs, values, myths and works of arts, adding that culture serves a people's psychological or spiritual need much more than their material needs. Whenever a person does not see another person with similar value, homogeneity tends to break down while their culture enters into a decline and the people loose shared lives in communication, experience and, ultimately, identity. Therefore, literature's universality affects everyone because it essentially speaks to us all.

Aside *kissing* of English colonial education, Louis James (Abodunrin, 2008) reveals a quarrelsome view of the flip side of colonialism by suggesting that at the same time the English tradition could be destructive. He opines that petrified within the social structure as the standards of respectability, they (colonial education) could also, divide class from class, and construct the evolution of national ways of life. For instance, Mr Owoeye in *The Dancing Masquerade* is portrayed as a Baluban (African) teacher who, essentially, relishes the thought that one day he would move up to the 'superior' British life and culture. As if to volunteer his superior knowledge of the ways of the British whenever there is a debate, even if unsolicited, he says, rather arrogantly, that "that sort of thing can never happen in England" (Abodunrin, 2003). "But what shall we say", goes Abodunrin's query on culture's decline, "children of our mothers, now that historians are confounding philosophers in an orchestrated bid to conflate one era with another"? He

goes on to instruct that "our vocation - like the healers we happen to be - is to win back the souls - convoluted and confounded - now bearing arms one against another on a matter as complex, and yet as simple as belief! He further reveals that - "this fanaticism has come to us - by sea and by air - it now permeates the very air we breathe, and men are bearing arms - preparing to go to war over a matter of belief" (Abodunrin, 2003).

In *The Dancing Masquerade*, Abodunrin paints an instance where religious persuasions of Africa collide with that of the West at the commencement of a new religious movement. Because the vision of the new founder was expansive, he had to abandon his vocation as tractor operator immediately "to the chagrin of his white engineer boss overseeing the construction of the road". It appears, according to the narrative, as if the rigidly minded white boss who holds his religious persuasions as 'higher', was almost going to war over a matter of belief. Of this church, goes the narrative, "it was a long time before we knew that ours was a breakaway church whose founder was a road worker who, as they say, received a distinct call from God to start the church while driving a tractor. Rather than bury their heads in denial like the proverbial ostrich, Abodunrin challenges Balubans (Africans) to discover themselves by examining possible fault lines of their present Westernized religious culture(s), such as "the complexity of avarice" and "enigma of feelings": cultures that are strange to those of their forbears. While at it, he exclaims that:

We have asked for the dark origin of this discourse – shall we not see its discursive bottom? (Abodunrin, 2003).

Rather than abdicate issues of culture's decline in Africa, Abodunrin suggests interrogations. With several interfaces of African and Western ideals in *The Dancing Masquerade*, Abodunrin essentially protests against, not only dominations of the white man's interpretations of religion, but also that the ideals and ways of life of the colonizer are not always novel and superior, neither are the ideals and ways of life of the colonized always primitive and inferior. Of this, Tunji recalls what appears as a result of the clash between religious persuasions, noting that "the founder parted ways with the white church because of fundamental differences" (Abodunrin, 2003). Achebe is of the opinion that differences in religious persuasions ought not lead to 'war':

Yes and if we win the battle for the minds, the first thing which will go is that rigidity of mind that has come to us with the so-called 'higher religions', this fanaticism, that can make a man go to war over a matter of belief! (Abodunrin, 2003).

Furthermore, Abodunrin opines that it amounts to double speak on the part of the Europeans, to condemn every



aspect of the Baluban (African) cultural antecedent – be it clothing or medicine, not to talk of the thorny issue of one man, one wife, while aspects of European cultural rather than spiritual antecedents were taught as gospel truth, whereas it is believed, for example, that Yoruba (African) traditions and cultures give them a unique place not only among African societies, but among literate peoples the world over.

Davidson, alluding to culture's decline in his *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the curse of the Nation-State*, reveals how severe upheavals of the nineteenth century through East Africa eventually consigned the Fipa and their neighbours to Germany and subsequently to British rule in what was to be the colony of Tangayika (Tanzania after 1964). After this, the history of Ufipa frays into silence (Davidson, 1992). Consequently, the development of Ufipa shows it as the outcome of a process in which tolerance of change was an essential feature. Degraded under colonial rule to the status of migrant workers, the productive force of Ufipa dwindled and died while the people's self-identity, as a state and as the arena of a living community, withered and vanished. Not until 1953 with the rise of tribal associations, would Fipa people think it useful or meaningful to reassert their existence as a community distinct in themselves (Davidson, 1992). In Chinua Achebe's conversations with Ulli Beier as they interrogate colonization and neo-colonization, Beier suggests that one might recreate the spirit of the culture, not by going back to some antiquated custom, but by making people realise again that the world is a market place that constantly opens to bargain (Abodunrin, 2003). To this recreation of the spirit of culture, Achebe responds that this involves a rediscovering of the meaning of the old saying, 'the world is a dancing masquerade!' (Abodunrin, 2003).

The primary aim of Abodunrin's submissions in *The Dancing Masquerade* seems to be constant with his thoughts in his, for instance, *Blackness: Culture, Ideology and Discourse*, which is to bring under critical focus the possible dominant influence of Africa and in that process, contextualize how the remnant Blacks who, although no less affected by the commodification of their kins, have continued to react to the decline of their African cultures over many centuries of physical and spiritual estrangement.

*The Dancing Masquerade* shares thematic focus on cultural retrieval in a rigorous and creative attempt to regain a cultural identity that is gradually becoming obsolete as a result of Africa's involvement with the Orient as well as the Occident (Tembo, 2011). The dexterity of African culture and literature is revealed in this nostalgic narrative, prompting the reader to reminisce on the core cultural values of the African communities which, if revisited, tend to re-invigorate a commitment to ingrained uniqueness of the African cultures. Davidson (1992) asserts that if this is right, how extraordinary, then,

that writers about Africa should tell us that Africans have known no effective and meaningful participation in their own politics. He reveals further that the evidence(s), if actually examined, provides an exact African parallel with the European *regna* (kingdoms), and in almost exactly the same historical time. Therefore, at the chiding of her daughter, Mama Bukola was quick to assert that "there is nothing wrong with your upbringing. We are the ones trying to be what we cannot be. But the story is far more complex than you can both imagine. How we arrived singing songs of enslavement and further colonization", she continues, "is no simple matter. But when you've been lobotomised, there is no simple way out of your socio-cultural dilemma" (Abodunrin, 2003). Abodunrin, through Mama Bukola, further reveals a culture's decline as he exposes complex and futile efforts of Balubans (Africans) who struggle to get Anglicized, and in the process, spiting their African cultures. Another discussion between Tunji and his uncle while they awaited the Arrivants from *Ilu Oyinbo* (Europe) highlights this bewilderment of Africans who, by any means possible, work hard to be Anglicised. The uncle asked "well, 'Tunji I certainly hope that you have rehearsed your English, so that you can speak to your brother and sister"? The Arrivants who happen to be Tunji's parents and siblings now appear to only communicate through the white man's language, rendering the African language secondary. He says besides surgeries to our tongues, we think in one language and express ourselves in another language, "so that we can sound more and more like the colonizers" (Abodunrin, 2003). Expressing the futility of this exercise in Anglicization, Abodunrin points out that when we struggle to express ourselves in another language how can whatever we utter make any sense even to ourselves? He further explains the double danger of neo-colonization when one has been released but unable to harbour the thought of releasing oneself.

## CONCLUSION

Aside raising awareness of the rediscovery of the 'submerged' cultures of the people of Baluba, Abodunrin stirs in his reader the pertinence of discovering the functions and usefulness of art in the twenty-first century. His narrative reveals the liberal disposition of Africans, particularly the Yoruba, when they kiss and quarrel with other cultures. *The Dancing Masquerade* particularly distinguishes the African culture's disposition to have contact with Western cultures without contamination. Of this view, Soyinka (Abodunrin et al., 2001) thinks that Europeans still marvel at the ex-colonial - somebody at the lower scale of civilization as far as they are concerned - being able to respond in a very natural and intelligent way to another civilization. Ulli Beier agrees that the Europeans felt that they have to export their culture in order to lift other people to a higher level of

civilization and that the thought of any mutual enrichment was quite foreign to the Europeans. Invariably, *The Dancing Masquerade* as a work of art stimulates self-confidence, community thinking, expression, awareness and organisational strengths of cultural groups, communities and their cultures. Besides other matters dealt with in the narrative, these appear to be the crux of Abodunrin's deliveries.

Largely, appropriate choice of words and tones make literature an engaging discipline that could affect and effect: To affect the reader who in turn strives to effect, participate or begin to harbour thoughts of participating in actions that signifies a new reasoning, opinion or ideology. Abodunrin, through *The Dancing Masquerade*, appears to hand over this vocation to readers who contemplate on his work in order to address issues of shared pain of a cultures' decline or anyone with a hunger for brilliant writing. In effect, a study on Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade* explore, on one hand, the exuberance of the colonized at agreeable Western ways, as well as, on the other hand, the retreat of the colonized from the grips of the colonizer's cultures with the possibility of the colonized sometimes caught in betwixt the shared pain of cultural influences and counter influences.

### Conflict of interests

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

### REFERENCES

- Abodunrin O (2003). *The Dancing Masquerade*, Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House. 24. ISBN: 978-36937-3-5
- Abodunrin O (2008). *Blackness: Culture, Ideology and Discourse*, Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House. 132. ISBN: 9789783796263
- Achebe C (1958). *Things Fall Apart*. London: Heinemann Ltd. 68. ISBN: 0-385-47454-7
- Akinola O (2013). Utilisation of Theatre and Drama in Christian Worship: The Role of Drama in Nigerian Churches, TUT, Pretoria. P 32.
- Balogun J (2006). The Poet as a Social Crusader: Tanure Ojaide and the Poetry of Intervention. *Journal of Humanity*. 2:64.
- Balogun PO, Saliu SA (2015). Postcolonialism, Orature and Social Transformation in Femi Abodunrin's *The Dancing Masquerade*. P 2.
- Bastian B, Jetten J, Ferris LJ (2014). Pain as social glue: Shared pain increases cooperation. *Psychological Science* 25:2079-2085.
- Davidson B, (1992). *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the curse of the Nation-State*, New York: Random House. 54-67. ISBN: 10-0852557000
- Konnikova M (2014). Pain really does make us Gain. Available at: [www.newyorker.com/science/maria-konnikova/pain-really-make-us-gain](http://www.newyorker.com/science/maria-konnikova/pain-really-make-us-gain).
- Soyinka W (1965). *The Interpreters*, London: Heinemann. ISBN: 9780435900762
- Tembo MN (2011). Globalization and Cultural Decolonization in recent African novels – a study of *Wizard of the Crow*, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, *The Dancing Masquerade* and *KMT: In the House of Hell*, University of Malawi: Faculty of Humanities.
- Wa Thiong'o, N (1977). *Petals of Blood*, Richmond: Dutton. ISBN: 0525178287

*Review*

# **Pawnship labour and mediation in colonial Osun division of southwestern Nigeria**

**Ajayi Abiodun**

Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo State, Nigeria.

Received 9 November, 2019; Accepted 7 February, 2020

**Pawnship was both a credit system and an important source of labour in Yoruba land. It was highly utilised in the first half of the twentieth century Osun Division, sequel to its easy adaptation to the colonial monetised economy. This study examined pawnship as a labour system that was deeply rooted in the Yoruba culture, and accounts for the reasons for its easy adaptability to the changes epitomized by the colonial economy itself with particular reference to Osun Division in Southwestern Nigeria. The restriction here is to focus on areas that were not adequately covered by the various existing literature on pawnship system in Yoruba land with a view to examining their peculiarities that distinguished them from the general norms that existed in the urban centres that were covered by earlier studies. The study adopted the historical approach which depends on oral data gathered through interviews, archival materials and relevant literature. It is hoped that the local peculiarities that the study intends to examine on pawnship here, will make a reasonable addition to the stock of the existing knowledge on Yoruba economic and social histories.**

**Keywords:** Pawnship, adaptability, Osun division, colonial economy, monetisation.

## **INTRODUCTION**

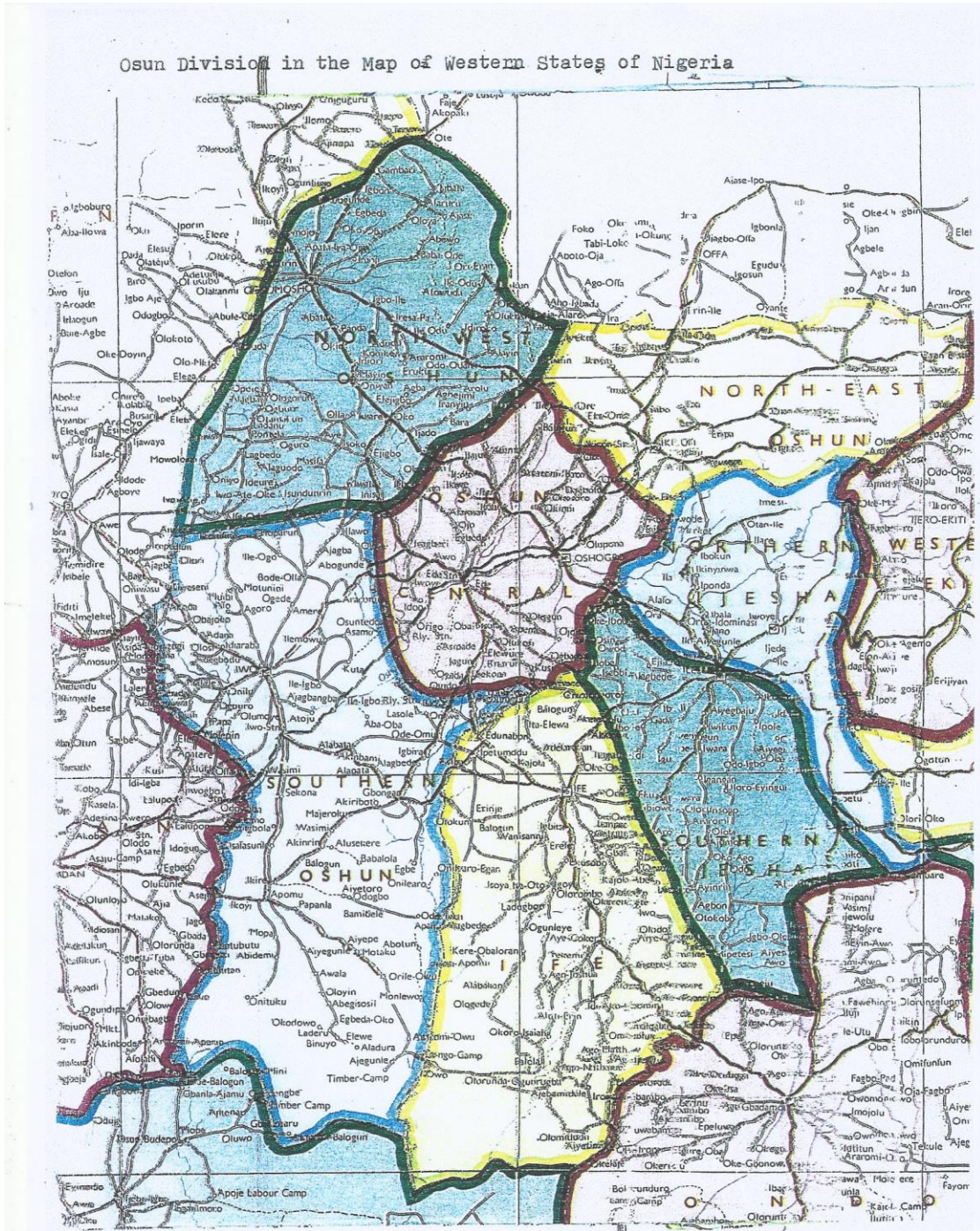
Osun division of the defunct Western region of Nigeria could be described as the area occupied by the old Osun administrative division. It laid between latitude 7° and 8°21' North and longitude 4° and 5° east. The area was formerly known as the Northern District of Ibadan Division before its actual creation in 1951 after HLM Butler' commission had reported in favour of its independence. It was bounded on the South by river Sasa at Ode-Omu, on the North by the Igbomina of Ila, Ora, and Oke-Ila. It was demarcated on the North-West by Ejigbo and on the North-East by Okuku. River Oba in Iwo demarcated it from the old Oyo division in the West, while it was bounded in the East by the Ijesa (Adegbola, 1972: 14). It

comprised Ayedaade, Ede, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Ifelodun, Ikirun, Odo-Otin, Osogbo, Iwo and Ogbomoso districts (Ajayi, 2014:2).

