

**HISTORY
OF
HARAR AND THE HARARIS**

REFINED VERSION

**REFINED BY
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**HARARI PEOPLE REGIONAL STATE
CULTURE, HERITAGE AND TOURISM BUREAU**

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HARAR**

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FRONT COVER PICTURE: Asmaddin Bari Gate, an icon of Harar.

BACK COVER PICTURE: UNESCO World Peace Prize Award for Harar.

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ACRONYMS

AH	Hijria Calendar
BoFED	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
EDORM	Ethiopian Democratic Officers Revolutionary Movement
EPDM	Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement
EPLF	Eritrean People’s Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GC / AD	Gregorian Calendar
GPS	Geographical Positioning System
HPC	Harari Peoples Council
HPNRS	Harari People National Regional State
HNA	Harari National Assembly
HNL	Harari National League
HNC	Harari National Congress
HPA	Harari Peoples Assembly
Htrs	Hectares
IFLO	Islamic Front For Liberation of Oromo
MASL	Metres above Sea Level
OPDO	Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PRA	Peoples Representative Assembly
SHCM	Sherif Harar City Museum
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigrian People’s Liberation Front
UNESCO	United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front

FOREWORD

The arrangements for publication of this book entailed a series of steps and processes. First and foremost, the Harari People Regional State Bureau of Culture, Heritage and Tourism officially announced an invitation for competent consultancy service to produce a book on “History of Harar and Hararis” on 24th December, 2012, as a result, its consultancy agreement with Gessi Ali Naji, the owner of Mosaic Language and Computer Medium Organization, for the production of a book on the history of Harar and Hararis.

The Bureau had previously sent invitations to numerous consultants requesting them to submit their proposals to draft and write the complete history of Harar and its people. The invitations were accompanied with terms of reference (TOR) for the projected work. The organization, which was selected that its name just mentioned earlier, as consultant duly, submitted the required documents and on acceptance, its team immediately produced and delivered the TOR with an action plan for project execution.

The preliminary step to be taken in the implementation was to carry out literature review which had been carefully done and presented in the first workshop in Harar on 08/09/2013. Then followed investigating primary sources, interviewing the resource persons in Harari Region and surrounding areas as far as Ziway, Silte and Alaba, Somali, Oromia and Afar Regions together with site visits to historical sites such as Shumbura-kouri and collection of photographs and recorded interviews.

This was followed by gathering and investigating archive materials. The consultant’s research team completed its analysis, assembled the write-ups and submitted to the Bureau its first draft of the book and the Technical Committee reviewed and gave to the consultant with its comment. The consultant has also submitted the second draft incorporating the comments.

The Technical Committee took time to review the 2nd draft meticulously then arranged the 2nd workshop which was conducted April 28-29, 2014 attended by well-informed and highly experienced appropriate (relevant) individuals from Harar, Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa.

The consultant was instructed to take into consideration, the definitive inputs from the workshop and submit its final draft in accordance with the June, 2014 agreement.

Further the Technical Committee, together with the management of the Bureau, discussed the draft book at length and agreed, before publication, to undertake the 3rd workshop for stakeholders which was held from December 01-03, 2014 for three

days. The participants agreed to review the book, intensively, and forward their constructive suggestions in about one month.

In the meantime, additional facts distilled from Arabic manuscripts and valuable information from some resource persons, were gathered and the fourth meeting i.e. the 4th workshop, which took place in Harar from January 07-08, 2015. This workshop further elected unanimously Mr. Muhammad Ahmed Hassan Sharif as the right person to edit the English language of the draft book, which he finalized in about two months.

The Technical Committee members were:

1. Gessi Ayub AbdullahiChair person
2. Gessi Abdunasir Idris.....Member
3. Gessi Abdussamad Idris.....Member
4. Gisti Nuria Abdullahi.....Member
5. Gessi Eskender Abdurahman...Secretary

Among many reviewers and attendants in the workshops, the following were worth to mention: Gessi Emran Mohammed Waber, Gessi Mohammed Ahmad Hassan Sharif, Ambassador Mahdi Gadid and Gessi Abdulkarim Ahmed (See the rest of participants on annex 7). All the workshops and meetings were chaired and led by Mr. Muhiadin Ahmad, Head of Bureau of Culture, Heritage and Tourism. It ought to be noted that prior to the announcement of publication, on the advise of the Regional President, Gessi Murad Abdulhadi, the full draft of the book “*History of Harar and the Hararis*” had been posted for two monthson web-sites owned by Harari Government Communication Office, [www. Hararlive.org](http://www.Hararlive.org), for the general public and the Diaspora for perusal and opinions. Thus all useful comments from the public were incorporated.

On the final say of the Harari workshop, participantstogether with the Technical Committee haveendorsed the publication of this bookat the 5th workshop held fromMarch6-7, 2015.

PREFACE

The history of the Sultanate of Harar and the Harari people and their relation with the surrounding Nations, Nationalities and Peoples has been studied by a number of scholars and writers. However, most of these historical and quasi-historical works deal with specific aspects of the history of the Harari people. Some discuss the religious aspect of Hararis since the time of Abadir; others examine the political and economic history of the Sultanate. Several historical theses focus on the relation between the Muslim Sultanates and the Christian kingdom. Still others, almost exclusively deal with the socio-cultural history of the Harari people. However, most have yet to attempt to conjoin the fragments and come up with an integrated statement of the Harari reality. By and large, these disparate or vectored writings fall short of presenting a comprehensive temporal and thematic history of the Harari people and of Harar. However, they have played creditable and appreciable role in bringing 'Harar and Hararis to world-wide attention.

In fact, Hararis present a solid sound and historically evolved society, with their own centuries-old rich and proud cultural legacies, the preservation of the history of the Harari people would contribute to the knowledge of the diverse civilization of this region, which has been the cross road of people

Since 1887, Hararis have been increasingly side-lined within the centralized State. Hararis, whose name implies their attachment to the City of Harar and who are Muslims and were economically better established than the surrounding populations, had the basis of their identity destabilized through absorption into the feudal imperial State of Ethiopia, and by the enforced displacement and exodus of a high proportion of the total population within, and outside, Ethiopia.

This book presents the history of Harar and the Harari people, from ancient times to the 1990s aims to:

- Offer a general overview of the origin of the Harari people;
- Narrate the kaleidoscopic political history of Harari people and the City of Harar from early times up to the 1990's;
- Explain the historical dynamics of Harar's sophisticated economy;
- Analyse the time tested social organizations of the Harari people;
- Discuss the rich cultural values of the Harari people, and
- Elaborate the contribution of the Harari civilization to Ethiopia and its influence an Empire and City-State in eastern Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

The specific Chapters deal with the major themes of the history of the Harari people and Harar, and are arranged, consecutively according to thematic precedence.

This book is divided into three parts: the political history, the economic history and the social and cultural history of Hararis and Harar. Each of the parts is divided into Chapters and sub-topics that deal with its specified theme. And in so far as the book is based on research, the appendix and glossary are attached along with the list of informants, maps, a bibliography of books, unpublished materials, documents, and diverse encyclopaedia.

And, finally, this book, therefore, is designed - more or less - to present a comprehensive record of the history of Harar and the Harari Nation. It is a historical statement by Harari about their Nation and their Homeland. It is further, an invitation to scholars and professional researchers, as well as friends and knowledgeable authorities and writers to deeper study the history of Hararis and of the nations of the Horn of Africa.

In retrospect, attritive wars and inter-Horn migrations of peoples, invasions and later, land-grabbing reduced the once great Harari Emirate to a minor regional state. And, surely, Hararis have been, and are deeply averse to identity - and history - grabbing at all times.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Geographical Setting

Harar a repository of the imprints of successive civilizations over many centuries lies on the eastern shoulder of the Great Rift Valley in the Horn of Africa and is anchored on the Ahmar Mountains chain. Its geographic coordinates are $9^{\circ} 11' 49''$ - $9^{\circ} 24' 42''$ North latitude and $42^{\circ} 03' 30''$ - $42^{\circ} 16' 24''$ East longitude at a distance of 515 kilometres to the south-east of Addis Ababa, with an elevation of 1750 metres above sea level. In the medieval period, Harar became the capital of the historic Adal Sultanate and began to gain prominence as an *entre pôte* or half-way house between the vast Ethiopian hinterland and the maritime regions of the Horn of Africa. Later still, Harar maintained its leadership as a political and socio-economic centre of the region throughout the Dawudi Emirate. Today, Harar is the administrative seat of the Harari People Regional State (Belte, A., 2003).

The Harari People Regional State is one of the nine regional states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The Region is the smallest in terms of size, population and surface area. The total area of the region is 343.2 sq. km. (19.5 sq. km urban and 323.7 sq. km. rural) According to the 2007 Central Statistical Authority (CSA) Report, the total population of the Region is 183,415. (Of which 92,316 male and 91,099 female) It is the only region in Ethiopia where the majority of its population, i.e., 99,368 or 54.18% is urban inhabitants(Harari BoFED, 2006).



Map 1:-Christian Territories during the Zagwe Dynasty

Politically, the diminution of the size of its population was due to the policy of the preceding dictatorial regimes. The legislative organ of the Harari People Regional State follows a bi-cameral mode of governance; viz. the Harari National Council and the Harari Representatives Council. This is a unique arrangement from among the member states that make up the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and is an effective application of socio-political affirmative action in an internationally recognized form.

1.1.1. Topography and Relief

The Harari Region is surrounded by three highland massifs. These are the Charchar Highlands, the Gursum(Shadda wa Madda) Highland and the Harar Highland and they constitute the Eastern Ethiopian plateau. The eastern most section, the Harar highland is defined as the part of the Eastern Ethiopian Highlands covering areas west and southwest of Mukhtar Mountain

up to the East and Northeast of *Shadda wa Madda*[*wa stands for 'and'*]and *aw-Serir* Mountain in the eastern fringe. Along the southern slope, the Harar highland descends gradually into the Shebelle plains and drains through four valleys. More specifically, the region is characterized by widely varying topographic and relief features which include rugged terrain, steep sloping hills and mountainous landscapes. These also define the regional geomorphologic features, soil type, flora and fauna as well as its agro-ecological zones. Based on altitude, the agro ecology of the region is divided into two main zones: mid highland temperate, where 90% of the land is estimated at altitudes, between 1400 - 2200 metres above sea level and the tropical 10% below approximately 1400 metres (Harari BoFED, 2006).

The topography surrounding the city of Harar is also divided into highlands and lowlands (valley areas) with elevation ranging from about 1300 to 2200, characterized by steep slopes descending towards the south east of the town. *Aw-Hakim* Mountain located on the western sector of the town, forms the highest peak (2200 MASL). The *Beke-Kalu* Mountain in the *Ulan-Ula* rural *kebele* in the north-eastern part of the region rises to an elevation of 2055 MASL, as second to the highest peak *aw-Hakim*. The valleys, (particularly the *Erer Valley*) are found mostly in the eastern low areas which slope gently southwards to approximately 1300 MASL. The *Erer Valley* extends from south of *Jewer* and *Beke-Kalu* Mountains for about 15 km and on a north-north-west to south-south-east axis.

Considering elevations less than 1400 MASL as lowlands, and higher than 1400 MASL as highlands, only 3670 hectares (10.7%) fall in lowlands and the remaining 30650 hectares (89.3%) fall under highlands. Based on the altitudinal positions and ranges indicated above, the *aw-Hakim-Beke-Kalu* Mountain ranges and the *Erer Valley*, which constitute the topographic highs and lows,

respectively, are the major relief features of the Harari National Regional State. The topographic highs are characterized by surging upland plateaus and steeply sloping to undulating erosional hills and foot-slopes, whilst the topographic lows are characterized by plain physiographic with, gently sloping down to almost the level of depositional slopes.

1.1.2. Climate

The rainfall in the region has a bimodal pattern. The first peak is in April–May, while the second and main peak occurs in July–August. In general, the April to October rains (peaking in the months of June to September) contribute a little over 50% of the total annual precipitation. The months from November–January usually constitute the dry periods. According to HPNR report (1999) the annual rainfall varies from 880 mm near Haromaya, through 859 mm at Harar to 721 mm around Babile. At the Harar weather station, the 2006 reading of the mean annual daily temperature was 13.0^oc, while the annual mean maximum temperature recorded was 19.2^oc and mean minimum daily temperature was 5.2^oc. The warmest months are February to May while the coldest months are November to January. In general, the city is situated on a hill top, surrounded by an extensive river system. The hill provides the city with pleasant, cool and salubrious climate favourable for human settlement, and protection from both man-made and natural disasters.

1.2. Sources Utilized

The practice of history writing, like any other scientific engagement, is entirely based on empirical evidence which emanates from sources of various natures. Historical sources encompass every type of evidence and traces that human beings have left behind in their past activities including written documents and oral evidences, the shape of the landscape and material artefacts, the fine arts as well as photography and films(Tosh J., 2002). In writing the

history of the Harari people and the city of Harar, relevant historical sources were collected, compiled, collated, evaluated and utilized in accordance with their validity. In this section, attempt is made to examine and analyse the nature and integrity of these historical sources.

In the recorded history of Ethiopia, during the oppressive previous regimes, Harar and the Hararis are mentioned only twice; that is, in the context of the campaigns of Imam Ahmed and the seminal battle of Chalanqo, in spite of the fact that, as an ancient urban centre, where historical evidence is found in abundance; be it in the form of written documents (both primary and secondary), or a range of rich oral sources, and archaeological deposits in the surrounding areas of the city of Harar. These sources were counter-checked and interpreted in the course of constructing the history of Harar and the Hararis.

1.2.1. Oral Sources

Harar is richly endowed with oral traditions and oral history. Elderly men in Harar, its surroundings and in distant places with some connection to Harar discuss myths and mythologies on the foundation of Harar, ancient settlement sites, the people of the Harar plateau etc. Oral Harari literature is very much alive among the Hararis, both among residents of Harar and the expatriates. It includes songs that are chanted and delivered on different occasions such as weddings, in religious festivals during prayers, in praises of holy-men etc. Some of them have been published by Leslau and more recently by 'Abdulmuheymin 'Abdunasir. As in most oral traditions among peoples in the Horn of Africa and, enriched deposit of legends and fables; there are many folktales about mythical events that involve the fortress walls of Harar and its holy-men. There are also collections of proverbs and riddles in Harari languages (Banti, G., 2003).

Additionally, knowledgeable oral informants provide ample information on the political, economic, cultural and social events of the Harari society in the recent past. These sources can be categorized as eye-witness account. Recourse has been made to the oral interviews in relation to: contemporary political developments; the interaction of Hararis with the neighbouring communities and with people in distant places who have strong affinity with Hararis; economic and social reforms during various regimes of the recent past.

1.2.2. Archaeological Sources

From the limited archaeological information available up to the present writing, it would appear that Harar is the last urban site of an earlier widespread Muslim culture. Different archaeological remains in, and around, Harar can help reconstruct the history of the city and its people. Some of these are indicated below:

- A. Reports and Findings by Archaeological Expeditions: Despite the abundance of ancient sites, such as Harla-bad, Olad and Kimiat rock art, caves, Koroso and ruins left by the Harla people and others, no sufficient archeological excavations have been carried out in the past in the region. However, there is a paucity of archaeological excavations carried out in the region in the near past.

Richard Wilding provides sites from Ogaden and Charchar, all with rectangular stone buildings attributed to the Harla. The best examples of these sites are *Darbi-gar*, at Chinakson and the three settlement sites in Charchar, commonly named as Biyo Harla. The other sites are Kadana, Djogola, Lange and Boko where material remains such as pottery and coins were found. These sites are perceived as trading centres for caravans to, and

from, the ports of Zaila' and Barbara (Wilding, R., 1975). Popular traditions, as well as scholarly explanations, suggest the Harla were responsible for the construction of these sites.

Another archaeological field report was submitted by Cervick Pavel and Ulrich Braukamper regarding the findings of Laga Gafra in Garamullata in 1971/72. They stated that the rock paintings of Laga Gafra in Garamullata and Laga Oda are typically rock paintings of different animals domesticated in Harar and the Horn, that depicted in the prehistoric sites of ruins of stone built necropolises; houses and walls are frequently found in Northern Harar (Cervick & Braukamper, 1973). Popular tradition ascribes the rock paintings indiscriminately to the Harla people. Indeed, the rock paintings are congruent with the general rock paintings in South Arabia and North Africa.

Also recent archaeological excavations in, and around, Harar have uncovered different settlement sites and material remains. These sites (Ganda Gola, Koremmi, and Harla-Bad) offer useful archaeological findings. Further, the Olad and Kimiat rock arts in Harari region of rich civilization and settlements dating back to more than 7000 years confirm, as Braukamper puts it, that these are the work of the Harla people, of whom the Hararis are descended. At these sites, different rectangular stone buildings, similar to other sites, were found yet ruined and are attributed to the Harla. There were also pottery fragments of different type and shape, bone fragments of unidentified animals, and remnants of clothing. The general assumption to be drawn from the findings in these sites is that there were stone buildings without mortar in ancient times, and that the walls were probably defensive structures, similar to the Jugal of Harar.

- B. Graveyards: Several graves of Muslims have been identified in Harar and its surroundings. These cemeteries are useful archaeological remains to construct the history of the area. The inscriptions engraved on graveyards provide information on the names and dates of the deceased. A number of cemeteries in the region have contributed to the understanding of the Muslim communities. (Xavier, F.& Hirsch, B., 2004-2010). Numerous graveyards were identified during a current field survey in Harar and its surrounding areas including to mention but a few, *aw-Abadir*, *aw-Izeen*, *aw-Wariqa*, *aw-Hakim*, *aw-Nugus*, *aw-Tegen* and *aw-Khuddun* in Jarso. Sources mention that, there are some others to the south and east of Bate that are respected and revered as religious *Awachach* (shrines) by the inhabitants. Popular traditions again attribute these graveyards to Harari scholars.

An inscription engraved on a grave stone that shows 420 AH (Banti, G., 2003) is found in Harla. A large-scale settlement site attributed to the Harla was discovered on the slopes of Dangago, about 30 kilometres from Harar, on the way to Dire Dawa. Its approximate date is 1042 AD. This implies the presence of one of the earliest Muslim communities in the region and probably could be associated with the Makhzumite Dynasty which had established its political base on the escarpments of eastern Shewa in 896 AD. Islam had already been introduced into the region prior to this period.

Later, when the Muslim Sultanate retreated to the Harar plateau, these Harla sites were identified as major trading communities. A number of such centres were discovered during a recent field survey and confirmed by oral informants, some of these are Biyo Karaba, Biyo Waraba, Biyo

'Abduqe, Biyo Awale, Biyo Harla, and Biyo Salama, according to the informants. *Biyo* is simply place of settlement and all are found along the trade route that connects these Muslim communities with the Red Sea coast. Incidentally the field visit to Harla site vividly demonstrated that Harla is a huge site with ruins of buildings and mosques. Two large ruins of mosques were explained by guides as belonging to the Amirs. One large settlement ruin on a higher ground was claimed to belong to the Amirs and to have been of strategic significance. In addition to varieties, types of coins, cowrie's shells, pottery, and ceramics, water wells are still to be seen at Harla.

- C. Coins: Next to Axum, Harar was one of the earliest urban centres to have minted its own coinage in Ethiopia and the Horn. Even though archaeologists have not yet assigned a concrete period for the beginning of the mintage of coins in Harar, the available written documents indicate they were minted circa 1200 AH (Ahmed Z, 1991). Beginning from the 18th century, however, the mintage of coins continued in a regular fashion. Coins provide substantial information such as names of the Amirs who minted them, the dates and places of their mintage, religious symbols and other details. Based on these, as Ahmed Zakaria's work indicates, one can construct the economic and political history of Harar at specific periods.

1.2.3. Written Documents

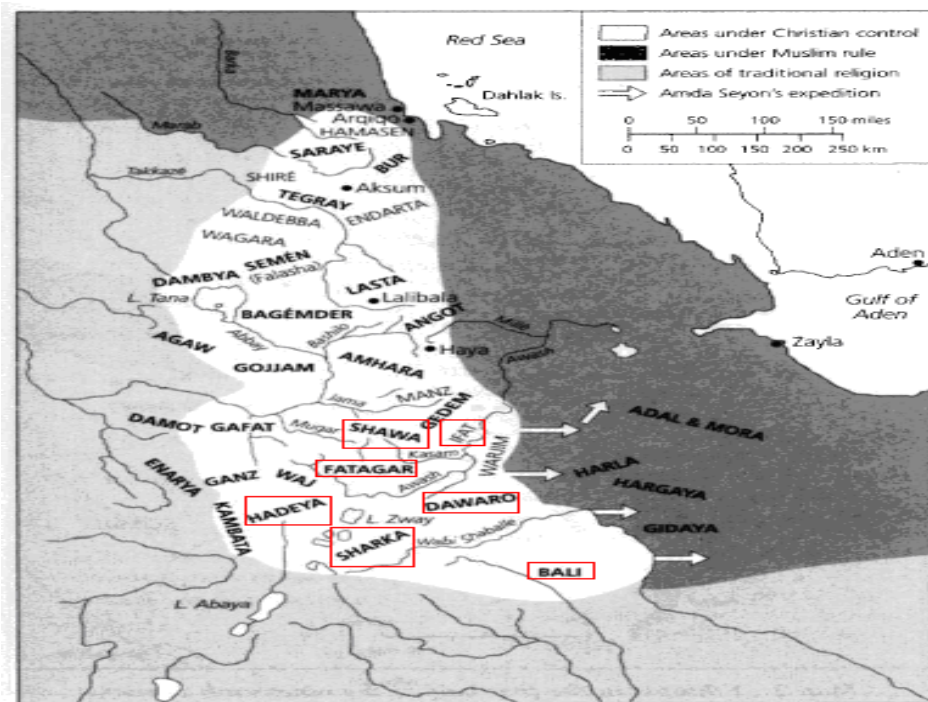
Regarding the written sources in the history of Harar and the Hararis, one of the main internal sources *Fat'h Madinat Harar* "the Conquest of Harar" written by Yahya Nasrallah, covering the period between 1216-1301 AD (Wagner, E., 2003) ought to be mentioned. The text is preserved in manuscript form by many Harari and Somali elders.

1.2.4. Chronicles

Chronicles written in different languages have proved of essential relevance in the construction of the history of Harar and Hararis. The earliest mention of Harar in the Abyssinian Atse chronicles is in the 14th century chronicle of King Amda Tsion (c. 1314-1344) (Huntingford, G. W. B., 1965).

On his defeat, by Emperor Dawit in 1415 AD Ifat's Sultan Sa'adadin's predecessors relocated power centre to Dakar, (near Harar) which remained his seat until its destruction in 1479 AD by Eskinder. Subsequent to his victory over his religious contender Abogn bin Adish in 1520 AD Sultan Aboubaker bin Muhammad bin Azhar ad-Din made Harar his new political capital in addition to its historically evolved economic and religious centre of the Muslim states (Wagner, E., 2003).

Furthermore, Shihab ad-Din Ahmed bin 'Abd al-Qadir (better known as Arab Faqih) provided extensive account of Harar. In his monumental work which immortalized both his name and of Harar in *Futuh al-Habashah* (the Conquest of Abyssinia) hereafter the *Futuh*. In the *Futuh*, Arab Faqih discussed in great detail the rise to power of *Imam*Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi and his subsequent campaigns using Harar as his spring board and political capital. The Chronicle provides detailed information on place names, battlefields, the fighting forces and clans involved in the campaigns of *Imam*Ahmed as well as settlement patterns of the Harar Plateau (Stenhouse, P.L.& Pankhrust, R., 2003).



Map 2:-Land Held by: Christian, Muslim and Traditional Religion

Although their information on Harar is short and scanty, the Chronicles of Atse Sertse Dengil and of Atse Menelik II in the 19th century, narrate military engagements of the rulers of the Harar and the Christian kings in late 16th and late 19th centuries, respectively.

It should be noted that these chronicles have their own merits and demerits, and careful use of these chronicles throws some light on the reconstruction of the history of Harar and its surroundings.

1.2.5. Manuscripts

A number of Harari and Arabic manuscripts are untapped and await historical research. Some Arabic manuscripts have been used. One of the best examples is Yusuf Ahmed's work. Yusuf has done research on an Arabic translation of an old Harari manuscript. His work gives insight into a wide range of subjects with particular focus on commercial and agricultural activities in Harar during the first part of the 19th century (Yusuf A., 1961).

Another important Arabic manuscript is found in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University under the call number 276. This manuscript is entitled *Jadwal ash-Shash wa-ash-Shami wad ar-Rabi*, in which its author Ahmed ash-Shami, a recognized Harari scholar gives a list of all the *Amirs* of Harar from Amir Haboba (283-333 AH = 893-942 AD) to the arrival of the Egyptians in Harar. Ewald Wagner has annotated and published three of these 19th century manuscripts and discuss within their context the names of *Amirs*, the transfer and registration of property, place names and other details that add to our understanding of the history of Harar in that period (Wagner, E., 1974). Indeed, Harari manuscripts of the 19th century offer substantial data on trade items under the auspice of the *ruling Amirs*. But, in general, a large number of Harari and Arabic manuscripts are yet to be effectively utilized in historical research.

1.3. Archive Materials

Two archival centres have been of focal reference. These are the Harari National Regional State documentation room and Sharif Harar City Private Museum documentation. They contain substantial collections of documents on *Hannolato*, *Kulub*, *Watani* and other political issues in which the Harari people had actively taken part in national struggles for justice and freedom against the oppression. The present research has gone to a modest extent through pertinent documents, involving

more than 1100 archival letters that elucidate the central role that Harar played in ensuring the security of the Ethiopian State.

1.4. Travel Accounts and Missionary Documents.

A number of travellers and missionaries had visited Harar at different times. One general feature that unites these early travellers is that their accounts tend to concentrate more on the activities and the history of the expatriate and their interests in Harar and its surroundings. Major Cornwallis Harris's three volumes *The Highlands of Ethiopia (1844)* throw some light on the trading communities of the 'Hururi' as he referred to the Harari and 'Hurur' for Harar in Aliyu Amba. He provides information on the relation the Harari had with the surrounding communities such as the Oromo and the Somali. According to Harris, who stayed for some time in Aliyu Amba, the Amir of Harar succeeded in establishing cordial relations with the king of Shewa and secured the opening of a liaison office that can oversee and follow up the affairs of the Hararis living there. He also throws some light on the commercial relations of Harar and Shewa (Harris, W. C., 1844).

Perhaps, the best example of travel work in the history of Harar is Richard Burton's 1856 narrative of his journey titled *First Footsteps in East Africa*. The Egyptian army Muhammed Mukhtar Pasha (Vice governor) a member of the staff of the Egyptian governor, Rauf Pasha, spent several months in Harar and its environs in 1876, and published his experiences in the *Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie du Caire* the same year. This could be considered as the best source of information for the period preceding the Egyptian campaign. His manuscript also provides important information on agricultural activities and the crops grown in Harar and its surroundings (Mukhtar M., 1876). Philipp Paulitschke, an Austrian, who travelled extensively in the whole of the

Harar region, produced two valuable works in 1888. His ethnographic and anthropological information is invaluable in understanding the history of Harar in the 19th century (Paulitschke, P., 1888).

The writings of some missionaries, particularly the Catholic, about Harar are abundant. Most are in French, although there are still some English versions, such as the works of Father Emile Foucher.

Adventurers, merchants and fortune seekers are another group of writers who have also contributed in their own right, to the enrichment of knowledge about Harar. The best examples, among this group are Alfred Bardey, Arthur Rimbaud, Julies Borelli, Robecchi Bricchetti (Italian Engineer who constructed the Medhane Alem Church in Harar on the forcibly demolished mosque of the Sheikh Bazikh Mosque). The short list throws some light on the socio-economic fortunes and benefits Harar could provide through trade. A few words on Alfred Bardey who was the first French trader to come to Harar, from his base in Aden wrote in detail about aspects of architecture, commerce, clothing, religion, people and history of the region, including a detailed chronology of rulers of Harar from 1500 to the time of Egyptian occupation in 1897. He also introduced A. Rimbaud, another Frenchman, to Harar in the 1880's (Bardey, A., 1897).

The descriptions and writings of Arab geographers are some of the most valuable sources of information on the medieval Muslim provinces of eastern Ethiopia. The 14th century sympathetic report of the Egyptian courtier Ibn Fadle Allah al-Umari on the medieval Muslim provinces of eastern Ethiopia is worth mentioning. He provided information on the location, currency, the army and other details of Muslim states.

1.5. Memoirs and Autobiographies

The Hararis and Harar have entered a fateful period of history as Emperor Menelik II conquered the region in 1887. After the Shewan comers were settled in present-day Harar and Harargey, important socio-economic and political developments emerged and these were recorded in memoirs and autobiographies of few Christian administrators, mainly, *Fitawrari* Tekle Hawariat's "*Ya Hiwote Tarik*" and *Ras* Emiru's "*Kayehut Kamastawisew*" are informative sources. They clearly recount the changes and continuities, especially in general administration and some economic arrangements.

1.6. Historiography

The 19th century saw some revival in the study of Harar. These scholarly works could be summarized into certain thematic areas which will be discussed under certain rubrics hereunder. Perhaps the largest literary production on Harari history is the political dimension. Partly due to the state centred view on history and its predilection to stress on political realities. More information is available on the political history of Harar. Ewald Wagner's discussion on the genealogy of the Emirate of Harar provides useful information even long before the 19th century (Wagner, E., 1994). There are also works that deal with aspects of state formation in the Harar plateau. A number of scholars have written on different aspects of the political history of Harar. Tim Carmichael's local administration and its relation with the central government in Harar indicates the unique position of Harar from other subjugated lands of the South since the Shewan government adopted the already existing literary tradition of Harar. *Ras* Makonnen and the subsequent governors inherited long established administrative structure and official archives (Carmichael, T., 2001). The contemporary movements of the Harari for self-rule were also discussed by Rahji 'Abdallah which he

epitomized as “The Kulub Hannolato Movements”(Rahji, A., 1987).

Taking political issues as centre stage of their discussion, a considerable amount of work has been produced on the nature of the Harari relations with resident and surrounding population. Sidney Waldron (1964) and Mohammed Hassan (1999) have produced detailed accounts of relations among the groups through four centuries, from 1500-late 1800s, emphasizing the interdependency of the two groups.

Another genre of historical materials that deal with Harar is economic issues. There are numerous articles, and book chapters on this aspect. Yusuf Ahmed’s article, mentioned earlier, on agricultural and trading activities of the Harari deserves attention. He discusses the agricultural products, agricultural techniques and post-harvest crop preservation techniques. On trading aspects, commodities imported and exported, the role of the *Amir* in trade etc. are discussed. Perhaps the bulk of the materials on economic aspects deal with commerce. Harar’s geographical position and its political importance as a long standing city state with established connections to both the interior and the coast fostered the growth of Harar as a major commercial centre. For centuries, Harar lay on one of the two major trade routes which linked both the southern and northern spheres of the Ethiopian plateau. In this regard, the works of Sydney Waldron from political economy perspective (Waldron, S., 1984), Ahmed Zakaria’s article on types of currency involved in this century long trade relation are of particular relevance (Ahmed Z., 1991).