The date of actual independence notwithstanding, the area has long been recognised as a political entity. Various archival documents used in this work also lend credence to this, such that the date of independence only effected a change in nomenclature and rid the people of the dual overlordship of Oyo and Ibadan, a challenge they have been coping with since the beginning of the century. The advantageous location of Osun Division on an arable land (Figure 1) made it easy for the indigenous pattern of production to be steadily modified to pave

E-mail: [ajayia@aceondo.edu.ng](mailto:ajayia@aceondo.edu.ng).

Author(s) agree that this article remain permanently open access under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)



**Figure 1.** Map of Osun division of western states of Nigeria.  
 Source : map Deort office of the surveyor general, Oyo state Nigeria.

way for a predominantly export economy in agricultural products.

However, in the process of production, labour remained the most important factor. It is the most active factor of production without which other factors will remain unproductive. Various forms of labour that characterized

the indigenous economy of Osun division as in other parts of Yorubaland, survived till the colonial period except slave labour that was outlawed by the colonial authority in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Fadipe, 1970:189). This outlaw enhanced the importance and popularity of family labour, peonage labour and the two

cooperative work groups of *Owe* (the process of enlisting the assistance of the able bodied people in a community- usually the whole village and friends in the neighbouring villages in carrying out highly demanding tasks) and *Aaro* (a reciprocal labour arrangement among friendly neighbours- common among farmers) in the colonial Osun Division (Lawore, 2004:38). After all, clientage labour system of the war period had faded away in the closing years of the nineteenth century with the end of wars in Yorubaland.

Of all the above, peonage labour was unique, being a system that cut across the classes of the society. In other words, it connected the poor with the rich and benefited the two classes in a symbiotic relationship. Also, the outlawing of slave labour made pawnship more widespread, since slave owners whose production depended on slaves labour had to resort to the use of pawns instead of slaves who were fast gaining their freedom sequel to the colonial government's legislation against slavery (Atanda, 1979).

Thus, pawnship developed in response to monetisation and was stimulated by an unequal distribution of wealth. According to Oroge, pawnship was marginal before the nineteenth century, but expanded dramatically during the Yoruba civil wars (Oroge, 1985:75). Parents pawn their children to raise money to redeem kin who had been taken prisoners. They also offered their children to patrons in a clientelistic style, usually military leaders, who protected and provided for their pawns while training them (Jalloh, 2003:91).

This study makes a general analysis of pawnship in Yorubaland through the review of various earlier studies on pawnship in Yorubaland. This is in a view to providing a base for the local peculiarities that have not been given due attention, sequel to the characteristic over generalisation of the various earlier studies on pawnship in Yorubaland. However, the Divisional Government sanction and the people's reactions were peculiar analysis that makes the study unique.

## IWOFA SYSTEM IN YORUBALAND

*Iwofa*, otherwise known as pawnship or peonage System is a debt-slavery (Fadipe, 1970:189). The word got derived from the two Yoruba words, *iwofa* (the entering into) and *efa* (six), meaning a person's voluntary entry into 'a recurrent sixth day service' agreement (Adebayo, 1992:167). The fact that an *iwofa* is borrowed (*ya*), differentiates him from a slave (*eru*) that is bought (*ra*) (Adeayo, 1992:167). Pawnship involved a transaction between a have (creditor) and a have-not (debtor). In this transaction, whatever is pawned (in the case of a property) is pledged as a collateral security for a loan received while the lender on the other hand had to keep it until the loan was repaid with interest. In the case of a

human being, a pawn is a person who offered his service to the person who has lent money to him or his relatives.

In other words, a person could be pawned as a result of his personal indebtedness or that of his relatives. This is a situation where a person is being held as a collateral security against a loan offered by the moneylender. The latter however has the right to put the pawn into productive use for the period that the loan is yet to be paid. The use into which the pawn is being put here constitutes an interest on the loan since the service is utilized in lieu of interest (Ajayi, 2014:193). While examining Samuel Johnson's description of the role of *iwofa* as a person whose service goes for interest on a loan borrowed, and that the principal is paid back whenever payment could be made, after a few days, months or several years as the case may be, he simply defined it as a mechanism for paying interest on borrowed money (Adebayo, 1992:167).

A pawn was often a minor – son or daughter, nephew or niece, brother or sister, male or female cousin of the beneficiary of the loan and may not necessarily benefit from the loan (Klein and Robert, 1987:23). Out of the three pre-colonial credit systems (*ajo*, *esusu* and *iwofa*), *iwofa*, which was a costliest arrangement was the only mechanism for raising large sums which could be needed to pay off debts earlier contracted in order to meet some projected expenditures. Commonest in this regard were funeral expenses and payment of bride price. The burden of serving as a pawn usually fell on the younger members of the family (Ajayi, 2014:159). Cases of subjecting oneself to pawnship (as mentioned earlier) was not a common place, hence it happened in a situation where the borrower had no one to serve as pawn on his behalf. In this case, he entered into pawnship the very day he collected the loan (Rachael Ajayi, interview, 2016).

In the Yoruba week of four days, the *iwofa* (in the case of self-pawning) was expected to work for two days on his creditor's farm while he spent the remaining two days on his own farm. If the amount of the loan is high, he could be required to give three days to his master while he had only one day to himself (Akirun in Council, interview, 2015). Generally, the work demand was determined as a minimum of one hundred and sixty yam heaps to a day work to be carried out between 6, a.m. and 11, a.m. With this arrangement, an *iwofa* could work every day both on his own farm and that of the creditor because he lived with his family and his service was usually needed in the farm. In a situation where an unmarried pawned girl lived in the creditor's house, she could be made to assist the creditor's wife in household works. She could be utilized for petty trading and she might help on the farm. Married female *iwofa* did not live in the creditors' households, instead, they returned to their houses after each day's work. In some cases, they agreed to pay the creditors specific amount every week out of the proceeds of their own work in their bid to

negotiate for more levels of freedom (Olunisa in Council, interview, 2015).

In almost all the cases was a guarantor, an *onigbowo*, who is familiar with both parties, capable of speaking for the borrower and assuming the responsibility for the repayment if the borrower defaulted. The person whom the borrower has to find and on whose responsibility the lender would part with his money, has to be a friend or an acquaintance of the borrower who could be a man or a woman (Adebayo, 1992:165). He should be acceptable and trusted enough by the lender to accept whatever condition he suggested for the transaction. The importance of guarantor in pawnship system also laid in the fact that, he could be held responsible, if the *iwofa* failed to carry out his obligation. Guarantor's service has no reward initially, but hardship condition in which they found themselves after the contract had been formalised, earned them some monetary rewards. For example, a guarantor would collect *egbaa* (2000 cowries) from the lender the same day the borrower received his loan. This made them to be known as *elegbaa*. Their condition was captioned by the Yoruba adage below:

*Ara koni wofa bi elegbaa, eni a kowo fun lara n ni* (Olufi in Council, interview, 2015) (A pawn is not as troubled as the guarantor; the person we gave the money is the one being trouble).

A guarantor is in a more difficult position in the case of a child *iwofa*. For instance, if the child should for any reason, run away from the creditor, it was the duty of the guarantor to find him, console him and persuade him to return or provide an able substitute of the child, otherwise he would be held responsible for the repayment of the loan (Bello Ajani, interview, 2015). In some cases, the *onigbowo* was not familiar with the borrower, but was only doing the duty for a fee which was deducted up front from the principal received by the borrower (Adebayo, 1992:165). Most moneylenders were men, although the business was not close to women. Also, no conscious division existed among borrowers along gender lines (Adebayo, 1992:165).

Children *iwofa* served their masters until their parents or relatives redeemed their debt. Also, children *iwofa*, who were in the same category with unmarried girl *iwofa* were in more unfavourable conditions than adult *iwofa*. Usually the adult suffered only partial loss of freedom while the children *iwofa* had to live with the creditors (Adult *iwofa* gave only a previously agreed amount of service to his creditor every Yoruba week with the remaining time being his own). It was therefore their creditor's duty to feed them and they often ate with the creditor's children. However, they depended on their parents or relatives for clothing (Klein and Robert, 1987:24).

It was generally believed that pawned children usually have excellent training, because of the belief that wisdom

could better be acquired through hardship and suffering. This belief also made the well-to-do people to pawn their children. Thus some rich men placed their children under discipline which they thought such children needed but could not get under their direct control. Both the unmarried female and child *iwofa* were liable to ill-treatments such as underfeeding or physical assault. However, they were not left altogether without redress. Apart from the interference of the neighbour, a child who could not put up with the continued ill-treatment of the creditor could ask to have the 'debt on his head' transferred to some other master. The loan could also be repaid at a short notice. The older the child, the greater the chance of rebelling, in this way, if the parents or relatives refused to heed his complaints, the child could always refuse to go on serving, in which case someone else would have to be substituted for him (Bello Ajani, interview:2015).

The practice was not without some customary safeguards against the abuse of women and girls by the creditors. A creditor who committed a sexual assault upon a girl forfeited the debt on the 'girl's head'. If the abuse resulted into a child, it belonged to the girl's parents. Should such a creditor still desire to marry the girl, he would have to pay the bride price in addition to the forfeiture of the debt for which the girl was serving. A creditor who committed a sexual assault upon a girl *iwofa* who had been formally betrothed not only forfeited his money, but had to pay damages on the customary scale to the fiancé of the girl. In addition, he would be fined by the family or town authority (Klein and Robert, 1987:24).

"To be forgotten in the creditor's farm" was a term used to describe abandonment, which was often the cause of boys and girls running away. A boy or a girl who was in pawn as a result of the funeral custom of his father might be forgotten by his brothers and sisters whose job it was to repay the loan. A man may pawn his younger brother in order to pay the bride price of his wife and forget his obligation to redeem the child. Lastly girls often got neglected in peonage. Such a girl often waited until a young man came along and paid the amount owed in lieu of bride price and other incidental payments that have to be made before marriage. Girls who were already betrothed were also often pawned by their impecunious fathers, their fiancé were always called upon to redeem them in discharge of all obligations in respect of their bride price (Fadipe, 1970:189). All these instances conform with Paul Marty's observation that uncles and heads of families who were quick to pawn their nieces and nephews were usually not the ones to redeem them.

*Iwofa* system has certain advantages over slave-holding as a form of investment. Unlike a slave, *iwofa* was self-supporting. He fed, clothed and housed himself. In term of investment potential, the death of an *iwofa* did not release his next of kin from the obligation to repay the loan for which he (*iwofa*) pawned himself. This was not

the case in slave-holding. However, unlike an iwofa, the child of a slave became his master's property (Bello Ajani, interview, 2015).

From the foregoing, it becomes glaring that all classes of people were involved in peonage system, although at different levels. While the rich were lenders, the poor were borrowers. This is because, as observed by Howard on the coastal northwest Sierra Leone, pawnship resulted from poverty and misfortune, and the well to do had to come to the aid of the poor (Wilks, 1998:204). M.A. Howard's description of pawnship conforms to Klein and Roberts' opinion, that "pawnship was an institution that transferred labour from the poor to the rich as effectively as sales did" (Wilks, 1998:204). However as opposed to their observation, such as condition of upsurge in pawnship in the 1930s in French West Africa that they studied, colonial government legislation against it in Yorubaland made it to witness decline during the period in their reference (Ajayi, 2014:158).

However, mediating in the system were, the debtor who was the chief beneficiaries of the loans and who made their dependents worked for their creditors as a form of interest on the loans taken, the guarantor whose work was to formalize the peonage contract, neighbours who watched the operation of the contract and made reports of any anomaly available to the parties concerned and the constituted authorities like family heads and village or town heads as the case may be for necessary redress if need be (Ajayi, 2014:159). All these saw to the effective control and workability of pawnship system in Osun Division as in other parts of Africa. For instance, this form of control that made pawnship a social norm had been observed by Giblings in the Handani districts of the northeastern Tanzania and Austin among the Akan people of the Gold Coast (Wilks, 1998: 204). Thus, pawnship regulated relationship between groups and facilitated the accumulation of power as it reflected an increase importance of control over people and a progressive erosion of lineage based forms of subsistence security through increase marketing activities (Klein and Robert, 1987:24).

## **THE PAWNSHIP SYSTEM IN THE COLONIAL OSUN DIVISION**

Peonage system operated in Osun Division as a form of indigenous banking system, and it thrived in the colonial period for three reasons: formal banking facility was totally non-existent in the remote parts of Osun Division. In the urban centre where it existed, it was late in coming and when it came, it was grossly inadequate. For instance, it was in 1924 that the division's first experience in banking, a branch of the Bank of British West Africa came to Osogbo. Thirdly, the level of indigenous commercial enterprise in the division at this period did not require modern banking (Atanda, 1979:49). Pawnship

was therefore an informal credit system provided outside the formal financial institutions such as western banks (Jalloh, 2003:91).

The branch of the BBWA in Osun Division was only concerned with assisting the European trading firms and the government in discouraging the use of cowries. It refused to have anything to do with the money and it further assisted in imposing the British currency (Osun Div, 1/2 OS. 64) (Falola, 1989:77). Osogbo branch of the BBWA provided banking services for the expatriate trading enterprises and the British colonial administrations. Indigenous traders experienced great difficulties in obtaining financial assistance, due to lack of confidence by the bank in their credit worthiness (Atanda, 1979:49). Hence, they were denied banking facilities such as loans and overdrafts on the ground that, they could not provide the needed collateral. It was reasoned that, since they could not provide security, the possibility of repayment was slim.

These conditions abound even in spite of the fact that, African businessmen gave the bank a backing through their deposits. For instance, it was estimated that, the saving of Africans constituted over 95% of the bank's total deposits pool in its early years. In addition, after its first ten months of operation, the balance sheet showed deposits of £87,665 and almost the whole of the sum was deposited by Africans (Fry, 1976:67). This condition made informal credit existed alongside the formal credit in colonial Osun Division as it did in other parts of Yorubaland. A similar observation was made by Allusine Jalloh in Sierra Leone where indigenous entrepreneurship was made to depend on informal credit system in like manner as it happened in Yorubaland (Jalloh, 2003:92). This was a condition that represents a formidable obstacle to the development of indigenous entrepreneurship in most African societies (Jalloh, 2003:93).

It should be pointed out here that, banking services were not totally absent in Osun Division before the advent of the Europeans. These were being rendered by individuals and groups who were money lenders whose interest rates were usurious in their different villages (Adesina, 1994:119). Chief Ogunniyi of Okua in Odo-Otin District was a professional lender who had many pawns at his disposal. However, he used these pawns for agricultural purpose through which he had more money to lend out as a means of acquiring more pawns. Mr. Idowu (popularly known as *Pakoyi onisowo*- professional trader) was another well-known lender who utilized peonage system for agricultural production in Okuku, several other examples abound in the division in the period under study as will be mentioned in the latter part of this work.

However, colonial government outlaw of slavery made the people of Osun Division to be left with no alternative than peonage system. Thus, contrary to the claim of

Toyin Falola that money lending (sogundogoji), a hybrid of *Iwofa* and colonial credit systems, replaced *iwofa* credit system, *iwofa* debt-labour system became more widespread in Osun Division. Although, *sogundogoji* also existed in Osun Division, it did not replace *iwofa* system as it did in Lagos and Remo areas where money lending became the last resort for those who were in need of large sum for project. Rather, peonage system continued unabated in Osun Division until the eve of the third decade of the twentieth century when colonial government began to sanction against it (Osun Div, 1/1, 192:16). Cases of pawnship of one person by another pervaded the division in the period under concern and records of some of these cases would be a part of the discussions here after.

### THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT'S SANCTION AND THE PEOPLE'S REACTIONS

When the notice of sanction against peonage system was sent to the crown heads in the division in 1927, many of them were not happy about it. However, colonial government was asked to make provisions for an alternative before the system could be abolished. *Oba* Kusamotu Oyewole II, the Akirun of Ikirun, wrote a letter to the District Officer in Osogbo in 1933 to express his dissatisfaction with the government's sanction against the pawnship system which the people considered indispensable. According to the king, abolishing the system was equivalent to mortgaging cocoa and palm trees, which were recoverable after the redemption of a debt. There was therefore, the fear that things will get worse, since lenders will not be willing to give out money without a pawn (Osun Div 1/1, 192:2).

The notice specifically stated that, no boy or girl under the age of 16 years should be pawned after 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1927. And with effect from 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1927, the labour of a pawn (*Iwofa*) should be paid for at a fixed rate of 100 heaps per day. Also, the value of their labour shall be calculated towards the extinction both of the debt and the interest thereon. In addition, all debts were revocable in the native courts or personal courts and the rate of pay will be as follows: In Oyo Division, 2d per 100 heaps; In Ibadan Division, 3d per 100 heaps; In Ife Division 3d per 100 heaps (Osun Div 1/1, 192:16).

Rather than stopping the system, subsequent judicial intervention in various pawnship cases only provided ways of escape for some pawns and cases of pawnship became more rampant in the division. This is because there was no other alternative for people to exploit especially when the need of large sum of money arose. For instance, it took the interventions of the District Officer in Osogbo and the *Olokuku* of Okuku for chief Eshuja of Oyan to release his pawn, Shittu who had worked for five years upon a loan of £12-10-0 (Osun Div 1/1, 192: 10). Mr. Ogunleye of Ogbagba near Iwo

pawned six small boys, who were sons of Ibiloye, an aspirant to the *Timi* stool for a loan of £36. It took the help of Sijuade of the district office in Osogbo before the boys could be freed (Osun Div 1/1, 192:337).

Salawu, a boy of 15 years was pawned by his father to one Adegunle in Ibadan for eight years, Awobimpe, a small girl of eight years was pawned to Abeni Ojo in Masifa village near Ejigbo for £3 borrowed to treat her grandmother with whom she had lived for some years before the woman became ill (Osun Div 1/1, 192:369). Oyetayo of Ojuabere's compound in Masifa area of Ogbomoso also pawned Oke, the eldest brother of Ezekiel Adeniran for £15 taken by their father Abolarin. Oke absconded after serving for twenty years. Adeniran his brother was taken as a replacement for another fifteen years, but he also absconded and petitioned the District Officer in Osogbo after which he was released (Osun Div 1/1, 192:376).

Chief Bello Ajani of Elemoso compound Okuku also narrated his ordeal about this practice. His father took a loan of £13 from Idowu, the *Pakoyi Onisowo* of Okuku to marry his second wife. However, he was forgotten and left to fend for himself as his father left for Gold Coast with the new wife. Bello had to engage in basket making and contracted jobs as a hired labour during his free time before he could repay the debt after five years. Idowu refused to collect the money because it came after Ajani had just finished yam planting and his master wanted him to hoe the farm till harvesting. It took intervention of the wife of the then Olokuku before the lender could collect the money (Bello Ajani, interview: 2015). This was a typical case of "being forgotten in the creditor's farm" as his father who benefited from the money never concerned himself with whatever happened to him after his departure to Gold Coast with the new wife.

Several other people who were at one time or another pawns also narrated their experiences. These included the two chief Sobaloju of Iragbiji, chiefs Alimi Alolade and Igbayilola Sobaloju among other endless cases that the limited space of this study would not be enough to take care of (Alimi Alolade, interview:2015). The fact that all these took place between 1920s and 1950s during which economic depression last, corroborated the claim of Klein and Robert that, pawnship was an important way for people in poor areas to cope with economic distress. Thus, it was an institution that could be shaped to meet the needs of different situations (Klein and Robert, 1987:25). E.A. Oroge's, description of pawnship as a system that thrived largely in calamity further lend credence to its popularity in the depression year (Oroge, 1985:25).

### CONCLUSION

Although pawnship system was regarded as an indispensable credit system in the pre-colonial and



colonial era, nevertheless it constituted a source of labour that was much exploited by the people to whom it became the last resort, sequel to the outlaw of slave labour at the beginning of the twentieth century. Cases cited here generally indicated frivolities in people's involvement in pawnship system. Also, the restriction of this study to a part of the Yorubaland has revealed some of the uneconomic reasons that have not been mentioned in the existing studies on pawnship system. For instance, while funeral was a common reason, chieftaincy, as in the case of Mr. Ogunleye mentioned above, was a rarely mentioned in the existing literature. The study also revealed that, other minors of a debtor could also be provided as a replacement in case a pawn ran away. Under normal circumstances, a pawn is a person who accepted to go into a form of compulsory labour service as a way of helping his or her superior to solve an urgent problem. Other conditions as taking up a wife, chieftaincy and many others in this category are abnormal, since they are frivolous and involved some form of cruelties.

Professional lenders as some wealthy men became known considered it as a form of profitable investment through which their money easily became multiplied. However, with reference to the various instances cited in the study, peonage system no doubt played a prominent role in the production system of Osun Division in the colonial period. Colonial government sanction against peonage system was not unconnected with certain similarities it shared with slave labour. In the final analysis, it ended with colonial era while the two other credit systems (*Ajo* and *Esusu*) continued to thrive till date.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

## REFERENCES

- Adebayo AG (1992). Pre-Colonial Institutional Frameworks for Moneylending and Loan Repayment among the Yoruba," *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, Bd. P 38.
- Adegbola O (1972). The Impact of Migration on the Rural Economy of Oshun Division of Western Nigeria, Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, University of Ibadan.
- Adesina OC (1994). Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970, Ph. D Thesis in the Department of History, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.
- Ajayi A (2014). Change and Adaptation in the Commercial Sector of Osun Division, South-Western Nigeria, 1900-1960. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Ibadan.
- Akirun in Council interviews (2015). Oral interviews with, Akirun's palace Ikirun, 26/10/2015.
- Alimi Alolade and Oral Interview with Chief. Igbayilola Sobalaju in Iragbiji, 26/10/2015.
- Atanda JA (1979). *The New Oyo Empire*. London: Longman Group, Ltd.
- Fadipe NA (1970). *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Falola T (1989). *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945*./ Lagos: Modelor Design Aids Limited.
- Fry R (1976). *Bankers in West Africa: The Story of the Bank of British West Africa*. London: Hutchinton Benham Ltd.
- Jalloh A (2003), *Informal Credit and Politics in Sierra Leone*. African Economic History, No. 31.
- Klein MA, Robert R (1987). The Resurgence of Pawning in French West Africa During the Depression of the (1930s). African Economic History P 16.
- Lawore O (2004). *Cultural Ethos of the Yoruba*. Ibadan: University Press PLC.
- Odo-Otin Chief. Bello Ajani Interview (2015). Oral Interview, Okuku in District, 06/10/2015.
- Olufi in Council interviews (2015). Oral interviews with, Olufi's palace Gbongan 26/10/2015.
- Olunisa in Council interviews (2015). Oral interviews with, Olunisa's palace Inisa, 28/10/2015.
- Oral Interview with Mrs. Rachel Ajayi, Okua in Odo-Otin District, 02/01/2016.
- Oroge A (1985). Iwofa: An historical survey of the institution of indenture. African Economic History P 14.
- Osogbo NAI. Osun Div 1/1 192 Pawnship System. Osun State Government, Osun State: State of the Living Spring, 1 year, Osogbo, Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Osun Div. 1/2 OS. 64 Nickel Coinage and Currency General. Osun Division Annual Report, 1956.
- Wilks I (1998). Pawnship in Africa in Historical Perspective, in Falola, T. and P.E. Lovejoy (Eds), a book review. African Economic History P 26.

*Full Length Research Paper*

# Critical analysis of archaeological research trends in Uganda: 1920-2018

Charles Kinyera Okeny<sup>1\*</sup>, Elizabeth Kyazike<sup>2</sup> and Gilbert Gumoshabe<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of History, Archaeology and Heritage Studies, Makerere University, Kampala, P. O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda.

<sup>2</sup>Department of History and Political Science, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Kyambogo University, Uganda.

<sup>3</sup>Department of African Languages, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Makerere University, Uganda.

Received 21, November, 2019; Accepted 18, February, 2020

Much as the first collections of stone tools in East Africa were made by geologist J.W. Gregory, beginning in 1893, E.J. Wayland's joined the government service in Uganda in 1919 to set East African Archaeology on the course that it was to follow for the next 40 years or more. However, over 90 years from its inception, a larger percentage of archaeological research in Uganda seems regionally imbalanced, dominated by foreign researchers and periodically generalized. In order to understand these anomalies, this study undertook a critical literature review of archaeological research data from 1920 to 2018. The main objectives were to; document the regional distribution of archaeological research in Uganda; analyze the interplay between local and foreign researchers, and examine the period of archaeological research, that is Stone Age or Iron Age. Results show that, there is a wide gap in regional distribution of archaeological research in Uganda, dominated by foreign researchers with a focus on Iron Age period. The study concludes that, the limited research interest in other parts of Uganda is not because of lack of archaeology but a long set ideology of foreign researchers to dominate local research space. This calls for active involvement of local researchers in archaeological research, in order to neutralise the long set colonial research ideology and take charge of archaeological research directions. This will aid in narrowing the regional research gaps as well as presenting the true picture of Uganda's past.

**Key words:** Archaeology, archaeological potential, stone age, iron age, ideology.

## INTRODUCTION

In this paper, a critical documentary review of archaeological research trends in Uganda by examining a selected number of archaeological literature was done. This was supplemented by visits to key archaeological sites in Uganda. The main reason was to document the

regional distributions of archaeological research in Uganda; understand the interplay between the foreign and local researchers and the archaeological periods being covered. This is to understand the driving force behind the archaeological research agenda in Uganda,

\*Corresponding author. E-mail: [okenycharleskin@yahoo.com](mailto:okenycharleskin@yahoo.com).

since its inception in the 1920s. The paper argues that far from the preconceived wisdom that other regions of Uganda, other than the southwestern, western and central parts of Uganda have no deep time archaeology, it is the lack of archaeological research in the areas.

The lack of research in these areas is a result of colonial set ideology to dominate the local research space or in straight words, to continue colonising African archaeological research space. This has always been through partitioning research fields into regions by focusing on a particular region and viewing the other regions as of less archeological potential. A case in point is Bigo by Mugenyi and Ntusi (Lanning, 1953 to 1970; Reid 1994 to date), which still enjoy high research attention to date. Hence other regions have probably been shelved for future archaeological research projects.

Secondly, the trend also shows that despite several years of involvement of local archaeologists in archaeological research projects in Uganda, their participation is limited to physical manual work and not core scientific decision making. Finally, despite the diverse archaeological potential of Uganda from the Early Stone Age (ESA) all through to Late Iron Age (LIA), a major focus has been on the Iron Age period, backed by the legendary Bachwezi myth. The paper, therefore, appeals for decolonisation of archaeological research from the current foreign-dominated trend to a stage where local researchers could direct archaeological projects or work as mutual collaborators with their foreign counterparts. This will help in diversifying the geographical and period coverage. It is only through this that a true picture of Uganda's past could be revealed. This thinking is in line with Late Prof. David Kiyaga Mulindwa, who wished to see Uganda take its place with other African countries in archaeological research (Pwiti and Bukenya, 2007).

## Background of the Study

The first collections of stone tools in East Africa were made by geologist J.W. Gregory, beginning in 1893 (Gregory, 1896: 322-5). His collections and those of several others, notably C.W. Hobley (Dewey and Hobley, 1925), were vaguely classed as 'Neolithic (Leakey, 1931:3). In Tanzania a German, Hans Reck excavated a fossil human skeleton at Olduvai in 1913 but without observing any stone artefacts, since he had expected that these would be made of flint (Reck, 1914; Robertshaw, 1990). Reck also investigated several burial mounds in the Ngorongoro Crater and visited the Iron Age sites at Engaruka (Reck, 1926; Robertshaw, 1990).

However, it was E.J. Wayland's arrival to join the government service in Uganda in 1919 that was to set East African Archaeology on the course that it was to follow for the next 40 years or more (Robertshaw, 1990).

However, right from its inception in the 1920s, most archaeological research has been concentrated in the southwestern, western and central parts of the country (Reid, 1994; Lanning, 1953; Shinnie, 1960; Reid, 1994; Robertshaw, 1994), predominantly, taken by foreign researchers trying to understand the legendary Bachwezi myth through material culture.

Several literature on archaeological research in Uganda such as Bishop and Posnansky (1960); Shinnie (1960); Lanning (1953-1970); Marshall (1954); Morris (1956); Pearce and Posnansky (1963); Posnansky (1963); Posnansky and Cole (1963); Soper (1971); Sutton (1985-1998); Robertshaw (1994-2010) and, Reid (1994-2016), indicate that research has been going on since the early 1920s. The foundation of this research was set by the staff of the Uganda Geological Survey Department, led by E.J. Wayland. This was vigorous right from the early colonial period to the late 1960s (Kiyaga-Mulindwa, 2004), and in the process, many archaeological materials recovered and site located during these surveys. Also, various colonial officers from their duty areas recovered several chance finds (Kiyaga-Mulindwa, 2004). All these have immensely contributed to the artifact records of Uganda. Much as these were amateur archaeologists, their work ignited interest in several archaeologists up to date.

Geographically, whereas these early investigations focused on archaeology, their surveys tended to concentrate on the grassland areas of western Uganda (Lanning 1953-1970; Reid 1996b). or the arid areas of northeastern Uganda, such as Karamoja (Wayland and Burkitt, 1932; Posnansky and Cole, 1963). Furthermore, most of the work in the western Uganda grasslands also tended to focus on tracing the origins of the centralized polities of the legendary Bachwezi and/or to provide historical depth to these and sister kingdoms in the Great Lakes region (Kiyaga-Mulindwa, 2004; Reid, 1994; Sutton, 1985; Robertshaw, 1994). To be precise, most of them focused on the Iron Age period as guided by the interest in understanding the Bachwezi myth.

After the description of the main features of Uganda's past and its Stone Age sequence by E.J. Wayland in the 1920s and 1930s, European archaeologists (Lanning, 1953; Shinnie, 1960; Posnansky, 1961; Sutton, 1985; Reid, 1994; Robertshaw, 1994, etc.) started researching in Uganda. The idea imparted in them was that the southwestern, western and central part of Uganda had deep time archaeological deposits supported by the legendary Chwezi's presupposed ancient occupation of western Uganda. Furthermore, the belief that there existed an ancient city at Bigo bya-Mugenyi (Ejiet 1993) escalated archaeological interest in the region. This drew the attention of most archaeologists from the rest of Uganda, except the northeastern part, specifically Karamoja, where stone tools were earlier found exposed on the surface (Wayland and Burkitt, 1932). Besides, the

recognition of Urewe pottery tradition, other Early Iron Age (EIA) pottery, and their apparent association with riverside and the lacustrine environment in the central and western part of Uganda, also provided additional field for pioneering archaeologists to justify their activities in the regions.