Looking at the socio-cultural literature, historical and anthropo-logical works have immensely contributed to our understanding of the Harari past. One of these aspects is religion. Harar was a centre of Islamic civilization in the Horn of Africa. In this regard Enrico Cerulli’s

pioneering work is worth mentioning. His Italian work which was translated very recently by Emran elaborates the presence of Islam before Abadir. In relation to Islam, Braukamper's seminal work *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia* (2004) deserves attention. According to him, the inhabitants of Harar plateau, from Charchar Mountains to the Hargeisa region, had been Muslims from the time of the earliest inception of Islam in Mecca.

In the process of Islamization of the Oromo in Harar plateau, Braukamper discusses the role the Harari played by spreading the *Da'is*(propagators) who have opened Quranic schools and taught the Qur'an in Oromo land. Reinforcing the same argument Mohammed Hassan (1999) discusses the shrines and *qubbis* established by Hararis. Despite the abundance and significance of shrines in Harar, the study of this important centre is in its infancy. According to Emil Foucher, even in the 1980s, it was difficult to have a complete list of their names. In his 1988 publication, Foucher located 235 Awach, but he admitted that it is impossible to know the exact number of shrines in the city. He also tried to indicate the importance and instrumentality of Awach in the spread of Islam from Harar to the surrounding areas (Foucher, E., 1994). Hence, Harar became one of the most prominent centres of Islamic culture in Ethiopia and spread its influence to neighbouring regions especially amongst the Oromo.

Another aspect of the socio cultural literature worth mentioning is the social organizations and institutions. Waldron (1974) analyses three fundamental institutions. These are kinship group, friendship group and community organization *afocha* (Waldron, S., 1980). Taking all these Gibb adds the fourth institution called neighbourhood *toya* (Gibb, C., 1996). These scholars agree that these institutions produce conformity and homogeneity. They dictate the very survival of an individual Harari. According to them the mystery of the survival of the

Harari community largely rests on these institutions.

Besides these, there are different kinds of associations or groupings such as *baha* (Union of women's voluntary rotating credit association to save money and help during special events), *mugad* (boys' and girls' associations) *jama'ah* (union for religious observances) and *ahlach* /relatives/wa *marignach* /friends male/, *geilach* /friends female/. Concerning the *mugad*, Durri Mohammed's article can be mentioned as a pioneering work (Durri Mohammed, "The Mugads of Harar, 1955)". Along with these different ethnological works, that had contributed on the funeral ceremonies, weddings and other cultural practices of the Harari community (Abdulla Abdurahman, "Harari Funeral Customs.1994)".

Art as a component of socio cultural history has its own significance in Harari history. Issues such as building, architecture, dressing, music etc. have explicit historical references and were discussed by a number of scholars. Richard Wilding's Harari domestic architecture in terms of Harari House building is worth mentioning (Wilding, R., 1975). Harari Basketry as domestic architecture and its significance is also discussed by a number of scholars such as Ahmed Zakaria and Elisabeth Dorothen (Ahmed, Z., 1975). The making of Harari clothes, meanings of symbols and their historical representation is discussed by Gibb (Gibb, C., 1996).

Language is also given much emphasis and is treated by a number of expatriate and Harari scholars. From foreign experts the works of Wolf Leslau should be taken as pioneering. Leslau classified Harari language as one of the South Ethio-Semitic language groups and studied its morphology, syntax, grammar and other aspects of Harari language. Harari scholars such as "Abdurrahman Mohammed Qoram, Abdulmuheymin Abdunasir and more recently 'Ali Naji have also contributed for the enrichment of the language. Wolf Leslau and Abdulmuheymin have published songs that are performed on different occasions such as weddings, and festivals

while Wolf Leslau and 'Abdurrahman have collected and published different proverbs and riddles (Leslau, W., 1965).

Mention should be made of the contribution of various scholars on Harar in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. There are countless entries on these publications that discuss religion, economy and literature, names of holy-men, city structure, religious titles, and specific place names connected with Harar etc. But the largest entries are the list of the *Amirs* of Harar, which are contributed by Ewald Wagner.

Finally, the invaluable contribution of Ewald Wagner in bringing together the basic information of the existing literature on the Harari and Harar in his bibliographical survey is worth mentioning.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND

2. THE HARARIS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THENEIGHBOURING PEOPLES

2.1. The Origin of the People

The Harari people, according to linguistic classification, are one of the Semitic speaking peoples of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa. The Semitic speaking peoples, including the Hararis, are indigenous people in the Horn of Africa, with successive interaction across the water bodies between Africa and Asia. The Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the coast of east Africa are situated along one of the world's earliest maritime trade routes, which linked Egypt and subsequently the countries of the Mediterranean with Arabia, India, and the Far East (Pankhurst, R., 1997). Thus, there have been exchanges of cultures and movement of individuals due to various economic, social and political reasons.

Harar is one of the areas in the Horn where humans used to live probably in open areas and in caves since the pre-historic period. The rock-arts in various parts of this region are the main evidences for the age-old existence of human kind. For decades, scholars have been examining the rock-arts, in Kimiat and Olad around Harar (at Erer), from *Ganda Biftu* (Goda Kataba), Waybar, Ourso, *Goda Rorris*, Saqa Sharif, *Goda Wonji*, *Laga Gafra* and *Laga Oda*. Though the arts vary in style and emphasis, most of them depict the practice of hunting and the domestication of animals in the area nearly 7,000 years before the present (Finneran, Niall., 2007).



Photo 1:-One of the Rock Art in HarariRegion

H. De Contenson writes:-

“During the last ten millennia before our era, the few stone tools that have survived resemble the collection of artefacts dating from the late stone age of southern Africa. In this period, pastoral peoples seemed to have lived here, who made drawings of their hump less, long-horned cattle on the rocky crags that stretched from the north of Eritrea to the land of the Hareri; their herds resembled those that were raised at the same period in the Sahara and in the Nile basin. These peoples were in contact with the Egyptian world from a very early date.” (H. DE CONTENSON, 2011).

Written, as well as, oral sources state that diverse people had lived in today’s eastern part of Ethiopia in the last

millennium. However, no people are more prominent in the public memory in region than the Harla.¹ In *Futuh al-Habashah* and *Awsa Chronicle*, they are allied to Muslim leaders *Qadi* Salih, *Imam* Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim and *Imam* Muhammad (Banti, G., 2005). In the *Vitae* of Stephanie, the Harla were mentioned as merchants (Getachew Haile, 2010). In *Futuh*, the Harla were one of the three main components of the *Imam*'s army, together with the Somali and Malasay.

For decades, scholars have collected, as well as, excavated archaeological evidences from various archaeological sites in the vast Charchar massif, especially at the Harla village near the town of Dire Dawa. To the east of Harar, Azais and Chambard pointed out the ruins of several ancient towns with mosques: Jigjiga, Chinakson, and Nur 'Abdoshe. In the same region, a few kilometres from Chinakson, *Derbi-gar* is mentioned as a 'large town' surrounded by walls and characterized by the presence of a very old mosque as well as Muslim burials (Xavier et al, 2010) To the west of Harar, toward the northern lakes of the Rift valley, Azais and Chambard discovered a string of ancient ruined cities, associated

¹ Informants: Usman Mengasha (Chinakson), Abdi 'Ali (Kombolcha-Harar) Abdussamed Idris (Harar), Ramzi 'Ali (Harar), Khalid Hussein (Harar), Ahmed Mohammed (Afambo) Currently, all the way from eastern Shewa Zone of Oromia National Regional State and Afar National Regional State where the Karrayu Oromo and the Afar are living to the Somali inhabited areas in Eastern Ethiopia, the name Harla is famous in the folklores of people. In these areas, the name Harla is associated mainly with several ancient buildings. These stone-made buildings are ruined and the unbelievably incredibly 'giant' Harla people who are said to be the builders of the stone constructions are believed to be annihilated as a result of the wrath of Allah. Common to all legends narrated among the various people in the area is that Allah punished the Harla as a result of their arrogance and extravagant behaviour in their material prosperity.

with Muslim places of worship and burials. Several other ancient towns which are known in oral tradition as works of the Harla were discovered in the Charchar Massif in the 1970s. Francis Anfray identified the site of Khorfa-Kamona, located about ten kilometres to the west of Harar. Huguette and Rogger Joussaume mention four other towns located in the immediate surroundings of Doba: these are Kubi, Addas, Mito, Djugola and Abadir. The megaliths at Doba are firmly attributed to the 8th-12th centuries, according to several radio carbon dates. It can be deduced from the various local and foreign coins, artefacts, household utensils, bric-a-brac, manufacturing tools, large mosques, strategic buildings with their enclosures, grave marks, granaries, water wells and archaeological finding of 11th century of the Chinese coins indicate that Harlas were civilized and trading as far as inner China and built a complex urban society of the time with developed system of irrigation agriculture and stone architecture.

Marco Viganò in his recent years of visits to the Harla village near Dire Dawa, found Chinese coins at the hands of peasant who discovered the coins in their farm. Marco asserts the people of Harla were in trade with China and across the Red sea & Indian Ocean as far as China over 1000 years ago. Mentioned also the Coin he found was dated by Chinese archaeologist Prof. Quin Dashu. These were described as Huang 'Song Tong Bao, casting in Song Dynasty Ren Zong reign'. The exact date they have been cast is from 1039 to 1053 AD (Marco Viganò, 2014).



Photo 2 Marco Vigano 2014 with his findings
Source: Harla reveals its trade with China 1000 years back: one more coin found.By: Marco Vigano 2014.



Photo 3:- Harla Ruins found 12.5 km South West of Harar.

In general, as discussed above, the existing knowledge based on oral evidences and the archaeological finds indicate that the Harla were the earliest people in the Harar plateau.

But it is among the Hararis that this process of survival and transformation of identities exists, Oral tradition among the Hararis asserts that they are the descendants of the ancient Harla people about whom many legends have been narrated in relation with the ruined houses, mosques and other constructions all over eastern Ethiopia. The Harari elders trace their origin to seven main Harla tribes. These are Gidaya, Awari, Wargar, Gaturi, Adish, Hargaya and Abogn. In Afar region, Afambo area informants intimated that Kabeer Hamza (from Harar), was a well-respected Harari religious scholar who went to propagate Islamic education to Afar along with his family and remained there. Furthermore, the book written by father and son, Jamal ad-Din and Hashim, discussing the history of Afar, explicitly indicate that he belonged to the Harla clan and the clan members are commonly called “Kabirtu” (Jamal ad-Din and Hashim, 2000).



Photo 4:- Eastern Harar dry stone wall of building excavated (photo T. Insol)

Furthermore, there are some striking similarities in the technological standards and even in structural details

between the ruined Harla sites like: ruins of Qurso, Harla village, Harla Bad and the contemporary architecture of the city of Harar and its houses. Based on these evidences, it would not be a farfetched assumption that the Hararis are the nearest possible last representatives of the Harla. Therefore, as Braukamper concludes, the archaeological findings in the Harar plateau show that the Hararis are the descendants of the Harla people who are the earliest people known in the area and that no one existed in the area following the Harla, but the Hararis. As such, evidences show that the Hararis are definitely the legitimate descendants of the Harla people.

2.2. The Founding of Harar

It is obvious that the name Harari is derived from Harla. This implies that the place is named after the people. Referring this, the Arabs also call the natives Harari. As such, Harari is evidently the official name of the people. Also they call themselves Gey-usu' while the Amhara and Oromo call them Adare.

Based on the information from oral interviews and written documents, the Hararis lived temporarily in a series of settlements in seven different villages prior to the foundation of Harar. These are *Eskhanti gey*, *Tukhun gey*, *Hassan Gey*, *Harawe gey*, *Ruqiya gey (Ruhuq gey)*, *Feraqa gey*, and *Samti gey (Khanti gey)*. But due to their vulnerability to various natural calamities and other factors, the Hararis deserted these villages, one after the other until finally they founded in the 7th century today's Harar, which satisfied major needs and fulfilled basic living conditions.



Figure 1:-Archaeological Sites around Harar/Googleearthby Meftuh Abubaker/ (Diaspora)

Furthermore, it is recounted that Harar had two prior names, viz. Balad Gatur and Bandar Awliya.

According to traditional narrative, Sheikh Abadir Umar ar-Ridha and his companions entered Harar in the year 405 AH (1001 GC) which coincided with the year of its selection as the capital of the Regional Confederation.

2.3. The Relationship of Hararis with Their Neighbouring Peoples

In the course of time, Harar and the Harari people began to play a vital role, consistently over five to six centuries, in the overall lives of the peoples of the Horn of Africa, in general, and in eastern Ethiopia, in particular. The Harari people were intensively involved in religious teaching, and extensively in local long-haul transportation and in the cross-border trade. Review of their multifaceted

interactions with the peoples and communities in the Harar Plateau, and survey of the settlement pattern in Harar and beyond, are certain to assist in, and contribute to, the reconstruction of the history of the Hararis and Harar. Hence, the following is a brief account of the relationship of Hararis with the Somali, Argoba, Afar, Oromo, Silte and other peoples in the Horn.

2.3.1. Somali

Up to the 16th century, the Somalis have lived in close neighbourhood and land contiguity with the Harari people. In the economic activities, the Somalis had been both merchants and transit agents. Also there is no doubt that the Somalis were part and parcel of the historical processes in the Sultanate of Harar and that they played important role in its consolidation and reinforcement.

A major source for the reconstruction of the history of the Harari people and the city of Harar in late 16th century contains important information on the Somali people. For instance, there are several statements in the *Futuh al-Habashah* which state clearly that a considerable proportion of Imam Ahmed's troops were Somali. Also the Somalis actively involved in the Abadir's war against the Portuguese in the eleventh century. The Somali have also continued to be involved in the political, economic and social lives of Hararis and the city of Harar.

To concretize this relationship, here are some examples; Burton's description of the population of the city of Harar shows there were 2500 Somalis engaged in different activities (Burton, R., 1956). The spatial organization of the city and the quarters also has some ethnic stratification. Accordingly, the Somalis were predominantly found in the *Suqtat Bari*, engaged in occupations such as handicraft, smithery and leatherwork.

2.3.2. Argobba

Linguistically, religiously and politically, the Harari and the Argobba peoples have been intimately related for centuries. The existence of ancient ruins of villages, mosques, cemeteries and of an Argobba Muslim population territorial proximity suggests that the Argobba settlements used to be more widespread than at present (Abebe Kifleysus, 2003). *Sheikh* Abadir Umar ar-Ridha's leadership was recognized among the people of Harla, Argobba and Gaturi (Wagner, E., 2005).

The Argobba have been engaged in agriculture and livestock husbandry. They practice plough cultivation in the production of grain crops. They grow sorghum, *tef*, *chat* and coffee. Their fields of cultivation and farms lie outside walled villages. (Shack, W., 1974) In settlement, the Argobba prefer to build their villages on hills, easy to defend; the layout of an Argobba village has features of a town and their construction system is more or less similar to that of the Harari (Aklilu Asfaw: 2000). Argobba settlement sites in the villages of Koremmi and Umar din are found some 20 km to the southwest of Harar. There are striking resemblances between the architecture of the Harari house, village, external walls, and agricultural practice and those of the Argobba.²

The link between the Argobba and the Harari is important and indicates a long standing relationship. Indeed, one of the five gates of the city of Harar is called *Argobari*," Argobba gate" named after one of the settlements of the Argobba(Waldron, S., 1974). Harari manuscripts and oral traditions include many citations of the Argobba, referring to a period of Argobba Amirs which preceded the era of the independent Harari Emirate which began in

² Field visit at Koremmi, Isaqoy, Fedis and other small villages in the surrounding areas within the Harari National, Regional State, August, 2013

1551. Probably this relates to the period of the Ifat Sultanate of the WalasmaDynasty (Waldron, S., 1974). It is among the Argobba that the Awfat / Ifat Sultanate under the Walasma dynasty was established in the late 13th century in their country.

Most existing literature on Argobba or Awfat Sultanate or even on Muslim among the Ethiopian communities, used to perceive the historical dynamics which these people have gone through as mere conflict between Christians and Muslims (Hussein, A., 1992). In fact, the Argobba were involved in the conflict since the Walasma period. When Ifat was destroyed, the Harari welcomed them and were settled near Harar, in Koremmi village, where they still live.