This idea saw several archaeologists, among others; O'Brien (1963) and Lowe (1952) conduct studies in Nsongezi and other parts of Uganda with the major interest of outlining the Neolithic sequence. E.C. Lanning, whose early work ignited most archaeological research in western Uganda from 1953-1970, explored extensively the cultural landscapes of western Uganda (Lanning, 1970). Similarly, Posnansky and Bishop (1960), reported on the areas in Uganda from which stone tools or fossil remains were recovered in stratified deposits. Their interest was to reconstruct as far as possible, the conditions under which early man lived. They dealt with geological and fossil evidence of the former environment at each locality and tried to show how conditions may have differed from those of the present day.

Besides, they also showed how man's tools developed over time and how his mode of life changed to meet the challenge of his environment until eventually, he was able to modify the conditions themselves as he became more skilled. Posnansky and Bishop (1960) admitted that their observations in Uganda were however incomplete focusing on areas with more robust evidence and the archaeological data, not in question. Thus, the links between different regions remained only tentative and with many gaps in the time sequence.

However, this intellectual call never attracted attention from the earlier archaeologists of Uganda. Over 40 years after, several archaeologists (Reid, 1994; Robertshaw, 1990; Soper, 1971; Basell, 2010; Schmidt, 2016) continue to focus on the sites identified by pioneering archaeologists. It is not very clear what the pull factor to these same localities is, but the need to solve the so far unsolvable Bachwezi myth is one key factor that undeniably played a great role.

From the above background, this current research was conducted between 2018 and 2019 with the main objective of critically analysing the trends in archaeological research in Uganda from its inception in the 1920s to 2018. Specifically, it was intended to; i) map the regional distribution of archaeological research in Uganda; ii) examining the interplay between the local and foreign researchers and; iii) examining the relationship between Stone Age and Iron Age research. Fieldwork consisted of two main activities, namely; i) documentary reviews of archaeological records, which entailed examining ancient records such as written source materials in the form of chronicles, descriptive accounts, primary source materials from private and official archives; cartographic documents like old maps, library and archaeological store of Uganda National Museum

and; ii) Visit to major archaeological sites.

### Uganda's Physical Information

Uganda, officially the Republic of Uganda is a landlocked country in East-Central Africa. It is bordered to the east by Kenya, to the north by South Sudan, to the West by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to the south-west by Rwanda, and the south by Tanzania. The southern part of the country includes a substantial portion of Lake Victoria, shared with Kenya and Tanzania. Uganda is in the African Great Lakes region and lies within the Nile basin, with varied but generally a modified equatorial climate. Administratively, it is currently divided into four regions; namely, central, northern, eastern and western (UBOS, 2014:1)

However, archaeologists researching in Uganda from the 1920s up to 2018 have frequently divided research areas using regional terms such as Northern; Central-north; North-eastern; southern; southwestern; western; eastern; Victoria Nyanza; Great Lakes Africa; central; south-western and central; central and western; Eastern and north-western and; central, western and Eastern. On the contrary, this study used administrative divisions of central, northern, eastern, western and southwestern Uganda. This is to help understand fully the geographical distribution of archaeological research in the country (Figure 1).

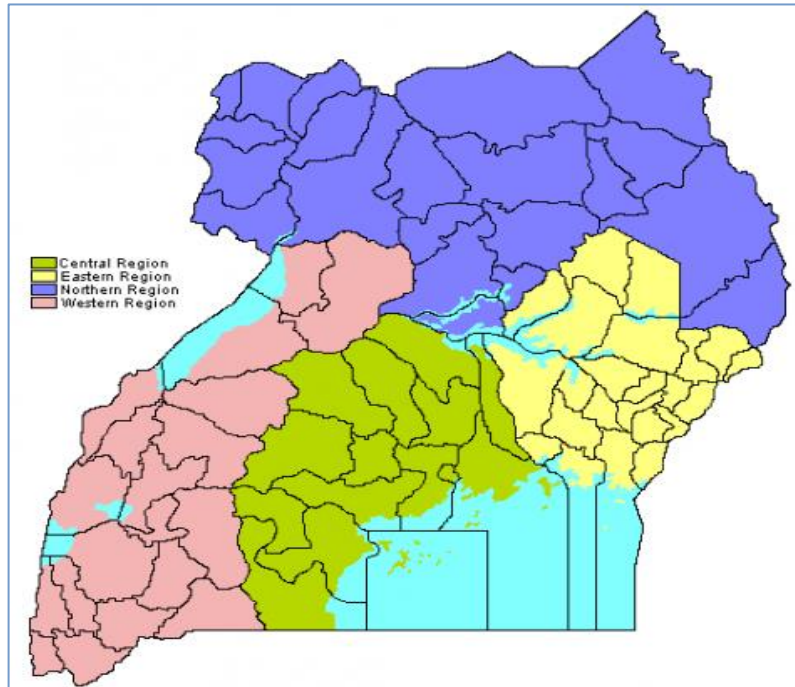
### MATERIALS AND METHODS

Data for this study were collected by searching the extant literature. This was by compiling an exhaustive list of archaeological research conducted in Uganda by local and foreign archaeological researchers from the 1920s to 2018. The exhaustive list was gathered from all published and unpublished archaeological reports, field notes, and reference sources stored in the Uganda Museum library, Makerere University Library, Uganda society and British Institute in Eastern Africa library. Journals such as the Uganda Journal of Uganda Society, housed in the Uganda Museum and Azania of the British Institute in Eastern Africa were the main source of information for this research.

This is because they were the early engine where archaeological research in Uganda was published. Besides, an internet search for archaeological research in Uganda was also conducted. After ensuring that all relevant studies, published and unpublished, were included in the review, selection criteria based on year of research, region, technological period and researchers were used to categorise the research. Conclusions were therefore based on this all-inclusive knowledge base.

Under the criterion of Year of research, any research that was conducted in Uganda between 1920 and 2018 was included in the list of the literature for this research. Those that were published before 1920 and after 2018 were not included. This is because there was no substantive archaeological research in Uganda before the 1920s and those after 2018 saw a drastic change in ideology and involvement of local researchers.

In terms of Region (Figure 1), 5 categories were considered, that is northern, southwestern, western, eastern and central. These



**Figure 1.** Regional Map of Uganda (Source: National Web Portal (gov.ug)).

categories correspond with the subdivisions frequently used by archaeologists. Much as sometimes the regions are generally categorised as south of the Nile to mean southern Uganda and North of the Nile to mean northern Uganda (Kiyaga-Mulindwa 2004), most archaeologists frequently use(d) the 5 region categories. In this research, therefore, all literature that falls within the above 5 categories were considered.

In the Technological Period, archaeological research in Uganda started with a major focus on the Stone Age and Iron Age. Pioneering archaeological researchers intended to divide the archaeological potential of the regions based on these two categories. For this research, the conventional category was used to have inclusive literature.

Finally, the criteria for selection of researchers was based on two divisions; local and foreign researchers. Local researchers include strictly Ugandans, and foreign researchers include any other researcher from outside Uganda. To come up with clear literature, an exhaustive list of all researchers in Uganda from the 1920s to 2018 was compiled. The selection of literature to be included in this research was based on this exhaustive list. Where collaborative research was conducted, the origin of the Principal Researcher (PI) was considered. For example, where local researchers and foreign researchers collaborated, and the PI was a local researcher, the research was considered local.

After creating an inclusive list based on the above criteria, data was extracted. This involved gathering applicable information from each primary study included in the sample and deciding what is relevant to this research. The extracted data was collated, summarized, and compared with the evidence extracted from the included studies. In the end, 113 studies were selected for the final list of data for this study.

Besides, random visits to known archaeological sites such as Bigo by-Mugenyi, Ntusi, Munsa, Sango Bay, Kibiro, Nsongezi, Nyero rock art site, Dolwe Island, Kinanisi, Luzira, Busi Island, Kigezi iron working areas, Fort Patiko in Gulu, Agoro precolonial

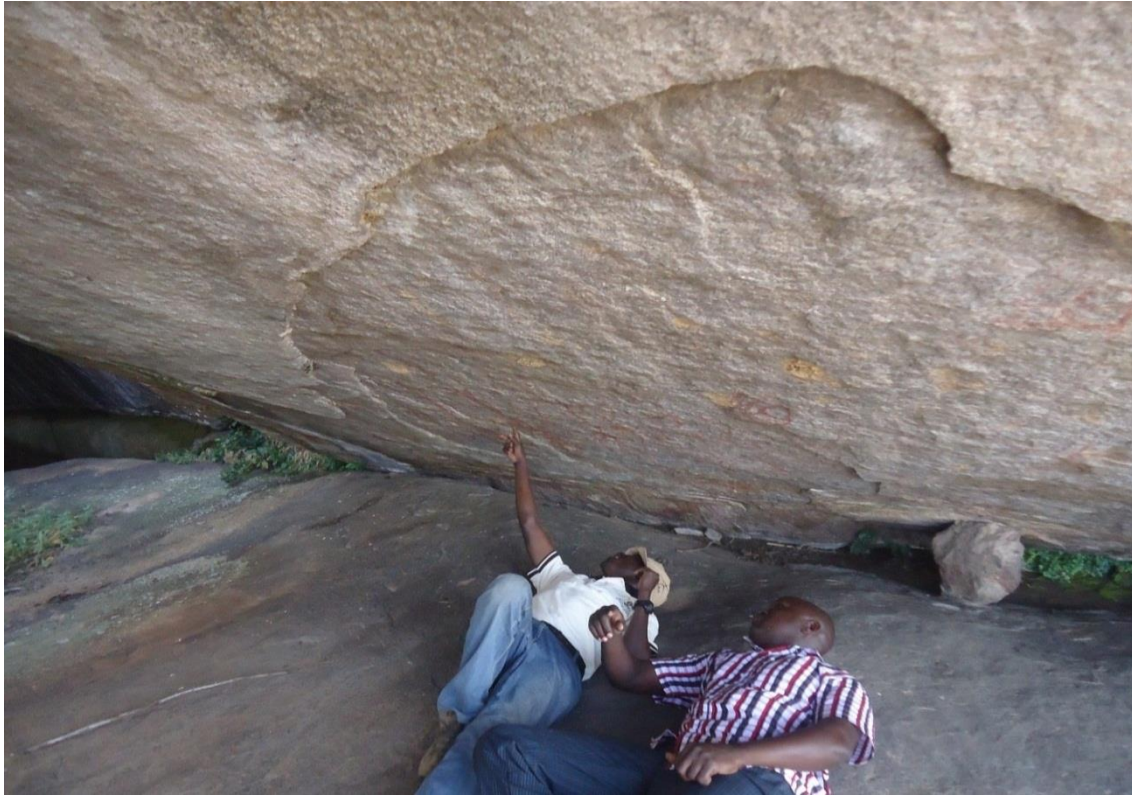
sites, Palabek precolonial sites in northern Uganda among others was undertaken to generate GPS coordinates for the location map of this research. Panoramic digital camera photos of some of the areas were also taken (Plate 1 and Figure 2).

## RESULTS

The result of this study is based on the 113 final lists of literature reviewed. The literature was also supplemented by random site visits to some known archaeological sites. The main objective was to examine trends in archaeological research from its inception in the 1920s to 2018. The result of the study is as summarised in Tables 1 and 2.

### Analysis of regional distribution of archaeological research in Uganda 1920s to 2017

The current study examined 113 archaeological studies in Uganda between 1920 and 2018 (Table 1 and Figures 1 and 3). The results indicate that indeed archaeological research has been going on since the 1920s. The first substantial publication of results came out in 1932, with the research of E. J. Wayland and M. C. Burkitt of Early Stone Age site of Magosi in northeastern Uganda. However, the regional distribution continued to be disproportional, with some regions heavily researched, while others remain archaeologically terra incognita.



**Plate 1.** One of the authors and a Local Resident examining Rock Art in Dolwe Island.

In the Table 2, the data shows that out of the 113 archaeological studies examined, northern Uganda has so far received 09 archaeological research, constituting 8.0%; southwestern received 13 constituting 11.5%; western 49, constituting 43.4%; eastern 11 constituting 9.7%, and central 31 constituting 26%. This clearly shows great imbalances in the regional conduct of archaeological research.

#### **Analysis of archaeological research periods from the 1920s to 2017**

This study divided archaeological research into two main periods, namely; Stone Age (SA) and Iron Age (IA). The data on these two periods indicate that out of 113 research examined, only 8 (8.0%) were on SA and 105 (92.0%) were on IA. Much as this is so, the early works on SA sites set the foundation for archaeological research in IA (Table 2 and Figure 4).

#### **Analysis of Interface between Foreign and Local Researchers**

Data from the 113 studies examined by this study

indicate that right from the inception of archaeological research in the 1920s, it was solely conducted by foreign researchers. This notwithstanding the unrecognised contributions of local participants who greatly facilitated the success of all these work, the trend continued for about seven decades before any significant contribution of a local researcher was acknowledged. This does not mean that for all these periods, no local researchers were participating, rather their contributions were deemed insignificant to cause any impact to the reigning research paradigms of the time. It is only in the early 2000s that the impact of local archaeologists begun to be felt. Much as this is a great step towards decolonisation of archaeological research in Uganda, the contributions continue to remain a drop in the Ocean (Figure 4).

#### **DISCUSSION**

The history of East African archaeology is one of changing research priorities within a complex web of development (Robertshaw, 1994). For the case of Uganda, the first period of archaeological research is defined by two main episodes; first, it was started by “amateur” archaeologists, led by E.J. Wayland, the then director of Uganda Geological Survey Department. He

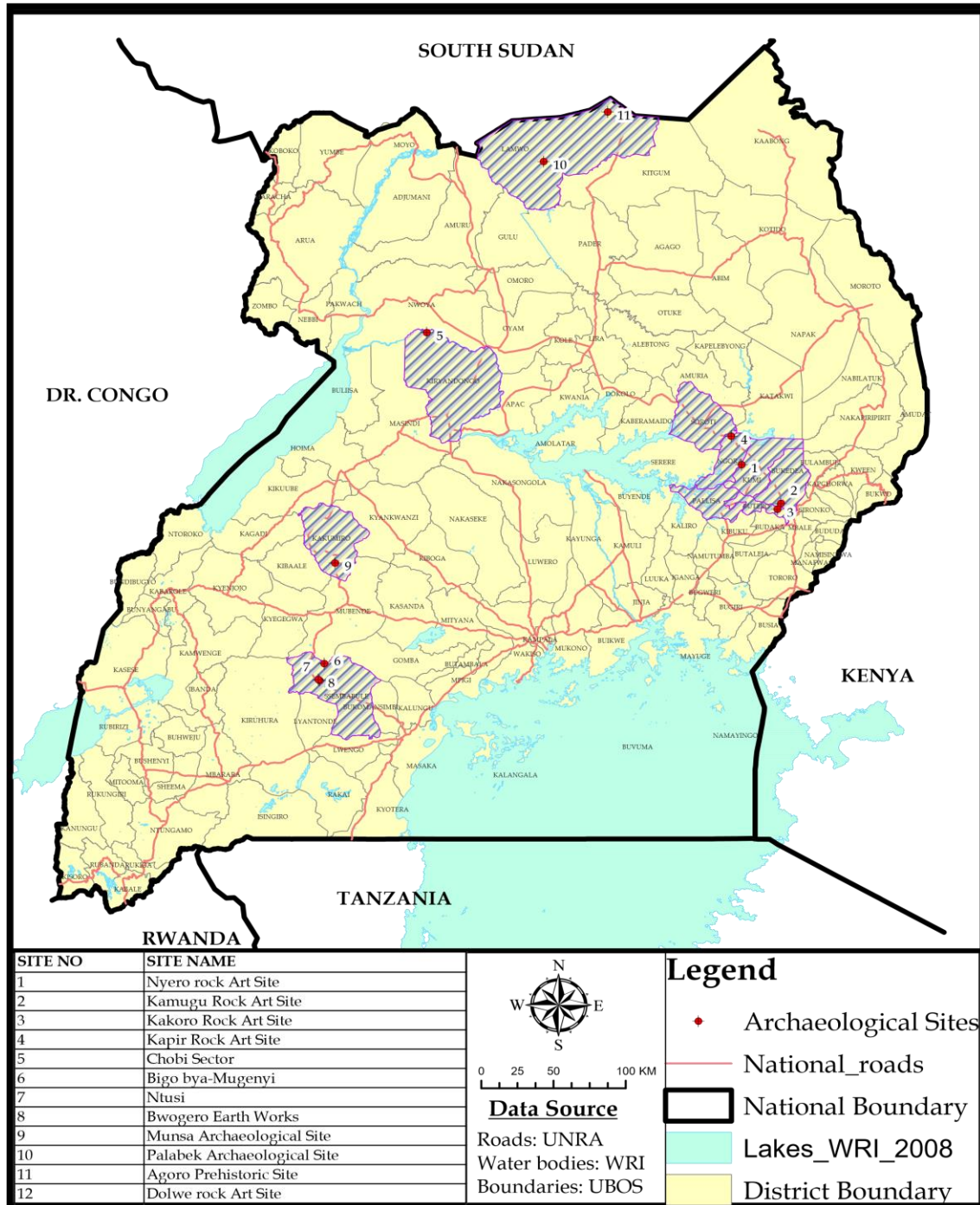


Figure 2. Regional Distribution of selected Archaeological Research Sites: Site 10 is currently under study by the Phd Student (Charles Okeny).

was a geologist but became archaeologist by avocation and his main interest was in establishing pluvial/ climatological sequences than the reconstruction and analysis of cultural developments in Uganda (Posnansky 1967; Kiyaga-Mulindwa, 2004; Robertshaw, 1994). E.J. Wayland used his ingenuity to identify sites of

archaeological importance in the process of his work. The second episode is that Uganda was the first East African country (original east African countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda) to receive archaeological study. Surprisingly, it is the least researched archaeologically to-date, with no institution of learning to teach and practicing

**Table 1.** The 113 Literature of Archaeological Research in Uganda from the 1920s to 2018.

S/N	Region	Technological Period	Location	Year
<b>Northern</b>				
01	M. Posnansky	Iron Age	Dufile and Patiko	2008
02	D. Ongwen	Iron Age	Agoro,	2010
03	C. K. Okeny	Iron Age	Patiko	2011
04	Robert Soper	Iron Age	Chobe	1971
05	Kiyaga-Mulindwa	Iron Age	Karuma	2006
06	E. J. Wayland and M. C. Burkitt	Early Stone Age	Magosi	1932
07	W.W Bishop	Early Stone Age	Karamoja	1958
08	Merrick Posnansky and Glen H. Cole	Early Stone Age	Magosi	1963
09	L. H. Robbins , S. A. McFarlin, J. L. Brower and Anne E. Hoffman	Early Stone Age	Rangi	1977
<b>South-Western</b>				
10	Gerald W. Hartwig	Iron Age	Victoria Nyanza	1970
11	Susannah Pearce and Merrick Posnansky	Iron Age	Nsongezi	1963
12	G. H. Cole	Iron Age	Nsongezi	1967
13	Susannah Chapman	Iron Age	Kansyore Island	1967
14	Charles M. Nelson and Merrick Posnansky	Iron Age	Nsongezi	1970
15	Jackline Nyiracyiza	Iron Age	Kisoro	2013
16	Ssemulende, R	Middle Stone Age	Sango Bay	2017
17	E. J. Wayland	Early Stone Age	Nsongezi	1937
18	T. P. O'Brien	Iron Age	Nsongezi	1939
19	E. J. Wayland	Iron Age	Nsongezi	1950
20	Mayn Edel	Iron Age	Chiga	1957
21	C. C. Wrigley	Iron Age	Interlacustrine States	1958
22	Timothy Insoll	Iron Age	Rakai	1997
<b>Western</b>				
23	Lukyn William	Iron Age	Ankole	1937
24	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Ancient earthworks	1953
25	Rev. Gervasme Mathew	Iron Age	Ntusi, Bigo, Mubende hill	1953
26	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Munsa	1955
27	H. F. Morris	Iron Age	Ankole	1956
28	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Bunyoro	1956
29	J. H. M. Beattie	Iron Age	Bunyoro	1957
30	Roland Oliver	Iron Age	Ankole	1959
31	M,Posnanky	Iron Age	Bigo	1959
32	P. L Shinnie	Iron Age	Bigo	1960
33	J.M Gray	Iron Age	Ibanda	1960
34	Lanning, E. C.	Iron Age	Mubende	1960
35	J. H. M. Beattie	Iron Age	Bunyoro	1961
36	Merrick Posnansky	Iron Age	Bigo, Ntusi, Mubende	1961
37	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Western Uganda	1962
38	Y.K Bamunoba	Iron Age	Ankole	1963
39	F.B Welbourne	Iron Age	Ankole	1965
40	A. R Dunbar	Iron Age	Bunyoro	1965
41	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Mubende hills	1966
42	Gautier	Iron Age	Western Rift	1967
43	Merrick Posnansky	Iron Age	Bweyorere	1968
44	J Roscoe	Iron Age	Bunyoro	1968
45	Merrick Posnansky	Iron Age	Bigo	1969
46	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Ntuusi,	1970
47	J. E.G. Sutton	Iron Age	Ntusi	1985



Table 1. Contd.

48	Andrew Reid and Peter Robertshaw	Iron Age	Ankole	1987
49	Graham Connah, Ephraim Kamuhangire and Andrew Piper	Iron Age	Kibiro, Bunyoro	1990
50	Graham Connah	Iron Age	Kibiro, Bunyoro	1991
51	Peter Robertshaw	Iron Age	Western Uganda	1994
52	Andrew Reid	Iron Age	Ntusi	1996b
53	Graham Connah	Iron Age	Kibiro, Bunyoro	1997
54	Peter Robertshaw	Iron Age	Munsa	1997
55	Kirk Arden Hoppe	Iron Age	Lake Victoria	1997
56	J. E.G. Sutton	Iron Age	Ntusi, Bigo	1998
57	D. Taylor, P. Robertshaw and R. A. Marchant	Iron Age	Western Uganda	2000
58	Peter Robertshaw and David Taylor	Iron Age	Western Uganda	2000
59	Andrew Reid and Ruth Young	Iron Age	Ntusi	2000
60	B. J. Lejju , P. Robertshaw and D. Taylor	Iron Age	Munsa	2003
61	B. J. Lejju, D. Taylor and P. Robertshaw	Iron Age	Munsa	2005
62	B. Julius Lejju, Peter Robertshaw, David Taylor	Iron Age	Munsa	2006
63	Louise Iles	Iron Age	Mwenge	2009
64	Peter Robertshaw	Iron Age	Western Uganda	2010
65	Louise Iles	Iron Age	Mwenge	2012
66	Louise Iles	Iron Age	Western Uganda	2013
67	Jane Humphris and Louise Iles	Iron Age	Great Lakes Africa	2013
68	Mirembe, F.	Iron Age	Albertine Rift	2013
69	Peter R. Schmidt	Iron Age	Bigo	2014
70	Louise Iles, Peter Robertshaw and Ruth Young	Iron Age	Munsa	2014
71	G. Caton-Thompson	Iron Age	Bigo, Ntusi	1935
<b>Eastern</b>				
72	Y.K Lubogo	Iron Age	Busoga	1960
73	G. Jackson and J. S. Gartlan	Late Stone Age	Lolui Island	1965
74	Merrick Posnansky and Charles M. Nelson	Stone Age	Nyero	1968
75	Kearsley A. Stewart	Iron Age	Dolwe Island	1993
76	Posnansky, M., Reid, A., and Ashley, C.	Late Stone Age	Lolui Island	2005
77	Catherine Namono	Iron Age	Tororo	2008
78	Catherine Namono	Iron Age	Uganda	2010
79	Wamutu, G.	Iron Age	Paya	2010
80	Catherine Namono	Stone Age	Uganda	2011
81	Nakaweesa, E	Later Iron Age-Iron Age	Nyero	2011
82	Catherine Namono	Iron Age	Uganda	2012
<b>Central</b>				
83	Andrew Reid and Ceri Z. Ashley	Iron Age	Victoria Nyanza	2014
84	Ceri Z. Ashley	Iron Age	Great Lakes Africa	2010
85	Andrew Reid	Iron Age	Great Lakes Africa	2013
86	E. J. Wayland, M. C. Burkitt and H. J. Braunholtz	Iron Age	Luzira	1933
87	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Masaka hills	1954
88	K. Marshall	Stone Age	Entebbe	1954
89	E. C Lanning	Iron Age	Koki	1957
90	W.W Bishop	Iron Age	Kafu	1959
91	R. M Brachi	Iron Age	Hippo Bay Entebbe	1960
92	B.M Fagan and Laurel Lofgren	Iron Age	Ssese Island	1966
93	J. H Chaplin and M. McFarlane	Iron Age	Buganda	1967
94	Jacques Nenquin,	Iron Age	Buvuma and Bugaia, Lake Victoria Nyanza	1971
95	J. H. Chaplin	Iron Age	Lake Victoria	1974

Table 1. Contd.

96	Peter Robertshaw , David Collett , Diane Gifford and Nubi B. Mbae	Iron Age	Lake Victoria	1983
97	C. C. Wrigley	Iron Age	Buganda	1989
98	Kiyaga-Mulindwa	Iron Age	Lake Victoria	2004
99	Remigius Kigongo and Andrew Reid	Iron Age	Kasubi Tombs	2007
100	Andrew Reid and Ceri Z. Ashley	Iron Age	Luzira	2008
101	Tibesaasa, R	Iron Age	Busi Island	2008
102	Muwonge, H.	Late Stone Age	Southern Kyagwe	2009
103	John D. Giblin and Kigongo Remigius	Iron Age	Buganda	2012
104	Andrew Reid	Iron Age	Mawogola	2015
105	Andrew Reid	Iron Age	Buganda	2016
106	Merrick Posnansky	Iron Age	Kansyore Island, Nsongezi, Ntusi, Bweyorere, Dolwe Island, Luzira, and Waiya Bay	1967
107	Hamo Sassoon	Iron Age	Interlacustrine States	1983
108	M. Rachel MacLean	Iron Age	Interlacustrine Region	1995
109	Jane Humphris, Marcos Martinon-Torres, Thilo Rehren, Andrew Reid	Iron Age	Buganda and Bunyoro	2009
110	J. E. G. Sutton	Iron Age	Interlacustrine Kingdoms, Central and Western	1993
111	Kyazike E.	Stone Age-Iron Age	Upper Nile Catchments	2016
112	W. W. Bishop and M. Posnansky	Early Stone Age	Napak, Kaiso, Kafu	1960
113	Van Riet Lowe, P.	Stone Age	Western, Eastern and Central	1952

archaeology on a full scale. Furthermore, it has less than ten qualified archaeologists but the reason why it lagged is yet a mega topic of another day (Figure 5).

The data examined in this study indicate that since the inception of archaeological research in Uganda, the participation and contribution of local researchers were well known to their foreign counterparts and, was highly valuable. The former in most cases work as guides, sugar-coated as local collaborators and the latter project managers. However, foreign archaeologists take all the final decision-making processes. Presumably, foreign archaeologists were thought to possess all the scientific knowledge to conduct and direct archaeological research. The local "collaborators" were seen as good at guiding and handling hard manual excavation works. Consequently, this colonial ideology held back significant participation and impact of local archaeologists for more than seven decades and by extension, still in play to date. There seem to be no deliberate decolonisation efforts by foreign researchers and Uganda continues to be the 'archaeological research field' for foreign researchers.

The 113 previous archaeological studies and 14 archaeological sites examined indicate that indeed Uganda is the first east African country to establish and practice archaeological research. However, the data presents a huge regional imbalance with more concentration of archaeological research in the central,

southwestern and eastern Uganda compared to the northern region. The major factor behind this could have been the need to solve the Bachwezi question, which has preoccupied most researchers since the 1920s. In northern Uganda, other than the work of Okeny (2011, unpublished MA Dissertation), the ongoing work of Dismas Ongwen in Agoro, Lamwo district and that of Kiyaga-Mulindwa (2006) in Karuma, the rest had colonial ideological motives.

For example, the work of Robert Soper in Chobe in 1971 was to trace the occurrence of Urewe ware previously in the southern part. He was armed with the assumption that Urewe ware does not cross the Nile River to the north, an area thought to have been populated by recent unilinear migration of the Lwo from South Sudan. The one of Posnansky in Dufile and Patiko was meant to prove that Europeans built the Forts in the two areas. Those of E. J. Wayland and M. C. Burkitt in Magosi, W. W Bishop in Karamoja and Posnansky et al. in Rangi, were all colonially ideological other than working to portray the full picture of Uganda's archaeology.

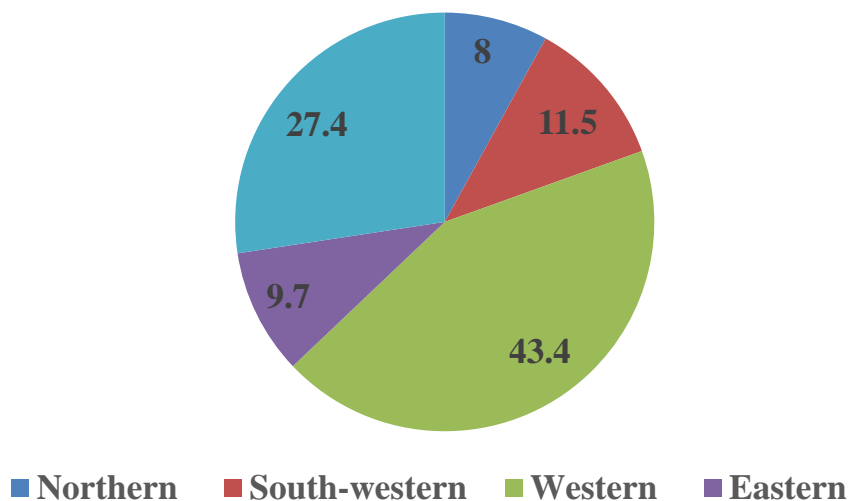
This research finds it misplaced to continue arguing that because of the lack of archaeology in northern Uganda, there was no need to conduct archaeological projects in the region. This argument can no longer be sustained with the new evidence emerging from northern Uganda. The ongoing Ph.D. work of C. K. Okeny in Palabek, Lamwo district is producing wonderful

**Table 2.** Research Interface between Stone Age and Iron Age 1932 to 2017.

Year	Periods	
	Stone Age	Iron Age
1932	01	0
1933	0	01
1934	0	0
1935	0	01
1936	0	0
1937	01	1
1938	0	0
1939	0	01
1940	0	0
1950	0	01
1952	0	01
1953	0	02
1954	01	01
1955	0	01
1956	0	02
1957	0	03
1958	01	01
1959	0	03
1960	0	06
1961	0	02
1962	0	01
1963	01	02
1965	0	01
1966	0	02
1967	0	05
1968	0	03
1969	0	01
1970	0	03
1971	0	02
1974	0	01
1977	01	0
1983	0	02
1985	0	01
1987	0	01
1989	0	01
1990	0	01
1991	0	01
1993	0	02
1994	0	01
1995	0	01
1996	0	01
1997	0	04
1998	0	01
2000	0	03
2003	0	01
2004	0	01
2005	01	01
2006	0	02
2007	0	01

**Table 2.** Contd.

2008	0	05
2009	01	03
2010	0	05
2011	0	03
2012	0	03
2013	0	05
2014	0	03
2015	0	01
2016	0	02
2017	01	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>09</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>Percentage %</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>92.0</b>



**Figure 3.** Percentage Regional distribution of Archaeological Research in Uganda.

archaeological sites that are equally important like those elsewhere in central and southwestern Uganda.