2.3.3. Afar

The Afarpeople provided the inhabitants of the highlands with the bulk of their supplies of salt in the form of *amole* since time immemorial. Hence, commercial relations between the Afar and the people in the interior, specially, date back at least to the medieval period. In the Adal Sultanate of Harar, also the Afar had considerable contribution and involvement until the split of the empire into two parts, between Harar and Awsa and the founding of the 'Ali bin Dawud Dynasty in Harar.

Afar made up substantial component of the *ImamAhmed's* armies. Three major areas of interrelationships with the Harari people were recounted by the Afar informants' viz. religion, trade and agriculture.

A. Religion: A certain Islamic scholar, Kabeer Hamza, was said to have travelled to Afar to preach Islam and that due to his teachings, Islamic propagation gained momentum in the region. Following Kabeer Hamza, his family and followers went to Afar by crossing the

desert on foot. Informants claim that, still to this day, there exists hand-written Holy Qur'an Mus'hafs by Kabeer Hamza. He died and was buried at a place called Kele'a in Afambo. His burial site is still a centre where devotees *visit in ziyara* three times a year. His descendants still live in the area and are highly respected by the local people. In general, Kabir Hamza's contribution in the propagation of Islam is highly regarded by the local community, who further claim that they have close religious relations with the Harari people.³

- B. Trade: Harar and Awsa have a long tradition of commerce and trade. In so far as Afambo is closer to Djibouti, different goods (such as salt and manufactured goods) were imported via the long distance caravan route that passes through Aliyu Amba and other sites and delivered to the markets of Harar. In return, Harar provided diverse agricultural produce (coffee, tobacco, etc.) and clothes (Abujadid).⁴
- C. Agriculture: Interviewed Informants claim that Afambo has a rich agricultural potential. Indeed, the Awash flows gently and slowly and on both banks of the river, the cultivation of maize, date palm and other crops is commonly practiced by the sedentary Afar. It is noteworthy that informants state Afars acquired the knowledge of agriculture, its techniques and production processes, i.e. agronomy from Harar.

2.3.4. Oromo

The Oromo are one of the people with whom the Harari had centuries old relations of momentous implications in all aspects. With the appearance of the Oromo expansion in Harar, since the 16th century, the Oromo and the Harari entered into multifaceted relations. The *Amirs* of Harar were connected with the elected officers of the

³ Informants: Ahmed Mohammed Al-Jawari, Ato Ajbara Hulle

⁴ Informants: Ahmed Mohammed Al-Jawari, Ato Ajbara Hulle

surrounding Oromo by endowing them land and titles such as *Malaqand Dameen*. Indeed, it was in such diplomatic relations, that Harar was able to administrate a region with an area of up to 20,000 km².

Hararis and Oromo have lived together, side-by-side for centuries maintaining their own identities and working together, especially, in agriculture and trade. They host each other in both happiness and sorrow occasions.

Since the book in hand deals throughout, with numerous aspects of the relations in the political, economic and social history in its respective Chapters, suffice it to say that these few paragraphs are mere indicative remarks.

2.3.5. Silte

Though the Silte do not currently neighbour the Hararis, there are strong linguistic and cultural bonds between the two peoples. The great majority of the population is Muslim (Kheyredin T., 2012).

The chronicle of Amda Tsion mentions an entity allied to the sovereign by the name of Saltagi which can be interpreted as Saltagi ['land of Silte']. Regarding the origin and settlement of the people in the present Silte land, the tradition underscores the intermingling of the legendary people called Zahra and some historical figures of the Silte people.⁵ According to Braukamper's

⁵ Informants: Abdurrahman Shewad, Hussein Alo; Kheyredin Tezera, 2012. However, Kheyredin tends to link the Zhara with the Harla, which he failed to substantiate his hypothesis with tangible data. It is important to point out here that both the Harla and the Siltegi [land of Silte], without any implied connection to each other, are mentioned in the 14th century document: *The Chronicle of King Amda Tsion*, if Harla became Silte, there is no need of writing Siltegi and Harla in the same document separately; Dirk Bustorf, 2010 p. 607-8. In addition to this, he did not provide any

reconstruction (1990), for example, in the 17th century, the Silte homeland was located in the highland of Charchar. Oral tradition among the Silte also mentions the five Silte ancestral mothers (*amisti gistich/garağ* in Silte language) such as *gisti* Muluka, *gisti* Makia, *gisti* Shamsiya, *gisti Tahirat*, *gisti* Amina / Itat / Zabare arrived in the area in the above-mentioned century from the Harar Plateau.

2.3.6. Zay, Hallaba and Harari People

These were probably Muslim Silte-speaking groups, since a number of Zay clans trace their origin to Silte land. With regard to the Silte-Zay-Harari connection, more than the oral tradition among these nations, linguistic data provide substantial evidences(Mayer, R., 2000).

Though, the Halaba have been living for centuries far from Harar like the Silte and speak a Cushitic language, the widespread oral tradition among the Halaba associate their history with the advent of *Sheikh* Abadir to Harar, in general, and the place of *Sheikh* Saedé as well as his clan as a *woma* (chief politic-judiciary lineage) among the Halaba, in particular. These are clear indications of, at least, the cultural ties between the Halaba and the Hararis. Oral tradition suggests that the Sheikh was an important leader during the time of *Amir* Nur bin Mujahid's *jihād* against the Christian kingdom until 1568. Saedé is reported to have been first cousin (from his paternal side) of Haji Aliye, one of the most famous ancestors of the Harari clusters in Silte and is believed to be buried at Dangawura in Ennaqor.

archaeological and architectural evidence that would support his arguments.

CHAPTER THREE

3. ANCIENT HISTORY OF HARAR

In the study of history by way of thematic approach, there are four major categories: political, economic, social and cultural. Political history is conventionally defined as the study of all those aspects of the past that have to do with the formal organization of power in society, which is mostly the state. Such study includes the institutional organization of the state, the competition of factions and parties for control over the state, the policies enforced by the state, and the relations between states (Tosh, J., 2002). This section of the book deals with them, and attempt is made to address these issues of power among the Harari in temporal perspective.

3.1. The Birth of the Sultanate of Harar

Though it is not easy to identify the precise year of state formation in Harar, based on the available sources, nonetheless, archaeological findings, documents, oral tradition and chronicles, currently in hand, are used for the construction of this subject. Further, due attention is given to the historical set up of the age-old economic and cultural interactions of peoples consequent to the geographical location of Harargey. This area is endowed with rich natural resources, situated between the interior of the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula beyond the Gulf of Aden. Though it is difficult to identify the period of state formation by reference to direct historical source, it is possible to submit circumstantial evidences for the hierarchical power organization in the area a millennium ago, before ninth century.



Map 3:- Muslim Ruled Areas

In addition, the archaeological evidences of the rock arts, the ruined monuments elaborated in the previous Chapter indicate that peoples of antiquity began the domestication of animals in the region 7,000 years ago. Most probably, unlike in the case of the northern highland, where domesticated cattle and possibly wheat and barley were introduced from the western lowlands between ca. 3500 and 1500 BC, there were some independent attempts to domesticate local plants, as people living in eastern Ethiopia were pre-adapted to food production since the late Pleistocene (Fattovich, R., 2003). At this point, people began to lead sedentary mode of life. The cultivation of cereals made it possible for hunters to settle down and build villages and later, cities, and develop great civilizations eventually. If there had been no civilization of grain, men would have remained hunters, few in number and scattered (Hayes C., & Moon P. T., 1929).

In Ethiopia, at least two major centres of peopling appeared as a consequence of food production. They were located along the north-western Ethio-Sudanese lowlands and the eastern Ethiopian plateau. Pastoral people with Afro-Arabian tradition documented by Ethiopian-Arabian rock-pictures occupied the eastern Ethiopian plateau (Fattovich, R., 2003).

These and other similar material remains of the human past in Harargey, in general, and Harar and its surrounding area, in particular, show the existence of the constructions of the stone-built settlement. Tradingcentres and the facilitation of merchandise activity from port to the interior and vice-versa resulted in some sort of power organization to mobilize the labour force and to safeguard, as well as, to work in partnership with the caravan traders.

Though the *Fat'h Madinat al-Harar* elaborates the arrival of *Sheikh* Abadir Umar ar-Ridha together with other 40 holy-men from Hijaz to Harar in 1216(405 Hijria) and other evidences assert that the arrival date of Abadir was in 1001 GC (405 Hijria) because the dates of GC and the *Hijria* date of the source itself does not coincide. However, for compatibility sake, the Hijria date 405 can be taken as the exact date of the arrival of Sheikh Abadir. Umar ar-Ridha was the youngest among the holy-men and had demonstrated his ability through several miraculous deeds. However, Ahmed ash-Shami in his *Jadwal ash-Shash wa ash-Shami* gives the date, 283-333 *Hijria* (896/7-944/5 GC.) for the reign of Amir Haboba (Balaynesh, M. et al, 1975).

Subsequently, the native people who hosted these holy-men opted for the Sheikh as their leader because he succeeded in bringing peace to the native factions fighting among themselves, as well as uniting them into a traditional confederal system centred in Harar, though the list of rulers in Harar begins with Amir Haboba before Sheikh Abadir. Nonetheless, it was the latter that proved

popular both in social and political developments in Harar and eastern Ethiopia.

Also the chronicle of Amda Tsion narrates Qazi (Qadi) Salih from Harar assembled several Muslim kings and their followers (Harar, Gidaya, Hargaya, Fadsé, Qadsé and other political Muslim principalities) to challenge the army of King Amda Tsion (Huntingford, G. W. B., 1955). This shows that the Ethiopian Muslim sultanates were members of a confederal system centred in Harar. Therefore, based on the above facts, it is appropriate to date the state formation in Harar much earlier than the arrival of Abadir to Harar; that is, more than a millennium and 3 centuries.

3.2. Government Structure of Harar

It is apparent that Harar had been governed for centuries by *Sultans*, *Amirs* and sometimes *Imams*. It has been the tradition that whenever the power of the religious societal group was dominant, an imam would secure an upper hand and determine significantly both the internal and the external political policies of Harar. In parallel, a powerful Sultan or Amir is likely to incorporate to esculent programmes within the administrative system.

As far as the various political offices in the state structure of Harar are concerned, sources indicate that there already existed an established and organized administrative system, for instance, the office of *Garad*, a title given to a local chief, was known as early as 15th century (Harrassowitz, V. 2005). This does not mean that the particular office of *Garad* emerged in this period. It is likely to have evolved before as sources noted its political practice. However, the state structure of Harar for centuries seems akin to Monarchical system in that the Sultans, Imams or *Amirs* were the highest authorities in the state structure (Abas, A., 1992). State forces passed to the members of the male line of the sovereign's relatives

and the succession power was regulated by local circumstances.

Furthermore, the *Amir* or the Sultan had his own *agroja* (soldiers) and *dawaria* (police force) to preserve peace and order within his realm. The *agroja* is from volunteers of the society trained to become a fighting force via/through the traditional Harari culture of *agri-agri* and *berti-berti*. The traditions were designed to initiate and teach the youth in the skill for application of classic military warfare. Prior to this at the childhood, children practice *quti-quti*, i.e., fight with harmless branches of leaves which inturn leads them to *berti-berti* and *agri-agri* at their teens. It is an alive fact that the presence of *warem moraja*—a niche specially reserved to keep spears and shields in the front part of the wall inside each traditional Harari houseis an evidence of the fact that Harar was inhabited by a conscious and highly organized and nationally aware society throughout the period of its existence. Moreover, the army, which was organized by volunteer citizens as a competent force, was the secret behind the sultanate's power.

The law of the Sultanate was essentially based on the Islamic religion. Political, military, economic and administrative organizations were all governed by *Sharia Law*. To this end, the Amir, Sultan or the Imam and his close associates worked closely with religious scholars- the *Ulama*. The *Ulama* served as councillors to the *Amir* on issues pertaining to secular matters by giving the necessary guidance to the *Dameen*, *Garadand Malaq*. They were appointed directly by the council consisting of the Amir, eminent religious scholars and members of the nobility, called *Majlis* and the criteria for appointment included the social status, family background and administrative capabilities (Abbas, A., 1992).

The *Majlis* had two organs i.e., the court and the general assembly. It also had departments responsible for civilian,

military, financial and administrative affairs. Among these, *Gardas* (secretary), *wakeel* (agent), *ameen* (treasurer), *qasim* (distributor) and *zakamari* (tax collector) are noteworthy. The general assembly was the most important organ of the *Majlis*. Its regular members were chiefs and members of the nobility of the city and the rural areas. Regular and extraordinary sessions of the *Majlis* were held according to the circumstances, at the residence of the *Amir*. It is important to note here that the residence of the *Amir* also served as a political working area (Abas, A., 1992).

The institutions of *Diwan* (chancery for land financial issues and settlement of social contract) and the practice of *sijill* (register) had been the backbone of the bureaucracy of state in Harar for centuries and was, in fact, a manifestation of the advanced stage of legal practice among the Hararis.

The *Amir* of Harar used to appoint administrators whose main duties were the collection of taxes and revenues, and the preservation of law and order, safety, security and the wellbeing of the community. The highest title conferred upon a civilian administrator was the *Dogign*. However, the office of *wazir* used to be given to a powerful official, very close to the *Amir*. The holder of this title was considered as a head of government or a direct administration representative (prime minister) of the *Amir*. *Dogign* was in charge of the administration of the city's districts and suburbs and served as a link between the *Amir* and other chiefs. The highest title bestowed upon the chiefs of the outer districts was *Garad*. And *Dameen*, under the *Garard* was limited to the rural area. The *Dameen* is nominated from among the wealthy members of the rural area, who had children and wives, houses and other forms of property in the city. This was probably a safe guarantee for the *Amirs* who were obsessed with a constant fear of rebellion by local chiefs. The *Dameen* was responsible for the peace-making, and

maintaining order and the tranquillity of the clan (Mohammed H., 1973). To sum up, the hierarchical post in the administrative structure in a descending order: *Wazir, Dogign, Garad, Dameen* and *Malaq*.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

4.1. The Zaila' Confederal Muslim Sultanates

Harar has never lived in historical vacuum, nor could it. Though there existed different Muslim states what is known today as central and eastern Ethiopia during the medieval period, Harar exceptionally survived the recurrent challenges that threatened its existence since the 15th century. On the one hand, during the early 9th century, a series of states in today's south, east and central Ethiopia, accepted Islam as state religion and adopted the name Sultanate collectively for their States. Some of these Sultanates were weak while some were powerful. The conversion of these states to Islam was, most probably due to the Islamic propagation of Harar in the area as well as to their interactions with the Arab world.

However, they used to live under a unity resembling today's confederal system, and were commonly called the Zaila' Confederal States. Though the power exercised by the sovereign was in fact limited, their union was strengthened by their just acceptance of the primacy of one of their Sultanates. Based on these historical developments, first comes probably the hegemony of the Sultanate of Damot, later confirmed by documents belonging to the Sultanate of Shewa which lasted up to 1285 AD, and from then on, that of Ifat up to 1520 AD and finally in Harar until 1887 (Emran, W., 2014).

On the Abyssinian side, the era is contemporaneous with the Zague Dynasty's dominance that managed to maintain peaceful coexistence with both the Muslim Sultanates in today's Ethiopia and the Caliphate Empire abroad. Thus, for about a century since their establishment, these Sultanates saw peaceful diplomatic relations based on `mutualism`. However, with the restoration of the

Solomonic Dynasty in Abyssinia, which had a belligerent and confrontational policy towards these Islamic Zaila' Confederal States, such peaceful neighbourhood relation came to an end, and an era of continuous wars prevailed throughout almost three centuries.