The fact that most researchers researching in Uganda right from the 1920s up to 2018 were foreigners with their funding; they always apportion research fields like their land. Ntusi, Munsa, and Bigo became the research fields that preoccupied most foreign researchers since the 1920s. The answers to the questions they posed relating to these sites have become fewer than the questions asked. Surprisingly, some of the local researchers except a few have also fallen in the trap of pioneering research paradigms where research sites earmarked by the pioneering archaeologists are seen to be more important than discovering new ones. This accounts for the major reason why most local researchers have also concentrated on the Iron Age period as opposed to the Stone Age cultures of Uganda.

### Conclusion and Recommendations

In a nutshell, this study argues that the limited research interest in northern Uganda is not because of a lack of archaeology or sites with deep time history but a long set ideology of foreign researchers to dominate the local research space. This has been through classifying Uganda's regions into potential and less potential archaeological regions. Unfortunately, some of these classifications were based on mere assumptions with limited research undertaken. It is against this background that this research calls for active involvement of local researchers in archaeological research, in order to neutralise the long set colonial research ideology and take charge of archaeological research directions. This will aid in narrowing the regional research gaps as well as presenting the true picture of Uganda's past. This

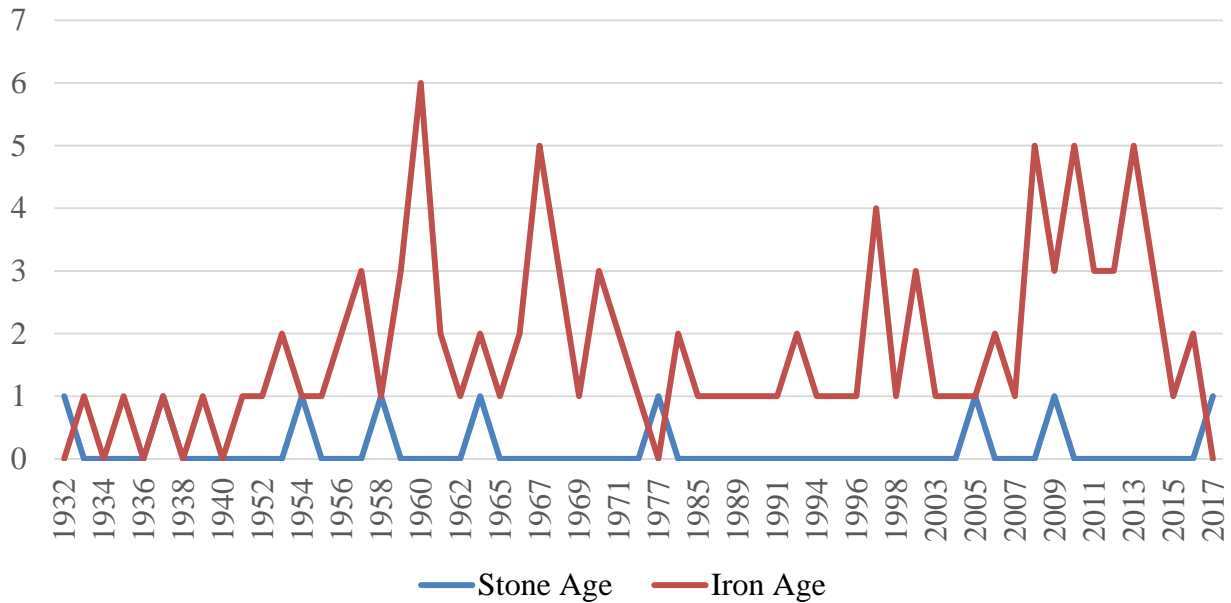


Figure 4. Research Interface between the Stone Age and Iron Age Periods from 1932 to 2017

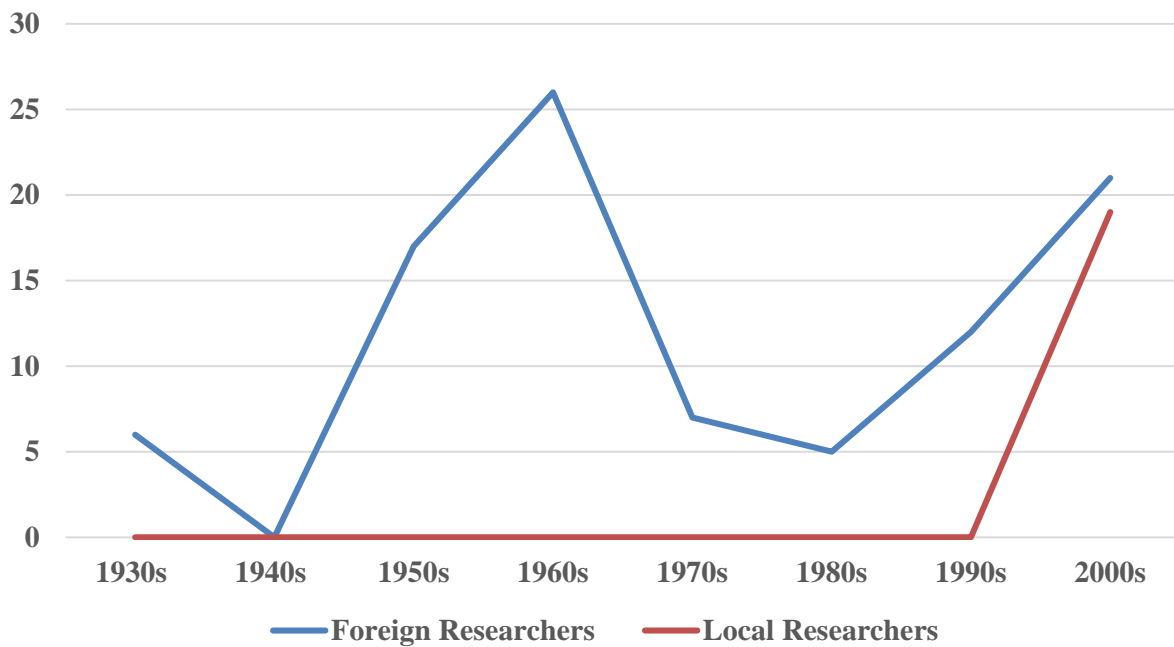


Figure 5. Interface between Foreign and Local Researchers 1930s and 2017.

however will not be very easy in a country like Uganda where there is limited avenues for research refunding, a fact that foreign researchers have ridden on to manipulate and use local researchers as their manual workers for a long time. It is against this background that the current research calls for decolonisation of archaeological

research in Uganda and revisit of archaeological research direction to cover all regions of Uganda. Secondly, such research and researchers should be one that takes the interests and opinions of local researchers and provides due consideration to the true picture of Uganda's past, other than making unfounded assumptions

for the mere fact of attracting research funding.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank Gerda Henkel Foundation for the generous financial support towards this research, Kyambogo University and Makerere University for the time dedicated to this research.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

## REFERENCES

- Beattie JHM (1961). Nyoro Mortuary Rites. *Uganda Journal* pp. 1-14.
- Beattie JHM (1957). Initiation into the Chwezi spirit possession cult in Bunyoro. *African Studies* 16(3):150-161.
- Bishop WW, Posnansky M (1960). Pleistocene environments and early man in Uganda. *Uganda Journal*, 24:44-61.
- Chaplin JH, McFarlane M (1967). The Moniko Petroglyphs. *Uganda Journal* 32(2):207-209.
- Chapman S (1967). Kantsyore Island. *Azania* 2(1):165-191.
- Ceri A, Reid A (2008). A reconsideration of the figures from Luzira. *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 43(1):95-123.
- Cole GH (1967). The Later Acheulian and Sangoan of Southern Uganda. *Uganda Journal* pp. 481-528.
- Connah G (1997). The cultural and chronological context of Kibiro, Uganda. *African Archaeological review* 14(1):25-67.
- Connah G (1991). The salt of Bunyoro: seeking the origins of an African kingdom. *Antiquity* 65(4):79-94.
- Connah G (1990). Salt-production at Kibiro: *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 25(1):27-39.
- Dewey H, Hopley CW (1925). Some obsidian implements from Kenya Colony. *Man* 25:88-92.
- Ejiet A (1993). The lost city of Bigo-bya-Mugenyi. *Uganda Heritage* 1(1):7-9.
- Gregory JW (1896). *The Great Rift Valley: Being the narrative of a journey to Mount Kenya and Lake Baringo*. London: John Murray.
- Kiyaga-Mulindwa D (2006). The Archaeology and Ethnography of Mutunda, a Nilotic-Lwo/Bantu nexus in northern Uganda: Research in the African Past P 5.
- Kiyaga-Mulindwa D (2004). The archaeology of the riverine environments of the Upper Nile valley in Uganda. In: F. Chami and G, Pwiti and Radimilahy (eds.). "The African Archaeology Network: Reports and Review 4:38-56.
- Kyazike E (2016). Archaeological examination of cultural interactions in the Upper Nile Catchment Areas: 6000-1500 BP. Dar es Salaam: E & D Limited.
- Lanning EC (1953). Ancient Earthworks in Western Uganda. *Uganda Journal* 17:51-62.
- Lanning EC (1954). Masaka Hill-an Ancient centre of worship. *Uganda Journal* 18:24-30.
- Lanning EC (1955). The Munsa Earthworks. *Uganda Journal* 19:177-183.
- Lanning EC (1956). Rock-cut Mweso Boards. *Uganda Journal* 20(1):97-98.
- Lanning EC (1957). The cairns of Koki, Buganda: *Uganda Journal* 21:176-183.
- Lanning EC (1962). Caves and Rock shelters of western Uganda. *Uganda Journal* 26:183-193.
- Lanning EC (1966). Excavations at Mubende hills. *Uganda Journal* 30(2):153-163.
- Lanning EC (1970). Ntusi: An Ancient Capital Site in Western Uganda. *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 5(1):39-54.
- Leakey LSB (1931). *The Stone Age cultures of Kenya Colony* (1<sup>st</sup>ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leju BJ Taylor D, Robertshaw P (2012). The influence of climatic change and human –induced environmental degradation on Lake Victoria: Organization for social science research in Eastern and Southern Africa. Addis Ababa.
- Leju BJ Robertshaw P, Taylor D (2006). Africa's earliest bananas. *Journal of Archaeological Science* P 33.
- Leju BJ Taylor D, Robertshaw P (2005). Late-Holocene environmental variability at Munsa archaeological site, Uganda: a multicore, multiproxy approach. *The Holocene* 15:10-44.
- Leju BJ Taylor D, Robertshaw P (2003). Vegetation history and archaeology at Munsa, western Uganda: *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 38(1):155-165.
- Mirembe F (2013). Establishing and characterizing the archaeological assemblages of the Albertine Rift in Uganda: University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- Muwonge H (2009). An archaeological Investigation of LSA cultures from open-air sites, a case of Southern Kyagwe, Uganda. University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- Namono C (2008). Rock art, myth and sacred landscapes: the case of a rock art site in Tororo district, Uganda." *Southern African Humanities* 20(2):317-331.
- Nakaweesa E (2011). Cultural Transition from Later Stone Age to Iron Age cultures: case of Nyero Rock Shelter, Kumi district, Uganda." University of Dar es Salaam. Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- O'Brien TP (1939). *The Pre-history of Uganda Protectorate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Okeny CK (2011). *The Historical Archaeology of Northern Uganda, a case of Fort Patiko, Northern Uganda*. University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- Pearce S, Posnansky M (1963). The re-excavation of Nsongezi rock-shelter, Ankole. *Uganda Journal* 27(1):85-94.
- Posnansky M (2008). The Archaeology of Imperialism: A Contribution to African Education. The African Diaspora Archaeology Network Newsletter online.
- Posnansky M (1967). The Iron Age in East Africa. In: W. Bishop and Clark, J. (eds.). *Background to Evolution in Africa*, 629-649. Chicago. Chicago University Press.
- Posnansky M (1963). The Lower and Middle Palaeolithic industries of the English East Midlands. In *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 29:357-394.
- Posnansky M, Bishop WW (1960). Pleistocene Environments and Early Man in Uganda. *Uganda Journal* 24:44-61.
- Posnansky M, Cole GH (1963). 133. Recent Excavations at Magosi, Uganda: A Preliminary Report. *Man*, pp104-106.
- Pwiti G, Bukenya B (2007). Uganda's Renowned Archaeologist Gone. *New Vision Uganda* P 1.
- Reck H (1926). *Prahistorische Grab-und Menschenfunde und ihre Beziehungen zur Pluvialzeit in Ostafrika*. *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebietn* 39:50-86.
- Reid A (2016). Constructing history in Uganda. *Journal of African History* 57(2):195-207.
- Reid A (2015). Archaeological ivory and the impact of the elephant in Mawogola. *World Archaeology* 47(3):467-485.
- Reid A (2013). The emergence of states in Great Lakes Africa. In Mitchell P, Lane PJ (eds), *Oxford handbook of African archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 883-895.
- Reid A (1996b). Ntusi and the development of social complexity in southern Uganda. In G. Pwiti and R. Soper (eds), *Aspects of African Archaeology*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press pp. 621-628.
- Reid A (1994). Early settlement and social organization in the interlacustrine region, Azania: *Archaeological Research in Africa* 29-3(1):303-313.
- Reid A, Ashley C (2008). A context for the Luzira Head: *Antiquity* 82(315):99-112. .
- Reid A Robertshaw PT (1987). *A New Look at Ankole Capital Sites*. Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa 22(1):83-88. .
- Robertshaw PT (1990). *A History of African Archaeology: Currey / Portsmouth: Heinemann*.

- Robertshaw P (1994). Archaeological survey, ceramic analysis, and state formation in western Uganda. *African Archaeological Review*, 12(1):105-131.
- Ssemulende R (2017). Technological characteristics of the Sangoan industry at Sango Bay, Southern Uganda: University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- Shinnie PL (1960). Excavations at Bigo. *Uganda Journal* (14):16-28.
- Soper RC (1985). Roulette decoration on African pottery: technical considerations, dating and distributions. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Soper RC (1971). Iron Age sites in Chobi Sector, Murchison Falls National Park, Uganda. *Azania: journal of the British institute in Eastern Africa* P 1.
- Tibesaasa R (2008). The cultural sequences on Bussi Island Lake Victoria, Uganda." University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- UBOS (2014). National Population and Housing Census. Government of Uganda, Kampala.
- Wamutu G (2010). The Archaeometallurgical investigation of eastern Uganda, a case of Sere village, Tororo district. University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A Dissertation.
- Wayland EJ, Burkitt MC (1932). The Magosian culture of Uganda. *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* xii.
- Wayland EJ (1934). Rifts, Rivers, Rains and Early Man in Uganda. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 64:333-352.

*Full Length Research Paper*

# The Amharic proverbs and their use in Gə'əz Qəne (Ethiopian poetry)

Hiruie Ermias

Universität Hamburg, Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, Alsterterrasse 120354 Hamburg, Germany.

Received 11 May, 2020; Accepted 4 June, 2020

This article aims to provide a concise impression of Amharic proverbs and their use in Gə'əz Qəne. Qəne is an extraordinary Ethiopian poetry with special feature, beauty, and limit. There is no language restriction to compose Qəne; since its introduction in the 15th Century Gə'əz is predominantly used to compose Qəne in different forms. Adding an Amharic proverb to Gə'əz Qəne is a great talent which requires an advanced knowledge and exercise of both the language and the proverbs. However, many Qəne masters use sporadically Amharic proverbs to compose Gə'əz Qəne. Hence, it is customary to find various Amharic proverbs implemented in Gə'əz Qəne. The methods of how to realize such a composition are the main issues discussed in this article. With this regard, various convincing examples and analytical explanations are provided appropriately. It also deals with the significance and role of Amharic proverbs in the study of Biblical exegesis and in day to day communications of the Ethiopian people. Their impact on personal discourses and social interactions is like one of the key issues of the article. The concluding part consists of a summary and recommendation.