Chronologically, of these Zaila' Confederal Muslim States, the Muslim Sultanate of Shewa takes the lead, in adopting Islam as state religion i.e., in 896/7 AD. The leadership of this dynasty had strong relations with the Makhzumite dynasty of Meccan origin. However, a study of the non-Arabic personal names in his document led Cerulli to the conclusion that an Ethio-Semitic language was spoken in eastern Shewa during the Makhzumi era. This dynasty had reigned in Shewa from 283 *Hijria* (equivalent to the period of 9th February 896-7th February 897) to 684 *Hijria* (1285) with its capital at Walala (perhaps the modern Walale, 70 km north-east of Addis Ababa). And the last Makhzumite Sultan's deposition occurred in the month of Jumad al-Ula of the year 684 *Hijria* which is equivalent to the period of 5th July-3rd August 1285.

4.2. The Period of Ifat Dominance

Ifat dominated Shewa that same year (684 AH) and became a powerful state in the region. Its ascendancy to the peak of the Confederal States took place with the collapse of the Shewan dominance. The restored Solomonic dynasty in Abyssinia is said to have been responsible for this occurrence. The Abyssinians conspired and involved themselves in the political rivalry among the Shewan ruling Makhzumi. Collaborating and supporting the opposition groups they ensured the deposition of the last Makhzumite Sultan to install their puppet. But the Ifat sultan, who was the son-in-law of the Shewan Sultan, blocked the coup d'état, took over Shewarising to at the supremacy of the confederate.

From among the Muslim Sultanates in eastern and south-eastern Ethiopia, there exists a relatively detailed description of Ifat. It is revealed that the Sultanate of Ifat was the political achievement of the Argobba community in north-east Shewa and until it was replaced by Adal in 15th century it had played an important role in the history of the Horn of Africa. However, the population of Ifat seems to have been mixed. The importance of Ifat is attested by the latter's link with Jabarti. According to Ibn Saeed, Jabara/Jabart was an alternative name of Ifat and its population and was also used in other Arabic sources and eventually extended to include the Muslims of the Horn of Africa.

The Sultanate of Ifat was subjected to successive assaults by Christian Abyssinia under the leadership of the newly restored Solomonic Dynasty. Without doubt, the prolonged clash of rivalry and the protracted wars of erratic nature between them shadowed the economic and the cultural achievements of Ifat, whose archaeological remains and traces can still be seen today in some sites such as Nora and Gozé in North-East Shewa. It is recorded that all the successive leaders on both sides had at least fought one war against each other with alternating victories, which to some extent favoured the Abyssinians.

4.3. The Harar Dominance

4.3.1. The Adal Dynasty

When Wagner (2003) explained how the Sultanate of Adal was formed (in its wider sense), he noted that, in 1415 the Walasma Sultan, Sa'ad ad-Din Abu al-Barakat Muhammad binAhmed was killed and Zaila' was conquered by *Atse* Yis'haq, the members of the Walasma family fled to Yemen and, shortly after, came back having secured the support of the rulers of the Rasulid Dynasty. From then on, they changed their title to Sultan of Adal and in so far as their homeland, Ifat, was

extremely exposed to Christian attacks, they transferred the centre of their State farther to the south. As it is well reported, their capital became Dakar, east of the eastern district of Harar and Adal was no longer part of Ifat; but rather Ifat became part of Adal.

Furthermore, the two entities (the Walasma Dynasty the new comers, and the Abadir dynasty leaderships) agreed to establish their joint empire. The new empire was led by a new dynasty known as Adal Dynasty, most probably formed by merging the leadership of the Walasma Dynasty of Ifat and the Abadir Dynasty of Harar with a base in Dakar/Harar. From this period on, the term Adal would refer to 'all the Muslim Sultanates which had been part of the Ifat Empire in the strategically and commercially important empire east of the Christian Abyssinia state'.

Thus the area herein defined as Afar included much of the Awash Basin and Harar and extended northwards to Lake Abbe, and eastward to the lowlands between Shewa and the port of Zaila' (Pankhurst, R., 1997) and within the Adal Confederal State, the Sultanate of Harar, comprising the highlands of Harar and Garamullata, reaching eastwards to the Harar plains and southwards to the Babile lowlands, was in fact one of the largest and most powerful among the leading members of the Confederation (Merid, W., 1973). Awsa and several small neighbouring emirates were also tributaries of Afar. Due to its wide ranging large area and multi-ethnicity, the various tribes had diversified types of occupations (Pankhurst, R., 1997). Previously, of these tribes, those who lived near the Awash and Lake Abbe combined cattle rising with some agriculture, while those who lived in the more arid territories to the east were nomads depending on their herds of camels and goats for their livelihood.

Hence, in the political history of the Harari people and the

city of Harar, it is crucial to comprehend the fact that during medieval period (beginning from the 9th century) parallel political dynamics had been undergoing in eastern and south-eastern Ethiopian provinces from Shewa to Zaila' and Barbara. Due to economic rivalry between the Christian kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates since the 14th century, both empires maintained moving capitals, shifting their centre in reaction to the impact of the wars upon their political dominions.

The Adal Sultanate held a strategic position on the major eastern route to Zaila' since 1360s. The region of Harar, where the new Muslim major centre was established, become the focal point for all the trade routes (Ifat, Fatagar, Dawaro and Bale.), from the eastern provinces of the Christian kingdom. Islam was the religion of all these eastern provinces (Tadese T., 1972).



Map 4:-The Emirate of Harar Map: by Enrico Cerulli 1936

This map reveals the state of Harari Emirates. Also, historically with ample evidences of archaeological traces of ruins left by the Harla people concentrated within this red shaded light regions. This is without a doubt was the land of the Harla people.

In this respect, with this, Mohammed Hassan (2005) is reasonably correct in his interpretation that Islam united

widely diversified states into one and more complex political structure buttressed by ideological unity as well as access to international Islamic thought, which enabled them to transcend narrow parochial loyalties. Islam, in addition, provided an international “passport” which allowed traders, teachers and preachers to dwell in, and move freely within, the Muslim states from the port of Zaila' on the north of Somali coast to Bale [and Haddiya] in the rich highlands of southern Ethiopia (Mohammed H., 2003).

4.3.2. The Period of Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim up to 1647

The dawn of the 16th century witnessed fundamentally, the significant ascendancy of Harar in the dynamic political arena of the Horn of Africa. Both in its course as well as consequences, this phenomenon can be perceived as a historical event, in a true sense of the word that could determine irrevocably the subsequent developments in the area.

4.3.2.1. The Rise of Imam Ahmed to Power and His Progress

Imam Ahmed came to power in Harar against a political back-drop dominated by stiff rivalry and violent conflict between those who accepted subordination to Christian Abyssinia on one hand, and those who fought for complete sovereignty on the other. Though many other political actors had been actively involved in this confrontation subsequent to the defeat of Sultan Sa'ad ad-Din, it reached its peak during the early sixteenth century. In the beginning, the conflict was between Amir Mahfouz bin Muhammad, who was the governor of Zaila' and *Garad* Abogn bin Adish who was probably the governor of Hubat district (now the ruin of the district known as Adare Qadima which includes up to Garamullata and its surroundings), representing the sovereign group, and *Sultan* Muhammad bin Azhar ad-Din and his son

Aboubaker bin Muhammad, representing the subordinate group; shortly after the tug-of-war transformed itself into an intricate struggle between the standard-bearers of the religious cause. This was concurrent with the coming to power of Atse LibneDengil in 1508 in Abyssinia.

AmirMahfouz fought against the Christian Abyssinian military aggression for more than two decades. Amir Mahfouz remained the liberator of Dawaro, Fatagar and Waj for twenty-four years (Merid W., 1971). Atse LibneDengil (1496/97-1540) together with his soldiers set forth and pitched his camp in July 1517, in the vicinity of the nearest Afar Market in pursuance of the known raids as had been done by his predecessors. In the war between the two, Amir Mahfouz of Harar and King LibneDengil of Abyssinia, LibneDengil, who was supported by the Portuguese powerful fleet led by Lopez Suarez, won the battle and Amir Mahfouz was killed. Sultan Muhammad, who had joined the war hesitantly, returned home after the defeat and was murdered by his son-in-law and Amir Mahfouz's grandson, Muhammad bin Aboubaker bin Mahfouz.

Thus, the Sultanate of Harar fell into serious tension and bloody struggles for power succession for the following two years, during which five sultans succeeded one another. Then out of this chaotic period, one outstanding figure emerged successful and could bring order. This man was *Garad* Abogn bin Adish, who in 1520 AD re-established law and order affirming the right and abolishing the wrong (Trimingham, J., S., 1952). According to Arab Faqih:

Garad Abun [Abogn] ruled for seven years. He clung to the truth, and exercised justice and authority in a fair way, banning what were forbidden, killing high-waymen, forbidding wine, games, and dances accompanied by drums. The country flourished. He cultivated the nobles and

the Holy Qur'an teachers, the dervishes and the sheikhs. He ruled over his kingdom, and worked for the good of his subjects. (Stenhouse, P. L. & Pankhurst, R., 2003).

During the reign of Garad Abogn, Imam Ahmed was serving as a cavalry officer under the Garad. But the glorious situation was short-lived. Sultan Aboubaker ibn Muhammad, taking advantage of the prestige which hereditary monarchy still held, collected his supporters among the Somali, surprised Garad Abogn and killed him in 1525. In the event, another period of disorder followed. According to Arab Faqih, "The Sultan Aboubaker laid the country to waste. Highwaymen re-appeared, as did alcoholic drinks. In his time, the people of his realm harassed travellers in order to do them harm. Corruption re-appeared and no one in his day received justice for evil done to him. The nobles, Qur'an teachers and sheikhs rebuked him for his conduct" (Abdulkarim A. Yusuf, 1995).

This led to a short period of disorder and intense civil war between the supporters of Sultan Abu-Baker and his opponents led by Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim, who at the end of war succeeded in eluding the chaos. While Sultan Aboubaker bin Muhammad was governing the Sultanate from Harar, *Imam Ahmed* took to flight, accompanied by people of the country who had formed part of the army of *Garad* Abogn. Due to the growing influence of *Amirs*, who inevitably eroded the Sultan's authority, it is rather interesting that Ahmed began his military career not at the Sultan's palace but in the path of 'holy war' in the service of *Garad* Abogn. (Mith, F. C., 2003) They assembled their forces in a country called Hubat (the birth place of the Imam a place around Burqa and Budanno[Adare-Qadima]) and settled there. The number of their horses

was at that time a hundred or more.⁶

4.3.2.2. The Beginning of the Political Career of Imam Ahmed

Disheartened by the corrupt policy of Sultan Aboubaker, Imam Ahmed openly opposed it and as a reflection of his resentment, left the town for his birth place, Hubat with some friends. However, in the meantime, as usual, the forces of LibneDengil, from Dawaro, commanded by Azmach Fanuel after having raided, the Muslim countries, were approaching Hubat with their loot. On receiving the news, the Imam's group immediately marched on chase of Fanuel. Finally, the two forces met near the Agamo River and after a fierce fight, the Imam won his first victory against the aggressor force. Furthermore, he recaptured the enemy's loot and returned the properties to their original owners. This victory marked the beginning of his political career.

Encouraged by his victory, he marched against the Sultan, but the Sultan won the battle and the Imam's force retreated. A temporary peace was made as a result of the intervention of elders and *Ulama'as*. Nonetheless, the conflict with the Sultan continued leading to the battle of Zaika. The Imam won this battle and controlled the capital, Harar. Yet again, negotiations were reopened by the elders, and agreement was reached on power sharing

⁶ There is a legend that is meant to witness to the mission entrusted to the Imam by the Divine Will. This mission is attested by the story that is found in *Futuh* regarding a miraculous occurrence faced by *Ahmedibn Ibrahim*. A swarm of bees catch up with him while he is on his way to Sultan Abu Baker. The bees surround Ahmed forming living muslin around his head and thus accompany him to the palace of the Sultan. Having reached there, they leave him only to wait outside during all the period of the visit and then to accompany him once more. This, adds the author of *Futuh*, 'was a marvel in favour of the Imam and a harbinger on the part of the Almighty God'. Enrico Cerulli, *Islam Yesterday and Today*,

between the Imam and the Sultan. Accordingly, Sultan Aboubaker was to retain his title as Sultan, and Ahmed bin Ibrahim to take the post of deputy as Amir.

Prior to *Shumbura Kouri* and his assumption to the Imamate, the forces of Imam achieved a number of victories against Libne Dingel's army: to mention a few, at Dawaro (Zamet River) against Azmach Arba Shimal; around Agamo River against Ras Daglahan; and freeing Fatagar and other Muslim states, hitherto subjugated by Abyssinia. While the Imam was in one of these forays, Sultan Aboubaker was conspiring to kill him. However, the Sultan was defeated and killed by the Imam.

After putting the overall situation under control with his supporters, *Imam*Ahmed succeeded to take the highest official rank of the Sultanate, and put the dead Sultan's brother Umar-Din on the throne (Mith, F. C., 2003). Thus, he became the commander of the army, the supreme leader of religion, and Head of State. Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim established himself and reinforced his power to tackle and prevent acts of encroachment on, and violation of his people's right and his country's sovereignty, specifically and consistently committed by Abyssinia.

Thus, the Imam effectively led the Muslim conquest of southern, central and northern Ethiopia in the first half of the 16th century. He was honoured as, *Sahib al-Fat'h* (the lord of the conquest) and Ghazi. While the Abyssinians nick-named him *Gragh* or the left-handed, and called Ahmed Gurai by the Somalis.

The effectiveness of *Imam's* leadership was demonstrated by the successive victories he achieved over the Christian kingdom. Part of his success, indeed, was a result of his political marriage to *BatiDil* Wanbera, the youngest daughter of the late *Amir*Mahfouz. She may well be considered as the most prominent and famous woman of the Horn of Africa in the 16th century. When Mahfouz was

killed in 1518, *Bati Dil* Wanbera became a symbol of succession and a uniting figure for keeping the integrity and protecting the sovereignty of the Sultanate against Abyssinian aggression. Bati's role was far from being only a symbol; she was an energetic helpmate to her husband. When the Imam embarked on the conquest of the Christian kingdom, she took the field with him in spite of the protests of his followers (Chemestov S., 2003). She gave birth to several sons among whom Muhammad, Nasr ad-Din and Ahmed Najashi were mentioned in Arabic and Abyssinian sources (Mith, F. C., 2003).

4.3.2.3. Ethiopia under the Administration of Imam Ahmad

*Imam*Ahmed is known not only for his victory over the Christian kingdom and his supremacy in the Horn of Africa for about 15 years, but also was revered as a pious man with total dedication to the Islamic law as well as good governance for his people. Accordingly, the Imam resumed his political career, which he began as detailed, hereinabove, by stabilizing the prevailing internal disorders and by successfully countering the Abyssinian raids on his land.

As Merid Woldaregay explains, the Imam was fully able to clear his empire from any Abyssinian aggression and further create a large buffer zone by taking the territories of Dawaro, Ifat, Shewa and the provinces between the Rift Valley lakes and the Gibe River, and that, would have sufficed. But since the Imam conscious of the past history of repeated conquests, and aggression, he was certain that his victory could not last and he would not be able to maintain the peace hitherto gained as long as there existed a strong Abyssinian state. Thus, he prepared for the conquest of Abyssinian kingdom, and began his operations of conquest, as Arab Faqih elaborates in *Futuh al-Habashah*, as follows.

The king decamped with his army and his weaponry, like water gushing forth. Both rear-guards caught sight of each other, and the 'infidels' set themselves in order, organizing their army and their soldier into seven battle-lines. No line could see its outmost point. The Muslims likewise drew up their battle-lines and organized their soldiers.... The number of the king's cavalry that took part in the engagement of Shimbira Kuré was sixteen thousand knights, each of whom had a mount from the Arabian sea-coast. The foot soldiers, more than two-hundred thousand of them, these carried shields and bows, that is to say, they were archers with poisoned arrows; and they carried glistening spears. And as for the Abyssinian cavalry, their forces were so vast as to be innumerable and uncountable. They blended one with the other like a well-compacted construction with no spaces left between its various parts (Stenhouse P. L. & Pankhurst, R., 2003).