**Key words:** Proverb, Amharic, biblical exegesis, Qəne.

## INTRODUCTION

The Amharic term ስነ ቃል *səna-qāl* mainly refers to a proverb. አባባል *'abābāl* is also a word which relates to it and used alternately. Proverbs are popular sayings that help to express ideas, feelings, and secrets precisely and effectively. They are naturally attached to a language because they can be expressed when they are uttered in any spoken language. It is assumed that each language society has its own tradition and collection of proverbs. In Ethiopia, there is a common tradition of using proverbs in all areas of the country. Each language society in the country is concerned about the preservation and dissemination of proverbs since it regards them as oral heritages that can define it from the historical, socio-anthropological, and economical perspectives. It is also

believed that proverbs are expressions of mentalities and life philosophies of a society. Thus, individuals that can suitably state proverbs are genuinely proud of themselves (Amsalu and Dagnachew, 1987: 3-5; Getahun, 1986: 1).

Amharic is one of the local languages which are significantly rich in proverbs. A considerable number of Amharic proverbs has widely spread throughout the country and are well known by many people. Those people who have enough knowledge of proverbs would prefer to express their happiness or sadness, their agreement or disagreement, their demand or wish by using short proverbs rather than making a long dialogue. Even to convince or to warn someone, using proverbs by

E-mail: [ermiashr@gmail.com](mailto:ermiashr@gmail.com).

Author(s) agree that this article remain permanently open access under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)



choosing the harmonizing ones is a strong tendency of many people.

It is quite difficult and perhaps unimaginable to find out the actual time when Amharic proverbs were produced or introduced originally. Likewise, there could be neither an individual person nor a single institute which can take the credit of creating or introducing them. They are genuine social heritages that are transmitted orally from generation to generation.

The tradition of using proverbs is supposed to be practiced since ancient time. In Ethiopia, many cultural elements and traditional exercises have died and are still dying since the introduction and spread of modernization. Fortunately, the importance of proverbs and their practicability is not affected by modernization. Besides that, the number of the proverbs is acutely increasing from time to time. There are thousands of Amharic proverbs which can be wonderfully express almost every aspect of life and are used everywhere by different groups of people beyond the boundaries of age, gender, and personal status in the society.

Some people particularly those who have not a strong attachment with proverbs and other cultural practices think that the old and rural people are exclusively dedicated to learning and using proverbs. Indeed, it is quite clear that these two groups of people have a prolific knowledge and better experience of using proverbs and parables. But as mentioned earlier, the knowledge and use of proverbs is by no means linked with age and lifestyle. Nowadays, like adults and old people, the young people whether in the city or in the countryside are highly motivated to frequently mention proverbs they believe to endorse their idea at all events and all situations. It is customary to hearing proverbs in songs, poems, dramas and in religious and political discourses. For example, if we go to market places and service centers, we hear a lot of proverbs in the conversation of suppliers and their customers while conducting negotiations about prices or qualities of goods and services.

## THEIR QUALITIES AND FEATURES

Amharic proverbs have their own qualities and features; some of them have plain meanings and messages that can be understood by any hearer while the rest of them are metaphorical sayings which are somehow difficult to get their core point simply. In connection with size, the proverbs can be categorized into three: short, medium, and long. Long proverbs could involve from eight to twelve individual words while the proverbs with the medium size include from four to seven words. More than half of the formal Amharic proverbs belong to this category. The shorter Amharic proverbs are formed out of two or three words. Even though they are short, they keep complete idea and give precisely momentous messages. The following proverb can evidently show the

nature and quality of those short proverbs: ያልጠረጠረ ተመነጠረ *yālṭaraṭara tamanatṭara* “The one that was not in doubt was exterminated”.

This might be an answer for those who underestimate the quality and value of African proverbs. Notwithstanding, one of the surprising things regarding them is that the users of Amharic proverbs are not only the Amharic speaking people. But many members of the non-Amharic speaking societies also mention an Amharic proverb in their daily conversations in its original language or by roughly translating it into their languages. But either before or after mentioning the proverb, they claim that the proverb is initially an Amharic proverb, saying, “እንዲህ፡ ይላል፡ አምሐራ...” ‘*əndih yelal ‘amḥara...*’ or “...አለ፡ አምሐራ” ‘*alä ‘amḥara!*’ – ‘Amhara says...!’ This shows how far Amharic proverbs spread throughout the country and are frequently used by the people. On the other way round, various proverbs which are borrowed from different local languages are stated in Amharic like the original ones.

As it is well known to everyone, Amharic is serving as the official work language of the Ethiopian governments since 1270 AD. It also keeps the same status in more six regional states within the current government including the capital Addis Ababa. The people who live in the remaining regions would study it in the school. This situation has indisputably contributed a lot for the development and spread of Amharic proverbs throughout the country.

Most assuredly, scholars, authors, poets, preachers, orators, entertainers, politicians, and other public figures are the good examples of the people that consciously use Amharic proverbs.

## PRESERVATION OF AMHARIC PROVERBS

As mentioned, Amharic proverb is a legacy which passes from generation to generation through oral tradition. Such an oral tradition is mainly preserved by practicing it persistently. The other way of preserving such a tradition is keeping it in a written form. With this regard, there are few scholarly contributions in collecting and disseminating Amharic proverbs in a book form. The work which should be primarily mentioned is the publication of *Belāṭten-getā* Māḥtama Səllāse Walda Masqal published in 1950 AD with the title, የአባቶች ቅርስ *ya-‘abbāt-oč qərs* “Legacy of the Fathers”. In this work, Māḥtama Səllāse has provided more than three thousand and five hundred Amharic proverbs in alphabetical order (Māḥtama Səllāse, 1950).

By the year 1967 AD, *Liqa-mazammərān* Mogas ‘Equba Giyorgis published a book containing around two thousand proverbs with the title, ጥንታዊ ምሳሌ በአማርኛ *tənāwī mässāleba-‘amareññā* “Ancient proverbs in Amharic” (Mogas, 1967). There is also a publication by Daniel Abera in 2006 AD with the title, የአማርኛ ተረትና ምሳሌዎች

*ya-`amarēññā tarat-ənnā mäsälle-woč* “Amharic parables and proverbs”. Daniel has provided more than four thousand and five hundred proverbs in alphabetical order; no additional information or linguistic analysis is given in the book; it is simply a list of a huge collection of proverbs. Again, the quality of a couple of proverbs included in the book is somehow controversial (Daniel, 2006: 3-107).

Among European scholars who studied Ethiopian languages and cultures, the Polish scholar Jacques Faitlovitch collected one hundred and twenty Amharic proverbs and published them in 1907AD along with French translation. He also discussed the origins and concepts of the proverbs provided in the book (Faitlovitch, 1907).

The most recent publication concerning Amharic proverbs is ኢዲሱ የምሳሌያዊ አነጋገሮች መጽሐፍ *'addisuyamässāle-yāwi'annagāgar-očmaşḥaf* “The new book of Proverbs” published by Debebe Haylegiyorg in 2008AD. Beyond listing out thousands of proverbs in alphabetical order, Debebe has presented descriptive details of some metaphoric proverbs; and at the same time, he provided synonyms of each proverb (Debebe, 2008).

Undoubtedly, all these works can support to preserve and transmit the proverbs they contain to the generations to come, though they are scarcely disseminated.

**THE NUMBER OF AMHARIC PROVERBS**

It is difficult to know how many Amharic proverbs are existing countrywide. One of the reasons is that the distribution and use of proverbs is varied from place to place. There is also an attempt to create proverbs out of some influential statements and public phrases of other forms. Here, we can mention the following amazing poetic verses:

ጽድቅና ኩነኔ ቢኖርም ባይኖርም  
*şədq-ənnā k<sup>w</sup>ənane binorəm bāynorəm*  
 ከከፋት ደግነት ሳይሻል አይቀርም  
*ka-kəfāt daggənnat sāyəşāl 'ayqarəm*

“Whether righteousness and torment do exist or not, generosity is better than iniquity”

This poetry was composed by Kebede Michael (1914-1998 AD) who was one of the outstanding poets and novelists of 20th century Ethiopia. But because of its power of affecting hearts of millions it has widely spread, and many people attest it in their written and verbal conversation, recognizing it as a formal proverb. Maybe this is one of the factors that motivated some writers to recognize such influential poetic verses as proverbs. The work done by Daniel Abera is one of the recent works that practice this as well. Along with the known Amharic proverbs, he provided a couple of poetic verses such as: *ዘመድና ሳንቲም ከመንገድ ወድቀው*

*zamad-ənnā sāntim ka-mangad wadqaw*  
 ሳንቲምን አካሉ ዘመድን ትተው  
*sāntimun 'anaşşu zamadən tətaw*  
 “A relative and money having laid down on the street, (they) take the money leaving back the relative”

ቀድሞ ነበር እንጂ መጥኖ መደቆስ  
*qadəmo nabbar `ənii maḥḥəno madaqqos*  
 አሁን ምን ያደርጋል ድስት ጥዶ ማልቀስ  
*'ahun mən yādargāl dəst ḥədo mālqas*  
 “Grinding in fair amount would have been done first; what now helps crying, having put the pot on the fire?”

However, there is no way to reject such innovations and conversions in the tradition; once the society recognizes such an influential expression or a poetic verse or a lyric as a proverb then it remains a proverb. This kind of social dedication makes the number of Amharic proverbs progressive. To frankly say, it is not a big challenge to accept new proverbs either converted or composed but it would be better to know which is what initially. So, to make a persuasive estimation of the detectable and currently used proverbs we need to make an extended investigation.

**FACTORS FOR A TENDENCY OF USING PROVERBS**

Behind such a strong tendency of using proverbs, there are some social approaches that can be regarded as basic factors; some of them are explained as follows:

- (1) People who know well proverbs in their correct form are highly appreciated by many people. They are also supposed to deeply know the language as well as the history and tradition of the society.
- (2) Someone that can use proverbs appropriately is considered as an intelligent with great capability of expressing ideas shortly and clearly. He is appreciated by his audience to talk or to write more. Some people tend to introduce such a person as a wise man or as an eloquent and talented speaker. They also use some special words of appreciation, while introducing him such as ነገር ዐዋቂ *nəgəggər'awāqi* “intelligent”, “talented speaker” and አንደበተ ርቱቅ *'andabata rətu'ə* “gifted orator”.
- (3) Someone that can use proverbs appropriately is considered as an intelligent with great capability of expressing ideas shortly and clearly. He is appreciated by his audience to talk or to write more. Especially, to collect old or difficult public sayings, one must search old books or must spend enough time with old people who know parables and proverbs as well.

Moreover, there is a popular saying by which the people encourage others yet themselves too to lavishly use proverbs. It says: ነገር በምሳሌ መዘመር በሃሌ *nagar be-mässāle mazmur ba-hälle* “Talk with a parable/proverb (and) a hymn with Hallelujah”. This saying has at least two

incompatible messages. On one hand, it shows the strong wish of the people to hearing proverbs or parables reliably. On the other hand, it claims that a talk without an inspirational proverb or a parable is like a hymn without Hallelujah. In the context of Ethiopian Christian tradition, every hymn (particularly *yaredic* hymn) begins with Hallelujah, and a hymn without Hallelujah is considered as incomplete. Comparably, this proverb signifies that many people are passionate to follow the talks and dialogues with parables and proverbs.

Not apart from this, the superb qualities of proverbs motivate people to know and use them. As mentioned earlier, Amharic proverbs are mostly short, but they can explicitly demonstrate deep ideas and replace long talks; they are clear but can convey tough messages in a figurative way. They can easily attract and control attentions of the audiences but do not fade swiftly from the mind. All these factors make the proverbs important and evergreen.

## LESSON BOOKS COMPRISING AMHARIC PROVERBS

There are different lesson books that comprise various local proverbs. However, the Biblical exegesis books take precedence over other secular and religious texts since they recognize the proverbs as important parts of both Biblical and cultural wisdom. In each exegesis, several Amharic proverbs are mentioned appropriately to clarify and ratify different interpretations. If we take the exegesis of the Anaphora of St. Mary as an example, twenty selected Amharic proverbs are attested in different places though the exegesis is not large. Similarly, the exegesis of *wəddāse Maryām* comprises ten competent proverbs that are not mentioned in the Anaphora mentioned earlier (Tənsā'e, 2001: 47, 205). However, this does not cause the exegetical texts to be considered as origins or ultimate sources for Amharic proverbs but to search Biblical exegesis is truly to come across with a huge collection of proverbs. The following two Amharic proverbs are among the proverbs that are mentioned most frequently in various exegetical manuscripts (Tənsā'e, 2005: 207):

(1) በቃል ያለ ይረሳል በመጽሐፍ ያለ ይወረሳል

*ba-qāl yālla yərrassāl ba-maṣḥaf yālla yəwwarrasāl*

"What is kept in mind will be forgotten, (but) what is kept in a book will be inherited"

(2) ውሎ ውሎ ከቤት ኖሮ ኖሮ ከመሬት

*wəlo wəlo ka-bet noro noro ka-maret*

"Everyone comes back home when the day is on (and) everybody is buried when life is over"

The reason behind the frequent attestation of the first proverb is most probably connected with the background

history of the scriptures. It tells that the writers have written the scriptures so that their followers shall not forget what they taught them. The second proverb is mentioned to strongly advise people to think about death which is the core message of almost all Biblical scriptures.

Proverbs of such a high quality and value are attested abundantly in every exegetical book. For this reason, those who know or use such wonderful proverbs are considered by many people as good readers.

Besides, the Amharic curriculum in the elementary and secondary schools in Ethiopia should be appreciated for its concern of the study of proverbs, their meanings, and functionalities (MOE, 2008: 2). It also requires the students to further develop their knowledge of proverbs by reading books and asking parents.

## THE ROLE OF AMHARIC PROVERBS IN THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND QƏNE

When we come to ecclesiastical teachings, we see apparently that Amharic proverbs have great values and significances in creating and transmitting knowledge. In particular, the schools of Bible exegesis and the schools of *Qəne* (Gə'əz poetry) use Amharic proverbs more than the remaining church schools which are concerned with the study of Liturgy and chanting. In the study of Bible exegesis, proverbs are very important references next to Biblical and non-Biblical quotations in the construction of text interpretations. Almost in all possible cases, Amharic proverbs are mentioned in the explanations of texts to make them more understandable and unforgettable by connecting them with popular sayings. After all, the common phrase which always follows the proverbs, "እንዲሉ 'əndilu" "as many would say" approves their state of being proverbs.

The scholars present the following two Biblical verses as references while responding to the question, "Why traditional parables are needed to be incorporated with religious instructions in the process of elaborating allegorical meanings of scriptures":

- "I will open my mouth in a parable" Psalm 78:2

- "Therefore, I speak to them in parable" Matthew 13:13

This meant speaking or writing Biblical messages in a parable is a usually practicable method of knowledge transmission since BC.

Similarly, the schools of *Qəne* give a comparable attention for Amharic proverbs. Firstly, the dialogue between students is somehow full of parabolical phrases. They frequently attempt to practice presenting quotations and parables beside attending formal sessions to develop their personal collections in mind. They believe that such an activity enhances their awareness and creativity.

There is also a course which is offered to senior

students called ጉት *gutt*. It deals with various styles of *Qəne* and provides various model compositions illustrating the features of each style. One of the model compositions keeps a title, እብብ ያየ በልጥ ደነገጠ 'əbāb yāyyaba-leṭ *danaggaṭa* “The one that saw a snake got scared with a bark”, and this is obviously a renowned Amharic proverb. Moreover, using Amharic proverbs in the composition of Gə'əz *Qəne* is a usual habit of many *Qəne* masters.