Apparently, the army of King LibneDengil consisted essentially of soldiers and commanders from various parts of the empire. Arab Faqih continues:

Imam Ahmed,...summoned the Sultan Muhammad son of the Sultan 'Ali, son of his maternal aunt, and the sheikh ans [Anas], son of the sheikh Shihab bin 'Abd al-Wahhab, son of the Sheikh Buba, and put under their command all the tribes of the Harla, as for instance the tribe of Zaman Bara, the tribe of Barzara with their chieftain, the tribe of Yaqula, and the tribe of Jasar, the tribe of 'Arab Tka[Takha], and the tribe of al-Qa: all of these belonged to the

Harla. The imam commanded them to hold the Muslims' right. Then he assembled the Somali tribes: the tribe of Giri, the tribe of Marraihan, the tribe of Yibberi with the chieftain Ahmed Girri, the tribe of the Harti, people of Mait, the tribe of Jaran, the tribe of Mazzar, the tribe of Barsub: all of these were Somalis and they were ordered by the imam to hold the left. Each tribe had its own emir. In the centre was the Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim [with the Malasay], the cavalry surrounding him, like ferocious lions. The leaders of the knights were Amir Husain bin Aboubaker al-Gaturi, Amir Zaharabui [Zahr Abogn] Muhammad,...and Farsaham [Farshaham] Ali, wazir Nur bin Ibrahim, Amir Mujahid, Farsaham as Sultan, and Abd an-Nasir, the sheikh Dawa, Amir Aboubaker Qatin,[Qachin] and Farshaham Din (Stenhouse P. L. & Pankhurst, R., 2003).

In March 1529, though numerically outnumbered, the forces of *Imam Ahmed* won an astounding victory at the battle of Shumbura Kouri, an area probably (as far as the existing historical knowledge is concerned) between the present-day towns of Bishoftu and Dukam. Surprisingly, the *Imam* was only 23 when he defeated the mighty forces of King LibneDengil at Shumbura Kouri. After this major victory over LibneDengil, *Imam Ahmed* turned his attention first to settle the internal problem created by the sectarian tendency that emerged among some selfish groups. The *Imam* organized his forces, defused the sectarianism, and continued his campaign to achieve other successive victories. In 1531 Dawaro and Shewa; in 1533 Amhara and Lasta were occupied. The former Muslim kingdoms of Bale and Hadiya, the Sidama and Gurage kingdoms were almost in his grasp (Trimingham J. S., 1952).

He continued to penetrate deep into the territories of the Christian Abyssinia kingdom and in 1535, *Imam*Ahmed, for the first time invaded Tigray. His armies penetrated along the coast and lowlands as far in the north-west as Taka (Kasala). King LibneDengil became a hunted fugitive, harried from one mountain fastness to another; from Tigray through Wagara, Dambya, Begemeder, Gojjam, and back again to Tigray.

At the battle of Antsokia on 23 February, 1531, again the *Imam's* force routed the king's massive army, followed by Ayfars on 31 March 1531, and the capture of Bararain April-May 1531. Simultaneously with the conquests of the provinces of Shewa in 1531, Amhara and Lasta in the north in 1533, *Imam*Ahmed's troops won the southern regions of Gurage in April-May 1532, the Zay Lake, Bale in July-August 1532, Hadiya and the Sidama region in the south of Shewa. At the battle of Wasil in Amhara on 27 October 1531, *Imam*Ahmed just missed capturing the fugitive LibneDengil, pursued around from place to place in his own empire until he reached the isolated monastery of Debra Damo, where he died on top of the mountain on 2 September, 1540. Yet there is another version which argues that LibneDengil was killed by the forces of *Imam* in one of the wars.

Of his four sons, Fiqtor was killed by the Muslims in the fighting in 1539, while another brother, the king's son Minas, was taken prisoner. The other members of the royal family escaped the fate by moving from place to place. On April, 1533, the Muslim forces also conquered Tigray, moving to Shire and Hamasen by way of Mazaga and took over the provinces of Wagara, Begemeder, Semien and Dambya.

Simultaneously, the hostility took an international dimension with the active involvement of the Portuguese and the Ottoman Turkey in response to the invitations from their respective counterparts. King LibneDengil,

before his demise, had requested support from the Portuguese. The Portuguese who were already in Abyssinia, at least since 1518 immediately entered the war. In February 1541, the Portuguese landed, on king Libna Dingel's request with some 400 well-armed volunteers at Massawa where they set-up their administrative centre. The new king of Abyssinia, Gelawdewos, eager for revenge of his father's shameful loss, welcomed the intruder Portuguese forces. In response to this development, the *Imam* also appealed for the Ottoman Turkish support in the war subsequent to the Portuguese intrusion.

The first encounter took place in 1542 at Anasa between Amba Alagé and Lake Ashangé, when Ahmed was defeated, and although wounded he escaped capture. He then retreated to the Zobul Mountains to reorganize his force, and it was then that he appealed for help from the Turkish Pasha of Zabid. Reinforced with the support from Turkish soldiers sent from across the Red Sea by the *Basha* of Zabid, *Imam*Ahmed disastrously defeated the Portuguese supported force of Gelawdewos at the battle of Wafla south of Lake Ashangé in Tigray in August 1542. Their commander, Christopher Da Gama, was captured and beheaded. Few months later, additional Portuguese soldiers deployed, met Emperor Gelawdewos in Semen in October 1542 and won a decisive victory at Zantara in *WaynaDega* on 22 February 1543. *Imam*Ahmed was shot in an ambush by a Portuguese marksman(Mith, F. C., 2003).

4.3.2.4. Why Imam Ahmed Lost the War

It had been clearly elaborated that the *Imam*, in his campaigns succeeded to achieve successive victories in various battles both in the Muslim territory and in the Abyssinian land. Nevertheless, in the end he lost the war, which he should have won. Both internal and external factors contributed for this loss.

Internally, firstly, from the beginning the Adal sultans had neither accepted his Imamate nor supported his mobilizations. Sultan Aboubaker, even after the peace agreement, attempted to assassinate him twice. After he replaced him by his brother, Sultan Umar din, even the new sultan was not loyal to him. The *Imam* was compelled to waste his time in dealing and negotiating with the sultan. This gave opportunity to the Abyssinians. Secondly, some of the Somali tribes were not loyal to him. There were times when some Somali tribes rebelled against him. These events impacted his wars in a negative way interrupting his campaign.

Thirdly most of the *Imam's* army was composed of the Hararis, the Afars and the Somalis. But in the battle fields, the army sometimes openly opposed his strategy and compelled him to discard his plans. After the victory of Shumbura Kouri, the *Imam* wanted to consolidate his victory by chasing the fugitive king LibneDengil. But his army leaders did not accept his plan. In another occasion, after his victory of Fatagar, his army leaders refused to chase the king who was only at one-and-half day's journey from the *Imam*. Sometimes, even such cases of disloyalty and disobedience, to the extent of attempts to desert him in the war front, and retreat without his acknowledgement, had taken place.

Fourthly the incorporation of the newly Islamized Abyssinian captives of the war, contributed for his loss. The newly Islamized groups habitually deserted from the *Imam's* forces, either by surrendering to the enemy at the front or by fleeing from the battle field. They played their role by such treacherous acts as spreading false and defeatist rumours aimed to disintegrate the army.

Among the external factors that could be mentioned for the *Imam's* loss, is the Portuguese intervention in the war on the side of Abyssinia. Of course, the *Imam* had gained the support of the Turkish soldiers in the face of the Portuguese intervention. However, when the Imam captured the

Portuguese army commander, Christopher Da Gama, the Turks requested him to hand over the commander to them. The *Imam* refused and executed him. This led to a row between the *Imam* and the Turks, which resulted in the withdrawal of their support to the *Imam*.

The geo-physical features of Abyssinia and the king's strategic retreat until the arrival of the Portuguese are the other unfavourable elements against the *Imam*. Furthermore, in some cases, the *Imam* waged his wars without sufficient information. For example, during his return to Harar, after one of the wars, his army missed the way and was lost in some forest and the army was forced to hack its way out. It was reported that the army was complaining it wasted its time and labour fighting the forest instead of the enemy.

4.3.2.5. Impact of the War

During his fifteen years of reign, *Imam* Ahmed succeeded in creating an empire larger than any leader had achieved, even larger than the Ethiopia created by Menelik II. He brought under his control, the whole of today's Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti.

These campaigns between the Muslims and the Christians left tremendous and lasting legacy in both parties. First, the war reintroduced Islam into the Muslim countries that had been invaded, controlled and converted into Christianity, by the Abyssinian forces. It freed them from the Abyssinian domination. Furthermore, it introduced Islam to most parts of the Abyssinian land. Following the control of some additional land, by the *Imam*, a considerable number of people embraced Islam. Some genuinely accepting the religion, while some others as an opportunistic alternative to keep their position safe. In this regard, the number of those who passed from one to the other contrasting religions was very high, and frequent. At times, these conversions took place, *en-masse* as troops belonging to a given camp defected to the other.

In some cases, as is evident, they oscillated owing to material and political reasons and not on religious grounds.

Two typical examples of such conversions could be mentioned. A certain Tekle Haimanot, an Abyssinian Christian, converts to Islam and becomes Garad Abogn's page. Then he was nominated as the chief of a district under Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim. When he deprives him of the command in answer to the request made by the populace, Tekle Haimanot 'leaves the Muslim country to go back to his own', and reverts to Christianity afresh and he receives the command of a region in Abyssinia from the Negus. Later he defends this region against the Muslims with arms, but he was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to the Sultan of Aden as a slave (Shihab ad-Din 'Abd al-Qadir, 2003).

In the Muslim part also Awra'i 'Uthman ibn Dar 'Ali from Balaw stock, is taken prisoner by the Abyssinian Christians and so he adopts Christianity. The Negus gave him the very important command of Ifat and that of Fatagar i.e., the buffer provinces against the Muslim territory. 'Uthman fought the Muslims for a long time; but when Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim decisively attacks Ifat, 'Uthman converted to Islam once more together with his entire troops, twenty thousand in all, and so he received the honour of an Amir and started to fight the Abyssinian Christians once more, and by doing so, he singled himself out in different battles and in the end he died in the field as a 'Muslim martyr' (Shihab ad-Din 'Abd al-Qadir, 2003).

Another important consequence of Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim's undertaking was his having intensified the contacts of the Sultanate of Harar with the Muslim world, analogously as such is true for the Christian Abyssinians' contact with Europe, which was the result of similar vicissitudes of war. The attention of the Muslim world was impressively drawn by the conquest of the *Imam*; and created

great sympathy towards his deeds. This glory had extended as far as India. In parallel to this, the influence of the Portuguese and that of Catholics in Abyssinia became more intensive.

In the political arena, both States, the Christian and the Muslim, became very weak, so much so that the advancement of the Oromo expansion could easily penetrate into and control the hinterlands of both countries. As a result of this advancement of Oromo into the interior, the two traditional enemies were bisected and this Oromo force created a buffer zone between the two.

4.4. Foreign Relations of the Zaila' Muslim States

4.4.1. Relations with Abyssinia

Due to the geo-political position of the Zaila' Muslim State, its foreign relations could be reviewed from the two basic points of view, i.e., the Abyssinian kingdom and of the Arab countries.

In Abyssinia in 1270, the historical event of the restoration of the Solomonic Dynasty was taking place. Concurrently, Islam became the state religion of the states in the Zaila' regions leaving Abyssinia encircled by Muslim countries. The situation thus, created unease on the part of the leaders of the Abyssinian governments of the newly restored - Solomonic Dynasty. Therefore, the governments of Abyssinia adopted a policy of weakening and thereby incorporating the Zaila' Islamic states into its dominion. This resulted in 300 years of war between Abyssinia and the Zaila' Muslim States, which dominated the Horn of Africa.

In most cases, it was the Abyssinians who initiated these wars, though there were few instances, where the Zailas took the initiative, mainly to defend their sovereignty. Otherwise, the Zaila's were negotiating to avoid wars by surrendering some of their rights, as long as, the case did

not infringe upon their sovereignty nor degraded their religion. As Dr. Lapiso (1983) puts it, the Abyssinians openly declared the legitimacy of conquering the Zaila's and this was their number one agenda. Consequently, in these wars, they raided the peoples, since in these wars neither the losers, nor the winners were distinctly identified (Lapiso Dellebo, 1983).

The Major Wars with Abyssinia and Their Causes

These Confederal Muslim Sultanates were known as the Zaila' Muslims Confederal States, and as to their territorial extent, they included most of today's Ethiopian Rift Valley countries and the coastal lowland of the Horn of Africa. These States controlled all the possible outlets that the northern Abyssinians could use. Therefore, the existence of these States was considered a threat by the Abyssinian kingdom. As such, to attain access to these routes, the Abyssinians used all options and came with a baseless pretext that these States are part of their kingdom; which ultimately led to an attritive conflict between the two that lasted three centuries. It could be said that there was not a single past leader who concluded his reign without at least a war. Four major wars are known and documented in history.

Of these four major wars, the first was between King Amda Tsion (1314-1344) and Sultan Sabr ad-Din I (1332-1332). It is true that there had been wars between the two since 1270, "The Restoration of the Solomonic Dynasty". Nevertheless, none of them resulted in penetration into the interior of the Muslim Sultanates. Regarding this particular encounter both parties made serious preparation for the war. In response to the Amda Tsion's deployment, Sabr ad-Din I strengthened his front with the Sultanates of Hadiya, Fatagar and Dawaro. However, before Sabr ad-Din I could finalize his preparation, Amda Tsion struck and took over Ifat and Dawaro by advancing into the interior of the Sultanates and raided the country. Sabr

ad-Din himself was killed in the war. Ifat only escaped Amda Tsion's control by the efforts of Qadi Salih and Shiekh Sadi of Harar and Adal army headed by the Hararis, who pushed Amda Tsion back and saved Sabr ad-Din I's army from disintegration.

The second was the war between Haq ad-Din (1366-1386)-the son of Sabr ad-Din I and Saif Ar'ad (1344-1372)-the son of Amda Tsion. In this war, Saif Ar'ad, accompanied and supported by traitors from Ifat itself, faced Haq ad-Din. Haq ad-Din thoroughly defeated Saif Ar'ad along with his supporters. With this victory, Haq ad-Din was able to manage and keep the Abyssinians far from his Sultanate. But the success could not be sustained for more than ten years, for Haq ad-Din was assassinated by traitors from his uncle's family.

The third was the war that took place between Sa'ad ad-Din (1386-1415) and Dawit II (1382-1411). Initially Sa'ad ad-Din was very successful in repulsing the consecutive attacks by Dawit. However, not content with being always on the defensive, Sa'ad ad-Din decided to put an end to the war by confronting Dawit's force in the Amhara land. He was defeated in 1402 at Zaila' and Dawit raided and completely destroyed Zaila' and other towns of Ifat.

The fourth took place between *Imam*Ahmed and King LibneDengil. Following the destruction of their Sultanate, the sons of Sa'ad ad-Din, Sultan Sabr ad-Din II (1415-1424), Sultan Mansur(1424-1425), Sultan Jamal ad-Din II (1425-1432) and Sultan Badllay b. Sa,adadin (1432-1445), took their turn in defending their Sultanate against the encroachments upon their sovereignty by the Abyssinian kings.

In 1444 Zara Ya'qob carried out inhuman acts, upon his victory over Sultan Badllay b. Sa'adadin that besmirched the Sultan's reputation. Frustrated by these inhuman

deeds of Zara Ya'qob, upon their disintegrated forces, the Sultans of the Zaila inclined to submit to the enemy and buy time for revival. On the other hand, a group, opposing this situation of submission emerged, embarked on resistance movements and established their base in Harar. Finally, after almost a century's effort, this resistance group achieved its objective through its leader, *Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim al-Ghazi* (1506-1543). This precipitated the beginning of the longest and the largest ever conflict in magnitude as well as the unforgettable supremacy of Harar over Abyssinia and the conclusion of the 300-year history of wars (Rajab M. A. 1997).

4.4.2. Relationships with Arab Countries

The relationship of Zaila' Muslim countries with the Arab countries could be reviewed in terms of trade, education and training, as well as, of *Haj* and *Umrah* pilgrimage.

The establishment of the Zaila' Muslim states and their territories on the littoral region of the Red Sea determined that trade becomes the basic occupation of these States. Earlier in their history they were cattle raisers and agriculturalists. However, with regard to trade with the Muslim Arab countries, trade and exchange of goods and services were handled in a more advanced system, to the extent of minting and using coins. Important trade centres were established gradually, within these states, which ultimately developed into sea ports for managing and controlling the trade and the wealth of the region. In effect, the wealth of these states was the engine and motive power behind the rich civilization registered and accredited by history.

As a Muslim population, the people of Zaila' had religious ties with the Muslim world. They were able, in the course of performance of Hajj, to travel to Mecca and Medina, and take advantage of the opportunity of wide exposure to the world Muslim communities' culture and

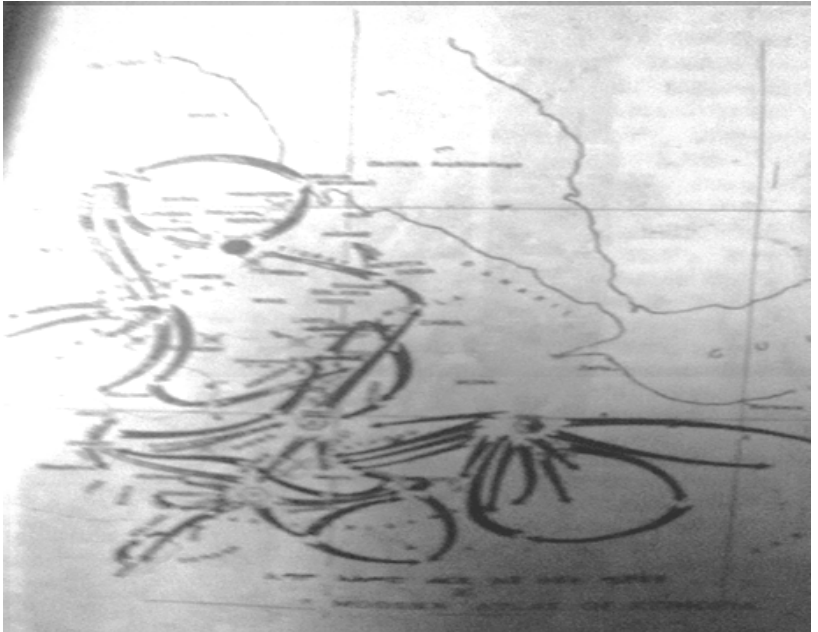
civilization. Furthermore, the youth of the Zaila' States were able to obtain consistent scholarships for higher education in the universities of various Arab countries, such as Egypt, Mecca, and Damascus.

Due to these and other reasons, the Muslim States succeeded to develop a civilized society, build strong economy, and install a well-organized government and administrative structure. They were able to create better living conditions and provide the necessary infrastructures for the socio-economic development of their societies much earlier than those of the other regions.

Further, they could transform their peoples' living habit to permanent settlements in the following phases. First, they created very beautiful towns, such as Ifat, Harar, Barbara, Adal, Zaila' and Mogadishu. These towns were among the most well-known towns of the time in the Horn of Africa. Secondly, their civilization enabled them to reach the level of constructing their houses using stone and mortar, which were beautiful and stronger compared to houses of the other contemporary communities, which used wood and mud. Thirdly, following the permanent settlement, they began to practice sedentary agriculture, applying advanced irrigation system and succeeded to create surplus products for their people, and began to produce cash crops, such as coffee and *chat*, for export. They increased their wealth. Fourthly, using their wealth, they were able to construct many mosques and thousands of Islamic education centres. With the martyrdom of the prominent leader of the Zaila' Empire, Sultan Sa'ad ad-Din and the subsequent destruction of Ifat in 1402, the political centre of the empire shifted to Harar. Nonetheless, the conflict with the Abyssinians continued until 1567 with its climax during the 15 years reign of *Imam Ahmed* (1527-1543). This war weakened both sides and the Oromo expansion advanced in both directions. The 300 years of conflict came to an end to be replaced

by another 300 years of peace, from 1567-1887 (Rajab M. A. 1997).

Thus, this relatively peaceful period was exploited by the Amirs of Harar, particularly with the establishment of the Amir 'Ali bin Dawud Dynasty (1647-1887). Those Amirs, based on the principles of mutual co-existence within the diversified peoples and nations succeeded to maintain peace and order, by isolating the fanatic and extremist groups. This period was a time when Harar accomplished most of the rich endowments of its civilization.



Map 5:- Imam Ahmed's Campaign Route

CHAPTER FIVE

5. THE DECLINE OF HARAR

On *Imam*Ahmed's death his Muslim forces were about to be dispersed, had it not been for the decisive action of the late *Imam's* widow, Bati Dil Wanbera. *Inaay* Dil Wanbera took overall responsibility and succeeded to stabilize the army, save it from disintegration and led it to strategic retreat back home. She was able to regroup her forces to repel the rear attacks coming from the winning Abyssinian army. Simultaneously, the Oromo, taking advantage of the weakened state of these two war-weary sides, were fast advancing into the interior region of the two empires. On bringing her army safely home to Harar, Dil Wanbera faced turmoil and was forced to confront the aggressive Oromo force. Here again, she successfully managed to blunt the force of these attacks; drive back the enemy, and stabilize the socio-political conditions in Harar.

These achievements created a new sense of unity and inspired the resurgence of the determination of her people to fight back and avenge *Imam's* death and re-embark on the challenge of the conquest of the Highland. However an obstacle intervened. The forces of Barakat bin Umar-Din and 'Ali Garadibn *al-Imam*Ahmed, which were charged to stop the advancing Abyssinian force, was defeated and its leaders captured. Bati Dil Wanbera rescued the captives by arranging the exchange release of Minas, brother of Gelawdewos, who was a prisoner in Zabid (Trimingham J. S., 1952), Dil Wanbera later married *Amir* Nur bin Mujahid, her husband's nephew, and entrusted him to continue with the *Imam's* great aspirations as well as his battles. In retrospect, Bati Dil Wanbera was the central figure to keep the Sultanate unified at a most critical juncture in its history and as a source of inspiration in the coming decades.

On the other hand, there is no gainsaying the fact that the decline of both Muslim and the Christian power, has contributed to the expansion of the Oromo into central, eastern, western, and even a part of northern Ethiopia (Mith F. C., 2003). And, as such *Amir* Nur bin Mujahid came under unrelenting pressure from the forces of the new Emperor of the Christian Kingdom and the expanding Oromo pastoralists who were steadily advancing to occupy the regions beyond Bale.

Nur bin Mujahid became *Amir* in 1551/2 (959 AH) and, together with his wife, was recognized by the people of Harar as the leader of the second conquest (*Sahib al-Fat'h athani*). *Amir* Nur identified himself with the city of Harar in a new way, strengthening its defence by building the defensive *Jugal* wall from 1552-1555, which still encircles the city, and became its national hero (Trimingham J. S., 1952). He held the seat of government in the city of Harar; took upon himself the defence of his capital and fortified the city wall, with deep streams and bastions. The construction of this wall earned for *Amir* Nur a great traditional popularity (Cerulli E., 1941). The walled city of Harar has a total area of 1.6 km² (48 hrs) and is surrounded on the average by a 4.5 metres high wall (*Jugal*). Obviously, the *Jugal* was in reality an effective defensive measure against the Oromo expansionists.

In the intervening period between the *Imam's* demise and the accession of *Amir* Nur, Fanuel, a commander of the Christian forces, attacked the fringes of Harar Sultanate in 1550 (Trimingham J.S., 1952). Later Emperor Gelawdewos himself also marched against Harar and the subsequent disarray of the Muslims' force could have been a major factor in the decision of Nur Mujahid to become the ruler of Harar in 1551/2.

In March 1559 *Amir* Nur, with his army, reportedly consisting of about 1,800 cavalry and 500 musketeers and

thousands of traditionally armed soldiers, left Harar on a campaign in Fatagar. *Atse* Gelawdewos with an army which was considerably better organized, with greater confidence and enthusiasm than ever before met the force of Amir Nur at a place called Nech Sar (white grasses), on the border of Wallo on March 23, 1559. Gelawdewos was killed and his forces were destroyed. Nur Mujahid was said to have exhibited the defeated Christian king's head in Harar for three days. Concurrently the Oromo, an important third actor, had entered into the dynamic scene of the 16th century in Ethiopia and in the Horn of Africa. On his way back to Harar, in victory Gada Michele attacked the forces of *Amir* Nur at a place called Hazalo, (Abba Bahrey, 1997) near a mountain by the same name in the present day country of the Afar. Nur broke successfully Michele's force and entered his capital Harar to announce to his people and to Dil Wanbera the double victory.

From this time on, contacts between the central highlands and the Sultanates became extremely difficult, and, suddenly an era of the Muslim-Christian confrontation and relationship drew to a close (Merid W., 1971). Nur's victory against *Atse* Gelawdewos made him the eponymous hero of Muslim achievements; and numerous songs honour and praise (in the Harari language) (Cerulli, E., 1941). In the year 1559, Harar suffered from severe drought which weakened the Sultanate's defence to the extent of losing some of its peripheral territories to the expanding Oromo, thereby further severing contact with Christian Abyssinia. Famine and plague made the city's struggle for survival desperate (Merid W., 1971). Amir Nur died in 975 AH (1568 AD) and following his death, the greatness and prosperity of Harar substantially declined under unabated pressure from both the Oromo expansionists and the Abyssinian aggressor on one hand and drought and famine on the other.

Amir Nur was succeeded by his Abyssinian slave

'Uthman bin Badlay (best known as 'Uthman al-Habashi) who soon faced antagonism from the religious faction due to his abandonment of the religious cannons and the relegation of the welfare of his people in order to strengthen his power.

The charges against 'Uthman were based on his erratic internal and external policies. Cerulli reported that he was the first ever to permit the drinking of alcohol and to allow sequestering properties from Muslim orphans. The duration of his reign was two years; devotees never ceased to condemn the deeds of Amir 'Uthman (Emran M. W., 2014).

On coming to power, Amir 'Uthman completely reversed his predecessor's policy towards the Oromo, and concluded an infamous and humiliating peace treaty with them. The treaty contained five articles. Article one states that the Oromo can freely enter to the Muslim market centre (Harar: Jugal) and purchase cotton clothes at real cost. This means that the Oromo had the privilege of buying goods at less than the current market price. In effect they managed to evade inflation at the expense of the merchant or the Amir. Therefore, what this article gave to Harar was a substantial loss.

The second article gives the Oromo the right to sell their goods in the Muslims market centre. And in so far as the article did not raise the issue of price, it meant, the Oromo may sell their products at market price and buy clothes at fixed price. In a market where both the Harari and the Oromo were playing, the Harari were obliged to deal from a less advantaged position compared to the privilege Amir 'Uthman gave to the Oromo.

In article three, the Oromo agreed not to attack but let the trade caravan pass peacefully. Unlike article one, which obliged the Harari to sell cotton at a fixed price, here this article did not require Oromo, to bear the cost of ensuring

the safety of trade, as will be understood from the next article.

Article four leaves the obligation of safeguarding the trade and the caravan routes and the merchants to Harar including accompanying them on long distance journeys.

Finally, Amir 'Uthman agreed to turn back any Oromo individual who leaves his people for Harar. Under this article Amir 'Uthman agreed to return those Oromos who flee to Harar irrespective of their reason for, and time of, flight be it for accepting Islam, or from unjust persecution. In effect, any refugee must be returned if, and when, demanded by the Oromo. This unfair and ill – balanced clause applied even on those who came to, and established their life in, Harar, during the reign of Amir Nur.

Obviously, Amir 'Uthman was a loser on all the counts of the treaty. He may have gained a relatively minor, but highly ephemeral peace, at the cost of usurping from his people their right of balanced trade and encroaching on their economic independence. Above all, he dishonoured the sacred tradition of protecting refugees from persecution of any nature, and particularly the freshly converted Muslims. This latter violation was absolutely un-acceptable to communities such as Hararis. The implementation of this article, among others, precipitated mass opposition against him and finally cost him his neck. The following account gives the details in this connection.

In accordance with article four of the agreement, Amir 'Uthman ordered *GaradJibreel*, Amir Nur's son-in-law, to go to the Oromo market to maintain peace and order. From the start, it appears that the case of a certain woman refugee held in the custody of *GaradJibreel* triggered a conflict between Amir 'Uthman and *GaradJibreel*. The woman who was a Muslim apostatized after her capture by the Oromo. However, she soon returned to

her original faith and managed to escape to one of the markets which Garad Jibreel patrolled. 'Uthman agreed to the Oromo request that she be returned to them, but Jibreel and his companions refused to hand her over. *Garad* Jibreel and his followers decamped to Awsa, in objection to the treacherous deeds of Amir 'Uthman. Garad Jibreel further embarked on a campaign of inciting insurrection in Awsa and in Zaila' against 'Uthman. Firstly he took action (a) to propagate his belief regarding 'Uthman's treachery and (b) to strengthen his position with his brother, GaradAhmed. His second move was to agitate against 'Uthman's policy and deeds in Zaila'. At the time, Zaila' was a prosperous port vitally necessary for Harar's trade in import and export of goods (e.g. cotton cloth, coffee). Hence, Uthman lost no time, but took urgent steps to crush the rebellion outright.

When 'Uthman approached Zaila', Jibreel set forth to return to Awsa, However, 'Uthman sent Garad Balaw Mohammad and another Garad ahead, to fight Jibreel in Zaila', while he, himself, went to Awsa, Garad Jibreel was defeated and killed in Zaila' in the year 1569 (Rajab M. A., 1997).

Now the banner of rebellion was taken by 'Talhah bin Abbas bin Abogn, grand-nephew of *Imam*Ahmed. The son of Abbas, who had been one of the supports of Garad Jibreel left with his army to Harar and defeated Muhammad Hargay whom Amir 'Uthman had left behind in Harar. Since Amir 'Uthman was still in Awsa, he neither heard the news of the defeat of his army nor the surrender of Harar. The religious leaders and elders of Harar agreed to install 'Talhah as the reigning Sultan and Amir 'Uthman's army, simultaneously, recognized him as their commander. He wore the Gamador and the drums were beaten announcing the joyous event in the city of Harar. However, after a very short reign of about a year and half, Sultan 'Talhah was deposed in 1571 and Nasir, a son of 'Uthman bin Badlay, became the new sultan. On

his death in 1573, his son, Muhammad bin Nasir bin 'Uthman took his place followed him as sultan (Emran W., 2014).

Sultan Muhammad, bin Nasir bin 'Uthman launched a military campaign against the Christian kingdom in Bale in 1576 during the Oromo advance towards Harar. According to the chronicle of Sertse Dengil, the Emperor and Sultan Muhammad bin Nasir had waged a war in Bale, i.e., beyond the Webi River in 1576 (*Yeqirs Tibbeqa Balesiltan*trans). This shows, based on the information, the Amir's force could break the Oromo force in the area without difficulty, and that at least up until this time, and the Oromo were by no means, a major threat to Harar. It further indicates that Amir Muhammad's expedition to Bale, and for the clash between him and Sertse Dengil's Christian force, was part and parcel of his military strategy to attack the Oromo in the rear, around Harar, and sandwich them between the forces in Harar, which will be in readiness to deliver a frontal push.