*Qəne* is a genre of an extraordinary Ethiopian poetry with special feature, beauty, and limit. It is an exciting intellectual composition which provides two or more messages by the same poetic verses. To compose a *Qəne* following the common rules and standards, it is needed to have enough knowledge of the language as well as the story about which the *Qəne* is to be composed. But to compose *Qəne* using Biblical quotations or popular proverbs, the composer must have enough collections of quotations and proverbs in mind in addition to the basic knowledge of the language. He also needs to know well their correct literal and metaphorical meanings. Particularly, to insert an Amharic proverb in Gə'əz *Qəne*, one should know how to translate it into the Gə'əz language as it keeps its tone and beauty that it has in its original language. So, such a performance is considered as a talent which is more appreciated than the common composition of *Qəne*.

Hence, many *Qəne* masters tend eventually to put various Amharic proverbs in their Gə'əz *Qəne*. It is not just a matter of tendency or interest. But they become more satisfied in their knowledge and talent of composing new treatises when they can deliver a concrete message through a popular proverb, Biblical quotation, and an idiomatic expression they use in the *Qəne*. Even the *Qəne* composed being interwoven with a quotation or a proverb has a great chance to spread out and be remembered more. To realize this, we can look at the following short *Qəne* with two lines.

ኩንኖ ጎጥአን ከሎሙ አይደልወከ ምንተ  
*k'onnəno ḥaṭə 'an k'əllom-u 'i-yədalləwa-kka mənta*  
 አፍቅሩ ጸላዕተኩሙ እስሙ ትብል አንተ  
*'afqəru ṣalā 'ətakə-mu 'əsmā-təbl 'anta*  
 “(Lord) you should not punish all sinners because you say ‘love your enemies”

The *Qəne* is assumed to be composed by the late 'Alaqā Gabrahanā (1822-1906 AD) (Marye, 2014: 9) who was one of the most popular church scholars with great acceptance and esteemed personal in the palaces of three Ethiopian Emperors Tewodros II (1855-1868 AD), Yohannes IV (1871-1889 AD) and Menilik II (1889-1913 AD). He died one hundred and fourteen years ago, but he is still known as a notable wise man and entertainer that the country has ever seen because of his comic jokes and funny actions which are narrated in the family and public stations (Arafeayne, unknown). With this *Qəne*, he attempted to shrewdly dispute against the Lord, not to

judge the sinners by presenting His own statement quoted from the Bible (“Love your enemies” Mathew 5:44) as an evidential reference. It is old composition but is still mentioned like the fresh one almost in all *Qəne* schools by students with joy and fun. Honestly, his other compositions did not get such popularity. He is rather known in his prolific knowledge of chanting alongside with his humors. Thus, it is genuinely possible to claim that the quotation he used made the *Qəne* more enjoyable and fascinating.

The following *Qəne* verses are also formed in the same way.

ባሕቱ ነፍሳት ገባአተ ሲኣል ዘበዘገኑ  
*bāḥəttu nafsāt gabbā 'əta si'ol za-bazḥu*  
 ይወዕኑ በጽባሕ ወሠርክ ይትፈሥሉ  
*yəwaqqə'u ba-ṣəbāḥ wa-šarka yətfəśśəḥu*  
 “But numerous souls, the peasants of Hell come out in the morning and become happy in the evening”

These lines were taken from a certain *Mawaddəs Qəne* composed by *Merigetā* Yətbārak Qirqos who was one of the popular *Qəne* masters of the 20th Century (Admasu, 1970: 210). The last line is fully quoted from David's psalm (Psalm 64/5:8). He has not made any change or rearrangement on that Biblical verse while putting it in the composition since it is fitting to the line structurally and theoretically. Like the previous one, this line made the entire *Qəne* gracious. Likewise, the attestation of proverbs in any form makes *Qəne* adorable and remarkable.

**DIFFERENT WAYS OF INSERTING AMHARIC PROVERBS IN GƏ'ƏZ QƏNE**

Like Biblical and non-Biblical quotations, Amharic proverbs are treated in different ways when they are needed to be part of Gə'əz *Qəne*. The following are the most practicable ways.

**Inserting an incomplete proverb**

Characteristically, proverbs vary from one to another in form and length. Only some of them fit the form and length of *Qəne* lines and can be easily treated. When the proverb which is needed to be used cannot be fully involved in *Qəne* verses in terms of its length or in terms of the type of the *Qəne* and measurements of its lines the composers use only the significant part of the proverb. We can prove this by seeing how *Malāka Bərḥān* Admāsu Ġambbare who was one of the prominent church scholars in the 20th Century used the following Amharic proverb in a short *Qəne* which is called *Guba'e-qānā* which is the simplest type of *Qəne*.

The proverb says:

ወንድ ወልደህ ለፈረስ ሴት ወልደህ ለበርኖስ

*wand waldah la-faras set waldah la-barnos*  
 “You may beget a son (and he may reach the age of riding) a horse, you may beget a daughter (and she may reach the age of wearing) a fine linen”.

Contextually, *barnos* “fine linen” is a special cloth which a bride wears at her wedding ceremony and reaching the day on which a daughter becomes a bride and wears that bride’s cloth is the dream of every parent. Similarly, the maturity of a son and his potential to ride a horse makes his parent happy and proud.

The size of the *Qəne* did not allow the master to use the complete translation of the proverb. Therefore, he took only the first fragment which he found so important for the composition of his *Qəne* as follows (AEL, 1988: 59):

መርቆሬዎስ አብ ይደልወ ከፍ፣ሥሐ  
*marqorewos ‘ab yədalləwa-kka fəśśəḥā*  
 ሃይማኖት ወልድከ እስመ ለፈረስ በጽሐ  
*Hāymānot waldə-ka ‘əsmā la-faras basha*  
 “Father Marqorewos, you deserve to be happy, because your son Faith reached the age of riding a horse”.

According to the accounts of synaxarion, the parents of Marqorewos were initially pagans; they became Christians after his birth. He became a martyr in his early age though Christianity was a new faith in the family. In his martyrdom, his black horse which he was riding during his lifetime has its own part. Soon after his death, Basil the Great (329-379 AD) confessed that the saint was revealed to him in the vision riding on his horse (Tənśā’e, 2002: 345-346). Thus, the *Qəne* master effectively used the proverb to draw our attention to this story.

**Inserting a complete proverb**

The other way of treating Amharic proverbs in *Gə’əz Qəne* is to completely mention the proverb without adding words or phrases that make it abstract. Sometimes, syntactical changes can occur for technical reasons regarding to word length and rhyme procedures. However, the entire proverb is treated in its equivalent *Gə’əz* translation.

Let us see how *Memhir Mengstu Zelealem* who is one of the most popular *Qəne* masters since 1960s used the well-known Amharic proverb, “የሚያጠግብ እንጀራ ከመሰብ-ያስታውቃል *yamiyāṭagəb ‘əngārā ka-masob-u yāstāwwəqāl* “A loaf which makes full is known from the basket” in his *Gə’əz Qəne*.

He says:

ያስታውቅ እምነ መሰብ ዘያጸግብ መና  
*yāsta ‘awwəq ‘əmnna-masob-u za-yāsagəb mannā*

In the *Qəne*, the proverb keeps different syntactical

arrangement of words. In its original form, it begins with the noun preceded by an adjective and ends with a verb. But in the *Qəne*, it occurs in the vice versa. This is however to keep the standardized length of words and to form a rhyme. Otherwise, no difference is rendered regarding the concept.

**Inserting a proverb by splitting into different lines**

The other way of using a complete proverb in a *Qəne* is splitting the proverb into two or more and put each segment in a separate line. In this case, the master may add some other words or phrases to keep the standard measurement of the lines and provides it in a figurative way. Nevertheless, the immediate message of the *Qəne* reflects the full concept of the proverb. Let us see the following Amharic proverb in the *Qəne* composed by the same master.

The proverb says:

ለአህያ ማር አይጥማትም  
*la-‘ahəyyā mār ‘ayəṭəmātəm*  
 ‘Honey is not sweet for a donkey’

It was treated in the *Qəne* as follows:

እስመ ቀዳሙ ተብህለ ኢይጥዕኖ በምዕር  
*‘əsmā qadimu tabhəla ‘iyyəṭəm-o ba-mə’r*  
 መዐር ለይሁዳ አድጎ ሲኦል መቃብር  
*ma‘ar la-yəhudā ‘adga si’ol maqābər*  
 “...because it was said earlier that honey is not sweet for Judas- the donkey of the hell- grave”.

According to Biblical accounts, Judas was one of the twelve disciples of Jesus. But later, he betrayed his teacher (Christ) for the Jews. Here in the *Qəne*, the master compared him to a donkey and attempted to remind how he left his discipleship and preferred to go down to the Hell (to enjoy punishment). This deed of Judas is compared to donkey’s vulnerability. Donkey carries a honey on the back but she neither taste it nor understand its sweetness. She rather prefers ashes or a dust to fell in it. Hence, the master could forward multiple messages in his *Qəne* by using one short proverb.

**Inserting a proverb by changing word forms**

A complete Amharic proverb can be inserted into *Gə’əz Qəne* by changing the form of one or more words in the proverb from verb to substantive or in the vice versa. As mentioned earlier, the need to change the forms of words relates to the norms of word lengths, word forms and rhyme. But as usual the concept remains the same. The following proverb and *Qəne* can be a good instance for this.

The proverb says:

ልጅ ቢሮጥ አባቱን አይቀድምም

*ləj biroṭ 'abbātun' ayqadməm*

“Even if a son runs, he cannot lead his father”

Then, it was added to a Gə‘əz *Qəne* as follows:

አኃው ግብኡ ጳውሎስሃ መክብበ

*'ahāw gəb' u pāwlosə-hā mekbəba*

እስመ ወልድ ለእመ ረዋጺ ኢይቀድም አበ

*'əsmā wald la- 'əmma-rawāši 'i-yyəqaddəm 'aba*

“Dear brothers, come back to Pawlos the head because even if a son is a runner, he cannot lead his father”

The *Qəne* was composed by me and presented to the late *Abuna* Pawlos (1992-2012 AD) the fifth Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church a couple of years before his death. The reason for its composition was the internal conflicts between church authorities and the agitation led by some scholars against him. It was just a call for reconciliation.

When we come to its linguistic analysis, the proverb is completely rendered in the *Qəne* with slight changes occurring in word formation and syntactical arrangement. The main verb *'i-yyəqaddəm* “not lead” precedes the object noun *'abba* “father” in the *Qəne* because of its length and form. In addition to this, to keep the *Qəne* rhymed, the expected ending consonant is *b*; and the word which contains that consonant is clearly *'aba*. Thus, the positions of these two words were rearranged in the *Qəne*.

The other difference is related to the verb in the subordinate clause *roṭa* “run”. In the *Qəne*, it is replaced by a substantive *rawāši* “runner” which shares the same origin with it. However, the change does not affect the concept of the proverb, and finally the *Qəne* gives the message that the proverb does.

**CONCLUSION**

Some people consider African proverbs as outdated items. People in Ethiopia do not agree with this since they use most frequently local proverbs to bravely express their feelings and emotions. Amharic is indeed one of the indigenous African languages which are rich in proverbs. There are thousands of original and customized Amharic proverbs that the people state at every situation. Phrasing a short constructive and illustrative proverb instead of making a long dialogue is a common choice of many people in Ethiopia. This tendency is richly seen in public speeches and literature too. The proverbs have the same value and significance in the composition of Gə‘əz *Qəne* (Ethiopian poetry). A *Qəne* composed with a proverb is highly appreciated by *Qəne* masters because this sort of composition needs high knowledge of both languages and a good experience.

Proverbs whether Amharic or of any other language are legacies that can express the history, culture, the socio-anthropological situation, and mentality of the society that speak them. They are also significant parts of languages and literatures that give beauty and power for utterances and statements either the poetic or the prosaic ones. Such a priceless legacy should not perish because the loss of a legacy is compared to the loss of the society itself. Therefore, all society members should take the responsibility to preserve these legacies by keeping the tradition undergoing. In particular, the influential persons such as political and religious leaders as well as writers and entertainers are expected to play the ground role in the preservation of proverbs by appreciating the tradition. The appreciation must include using the proverbs in appropriate way.

**REFERENCES**

Academy of Ethiopian Languages (AEL) (1988). *የግለሰብ ቅጂያት (ya-gə'əzqəneyāt* “Gə‘əz Poetries” Addis Ababa p. 59.

Admāsū Ġ (*Mal'aka bərhān*) (1970). *መጽሐፈ ቅጂ (məṣḥafa qəne* “The Book of *Qəne*”) (Addis Ababa: Tənsā' e za-gubā' e Publishing House p. 210.

Amsalu A, Dagnachew W (1987). *የአማርኛ ፈላጊዎች (ya-amarəññā falliṭ-oč* “Amharic idioms”) (Addis Ababa: Kurāz Publisher, pp. 3-5.

Arafeayne H *አለቃ ገበሬዳና አስቂኝ ቀለዶቻቸው ('alaqā gabrahannā-nā' asqifñ qaldoc-āčaw* “*Alaqā* Gabrahannā and his funny jokes”) (unknown).

Daniel A (2006). *የአማርኛ ተረትና ምሳሌዎች (ya-amarəññā tarat-ənnā mäsälle-woč* “Amharic parables and proverbs”) Addis Ababa, pp. 3-107.

Debebe H (2008). *አዲሱ የምሳሌዎቹ አገገግጅ መጽሐፍ ('addisu ya-məssāle-yāwi 'annagāgar-oč məṣḥaf* “The new book of Proverbs”) Addis Ababa: 2008.

Getahun A (1986). *The English-Amharic Idioms Dictionary*. Addis Ababa: Bole Printing Press, p. 1.

Faitlovitch J (1907). *የሐበሻ ተረት Proverbes Abyssins*. Paris.

Māhtama Sellāse WM (*Bəlätten-getā*) (1950). *የአባቶች ቅርስ (ya-abbāt-oč qərs* “Legacy of the Fathers”). Addis Ababa.

Marye Y (2014). *ቅጂያዊ የሰውቀት ፈጠራ (qəneyawi ye-əwqat faṭarā* “Knowledge creation in *Qəne*”). Addis Ababa: Goethe Institute, Z.A Publishing House, p. 9.

MOE, Ethiopia (2008). *የአማርኛ ቋንቋ ትምህርት ዘጠነኛ እና አስረኛ (ya-amarəññā q'ānq'ā təmhərt zaṭanañā 'ənnā 'assəraññā* “Amharic Syllabus for Grade Nine and Ten”) Addis Ababa p. 2.

Mogas 'EG (1967) *ጥንታዊ ምሳሌ በአማርኛ (təñāwi mäsāleba-amarəññā* “Ancient proverbs in Amharic”) Asmara.

Tənsā' e za-gubā' e publisher (2001). *ቅዱስ ማርያም ገባቡና ትርጓሜው (qəddāse māryāmnebab-u-nnā tərg'āmew* “The Anaphora of St. Mary, text and commentary”) Addis Ababa pp. 47, 205.

Tənsā' e za-gubā' e publisher (2002). *መጽሐፈ ስንክሳር (məṣḥafa sənəkəsār I* “Synaxarion I”) Addis Ababa: Tənsā' e za-gubā' e Publishing House, p. 345-356.

Tənsā' e za-gubā' e publisher (2005). *ወንጌል ቅዱስ ገባቡና ትርጓሜው (wangel qəddus nəbab-u-nnā tərg'āmew* “The Holy Gospel, text and commentary”) Addis Ababa: Tənsā' e za-gubā' e Publishing House, p. 207.

**Related Journals:**