When Sultan Muhammad bin Nasir was in his Bale expedition, Harar was in the middle of dilemma i.e., facing the pressure from the surrounding Oromo and the unresolved problem of succession in Harar. In fact, however, when the Oromo became aware that the Muslim army was in Bale, they began to devastate the land of Sa'ad ad-Din and destroyed one hundred settlements and even reached as far as the Jugal gates (Emran W., 2014).

Powerful men became busy addressing these burning issues. Since Muhammad's brother, *wazir* Hamid bin Nasir bin 'Uthman, proved to be incapable of confronting the Oromo, a certain Mansur bin Muhammad bin Ayub organized the defence of the city of Harar (Wagner, E., 1978). Consequently, it would appear that Mansur was given full administrative power by the grateful people of Harar. As soon as he conclusively countered the Oromo raid, he went to Zaila' and removed the overseer, Sultan

Muhammad. However, shortly after he established his authority over Awsa he was killed, according to the chronicle, by one of his own men (Cerulli, E., 1941). A member of *Imam*Ahmed's family, Muhammad Gassa I (r. 1576-1583), took advantage of the situation and in September 1576 declared himself *Imam*, using again the religious title (Wagner, E., 1974).

The successor of Sultan Mansur, Muhammad Gassa I did not use the titles *Amir* or sultan, but claimed the position of *Imam*. This led Cerulli to speculate that Mansur was a member of *Imam*Ahmed's family. What is certain is with this title, Muhammad Gassa I wished to express the religious essence of his rule. The Awsa Chronicle recounts that Muhammad Gassa I was a pious ruler, who paid respect to the descendants of the Prophet and especially honoured the members of Ba 'Alawi family. He was so eager to wage *jihad* that he assembled an army of 600 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers, equipped with 70 rifles.

Soon after, and concerned about the vulnerability of Harar, Muhammad Gassa transferred his capital from Harar to Awsa, not only due to the fact that the latter was less exposed to Oromo raids, but also the transfer was in consequence of the interruption of the caravan trade route between the city and Zaila' by the fall of the highlands and plains around the city. The route between Awsa and Zaila' passed through desert lands, which the Oromo could not penetrate. Awsa provided him with a secure base for operations against the Humbanna around Harar and Afar (Merid W., 1973). In Harar, Muhammad installed his brother Muhammad Gassa II bin Ibrahim as *wazir and*, in Zaila'*Garad* Laduh as governor. The latter's rule was interrupted when the Nur, together with the Somalis, sacked the town. Muhammad Gassa I, however, was able to remove Nur and to reinstall Laduh (Wagner, E., 1973). Muhammad Gassa I built a powerful army to intimidate the desert tribes around him and kept open the

routes to Zaila' and the City of Harar. Unfortunately, however, the two main towns of Awsa, Farfara and Waraba, were effectively besieged by the bands which killed the *Imam*. After Muhammad was killed in Awsa in 1583, power was seized by his treasurer Zuhail bin 'Abdallah al-Hassani (Wagner, E., 1073).

At this juncture, the authority of the Sultan of Awsa began to wane and Harar was, from then on, governed by a wazir. The first was Muhammad Gassa's brother, Muhammad Gassa II bin Ibrahim who later in 1584 became Imam in Awsa. In July 1585 Amir Sa'ad ad-Din reigned in Harar and thence the Amirs began to gradually assert their independence from Awsa. From 1620/1621 Amir Sabr ad-Din ibn Adam ruled in Harar, and died in 1624/1625. He was succeeded by Amir Siddeeq, who ruled until July 1646, and after him, his son, Malaq Adam reigned for 11 months and died on 20th June 1647. Amir Ahmed the son of Wazir Abram, who died on 29th June 1647 after ruling for 10 days. And then his son, Amir 'Ali Ibn Dawud, acceded to the throne (Emran M. W., 2014).

CHAPTER SIX

6. THE NEW DYNASTY OF 'ALI IBN DAWUD

'Ali bin Dawud came to the throne after one of many internal crises, which precipitated the decline of the Adal Muslim Confederal State. Amir Siddeeq died in 1056 *Hijria* (1646AD).

Sequentially, Amir 'Ali was at first a Malaq then he was nominated Gaddaf-Goyta; after which he acquired the title of Wazir during 'Amir Siddeeq's reign, and finally he became the Lord of the Emirate in 1647 and reigned up to 1662 A.D.

Amir Ibn Dawud had 10 male of-springs: Amir Hashim; Amir 'Abdullahi; Sabr [ad-Din]; WazirAhmed; Jami; Adam; Sadiq; Barakat; 'Izz ad-Din; and 'Umar-Din.

Amir 'Abdullahi, the son of Amir 'Ali had 8 children and (his mother was one of *Zakamari* family);Talhah, whose mother was from the Anag tribe; Amir Aboubaker, mothered by Hawa Garad; Mubarak, whose mother was from the Geri tribe; Muhammad, the grandfather of Garad Limay, Jami, 'Abd ar-Rahman, nicknamed Amir Tinabri, and whose descendants were: 'Abbas, the grandfather of Masarri Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad, and Hamzah, the grandfather of Muhammad ibn 'Abdosh; 'Abdosh, the grandfather of Muhammad Ibn Imam 'Abd ar-Rahman; Khalaf; and Qafil-Goyta 'Uthman, the father of Gisti 'Ashah, nick-named Taqah.

The children of Amir 'Talhah the son of Amir 'Abdallah were 8: Garad Ibrahim, Garad Khalaf, Garad Mansur, Nur, Khadijah, the mother of Amir Abogn, Amatallah, the mother of Garad 'Umar, Aminah, the mother of the paternal grandfather of 'Abd al-Qadir Salih and Sa'idah.

The children of Amir Aboubaker were:

1. Amir Khalaf, who had 3 children: Garad 'Umar, Garad Ibrahim and Garad Muhammad 'Afif
2. Amir Hamo, who had 7 children: 'Abd ar-Rahman, Isma'il, Ibrahim and Ahmed Bashir, all these from a daughter of Koshim Garad Mubarak; Muhammad, 'Uthman and Aboubaker from Sitti 'Ashah the daughter of Sayyid Ibrahim; Amir Yusuf was the son of the same mother and had 3 children: Amir Muhammad, Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur and Garad 'Umar;
3. Amir Ahmed, who had 3 children: Garad Yahya, Amir Abogn and Garad Muhammad;
4. Aftal-Garad 'Ali, who had 8 children: 'Abdallah, 'Abd al-Jaleel and 'Abd al-Qadir from Kulthumah; 'Abd as-Salam, Ibrahim and 'Uthman; Garad Muhammad; and Ahmed from Khadijah;
5. Garad Bashir, who had 4 children: Garad 'Abd al-Quddus, Garad 'Abd al-Fattah, Garad 'Abd al-Malik and Garad 'Abd ar-Rahman;
6. Garad Isma'il who had only one son called Garad Ibrahim Ziqeh;

During Amir Ahmed ibn Abibaker's reign (1761-1762), the minaret of Sheikh Bazikh mosque, was built and that came to be destroyed by the Shewan later on. This minaret had an inscription in Arabic verse:

Abd ash-Shakur bin Yusuf bin Abibaker was the 11th Amir of the 'Ali bin Dawud Dynasty who ruled the City-State of Harar from 1783 to 1794. In his 11 years reign, 'Abd ash-Shakur achieved much for his State. Already in the third year of his rule, he reformed the administration of the City-State by restructuring and reinforcing the register, *sijill* and chancery, *Diwan* which had been long misused. All in all, 'Abd ash-Shakur had played an important role

in strengthening the institutions of the emirate of Harar. Ahmed Zakaria pointed out that the strengthening of the *Diwan* and the *sijill* benefitted Harar and posterity by establishing a long standing judicial system which produced written records, thus enabling historians not only to analyse the legal system, but also to study the socio-economic conditions of the city for the last 200 years (Ahmed Z., 1991). He further noted that 'Abd ash-Shakur was considered one of the richest men in Harar. There are proverbs among the Harari that depict 'Abd ash-Shakur's wealth. He was also the first and, perhaps, the only, Amir who minted gold coin in Harar. He also constructed many mosques in his State and even beyond as far as Bale. There are many mosques associated with his name and the one in Sheikh Husain in Bale is dedicated to 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jeilani which indicates 'Abd ash-Shakur had relations with the religious brotherhood of the Qadiriyah. Finally, he expanded his domain of control to some additional trading posts, such as Sar Amba and Aliyu Amba (Ahmed Z., 1992).

Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur is also known for his strength of character and effective capability to maintain peace and order in his emirate; to safeguard the trade route to Zaila', and to assure the safety and security of his people. As far as his relation with the surrounding Oromo population is concerned, he used the carrot-and-stick approach. That is, whenever it was possible to avoid conflict, without compromising the welfare of his people and the territorial integrity of his emirate, he exploited the peaceful means. But if matters went against this approach, he would send an expedition force to quell the rebellion and establish his authority. Moreover, in time of peace, he sent gifts to peaceful communities, such as the Jarso and other Nole clans.

The reign of *Amir* 'Abd ash-Shakur was succeeded by the

lengthy rule of Ahmed bin Muhammad bin Yusuf (1794-1821). He, as his predecessors, used both diplomacy and force to protect his people and the emirate. In one specific incident, the Amir undertook a successful expedition against rebels and opened the caravan routes into the interior for travellers.

Abbas Ahmed (1992) explained that after the death of Ahmed bin Muhammad bin Yusuf in 1821, the authority of his successors declined due to internal strife within the ruling family. The most serious rivalry was between 'Abd ar-Rahman and 'Abd al-Karim in the mid-1820s. The rule of succession in the emirate was based on primogeniture, i.e., first born right of inheritance. However, this rule was not often observed; since, at particular times brothers could succeed each other, while the children of the deceased Amir were still alive.

It was during the long reign of Amir Ahmed ibn Muhammad that his younger brothers, namely 'Abd al-Rahman and 'Abd al-Karim, adopted quite opposing policies - 'Abd al-Karim had distinguished himself as a patriot for his strong defence of the state and gained popularity among his people, Amir Abd al-Rahman is said to have sought Oromo support in order to counter-balance the popularity of his brother.

However, 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad (1821-1825) succeeded his brother Ahmed bin Muhammad in 1821, according to Ahmed Shami, with the support of the Oromo, and imprisoned his brother 'Abd al-Karim Muhammad. But soon, 'Abd al-Karim managed to be released and became the Amir on 16 June, 1825 and incarcerated 'Abd al-Rahman, in turn.

During the reign of Amir 'Abd al-Karim (1825-34), Abbas claimed that the previous chaotic and confusing state of affairs seems to have cleared. The *Amir* established relatively smooth relations with the neighbouring Oromo. He

also waged successful expeditions against rebellious Arab merchants. His reign was considered as “the golden age” of Harar due to the prevailing peace and prosperity. By his skilful control of the situations, as well as, his good governance, in his emirate, he succeeded to redress the injustice done to his citizens (Abas A, 1992).



Figure 2:-Amir Ahmed b. Aboubaker, who hosted Richard Burton

Amir 'Abd al-Karim, who had no male descendants, was succeeded by his nephew Aboubaker bin *Aftal-Garad*' Abd al-Mannan bin Muhammad who ruled Harar from 1834 to 1852. Aboubaker's father was governor of Zaila' (hence, the title *Aftal-Garad*), which had been freed from Turks by 'Abd al-Karim.

Already, before accession to the throne, Aboubaker had distinguished himself as an outstanding warrior. Relying on this reputation he managed to subdue the insurgent groups in the periphery of his emirate.

His policy was quite effective and successful. The merchants of Harar extended their traffic as far as Shewa. In 1841, however, perhaps as a result of drought, this influence of Harar was reduced to certain extent. This famine and drought compelled as Wagner explains, the Amir to change the Harari currency into a new one in the ratio of fifty to one. To avoid a new inflation, prices were fixed by the *Amir*. At the same time he prohibited the possession of foreign currency and using such modern economic approach, the Amir managed to stabilize the economy.

On Aboubaker's death, his son, Ahmed, succeeded to the throne with the help of his popular mother, Fatimah *bint'*Abd al-Karim in 1852. Due to the despotic attitude of Ahmed, even his Wazir *Garad* Muhammad and other royals did not dare offer uncalled-for advice and *Gisti* Fatima was threatened with fetters if she should persist in interfering in governmental affairs. Before 1855, Amir Ahmed had not only lost much goodwill in the town by quarrelling with Fatima but also damaged his relation with Giri Somali, who controlled the trade route to Zaila'. It was also Amir Ahmed who received Richard Burton, (allegedly the first European visitor to Harar).

When the Amir's health condition deteriorated, his reign mostly depended on the councils of his Wazir *Garad* Muhammad, and the Queen Dowager, *Gisti* Fatimah (Clauk, R., 1971). When Ahmed died in 1856, his two sons were both very young. Hence, the rule was taken over by Muhammad bin Ali, 'Abd ash-Shakur the grandson of Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur, the 17th Amir of the emirate of Harar. Amir Mohammad had served in Amir 'Abdal-Shakur's army (1783-94) as a distinguished and brave warrior and later became an important commander in the Amir's army. Later on, he also served as a military commander with Amirs after his grand father, as he did during the reign of 'Abd ash-Shakur's third successor, 'Abd al-Karim.

Amir Muhammad came to throne through a *coup d'état*, when Amir Ahmed's family pledged to turn over the government to his mother Fatimah bint AbdalKarim.

When Muhammad failed to gain power in Harar, he fled and entered the clanship of the Bokku of Abado clan, south of Haromaya, and was officially adopted as a member of the clan.

This situation, obviously, had created new relationship of mutual duties and responsibilities between the Oromo and the fugitive power contender, Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abd ash-Shakur.

Muhammad became known for his despotic rule. He was fully dominated by his Oromo allies, a fact that made him unpopular with his own people. He began his rule by taking revenge upon Fatima *bint*AbdalKarim, of Somali origin and deprived her of her property. Later, however, Fatima's popularity among the citizens forced him to change his attitude(Wagner, E., 1978).

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF HARARI EMIRATE

7.1. The Egyptian Occupation 1875-1885

The Egyptian encroachment into Harari territory was a result of (a) the local developments in Harar and its surroundings and (b) Egypt's own geo-political dynamics which began as of 1805. With regard to the local developments in Harar, the Hararis were extremely dissatisfied with the autocratic governance of Amir Muhammad, who oppressed them and betrayed their fundamental interests. The citizens—along with 'Abdullah, the Amir's son organized themselves for the removal of the tyrant. In Egypt, after the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869, *Khedive* Ismael began his campaign to occupy the whole of the Red Sea littoral region with the vision of establishing a Nile-African empire (Haggai, E., 1977).

Though Egypt by then was under Ottoman Turks, Egypt acted independently with full authority. It seems that the Ottoman Turks also accepted this because he was given the Muwali title, unlike the Wakil of other Turkish governors. In line with their expansionist policy, the Egyptians had already landed at Zaila. Hararis took advantage of their presence at Zaila to put their plan to dethrone Amir Mohammad into effect.

Accordingly, a delegation including 'Abdullahi, the son of the Amir, was sent to Zaila with a mission to invite the Egyptian army to help them in deposing the Amir and dissolving his government. On receipt of the message, on 16 July 1875, Ismael decided to take over Harar and ordered Muhammad Rauf *Pasha* to march from Zaila towards the City State.

When the Egyptians approached Harar, Muhammad sent

two letters of submission to Muhammad Rauf *Pasha*. Paulitschke recorded that the *Amir* also sent a delegation composed of Harari notables and elders including the Chief *Qadi* and his older son Haji Yusuf, with a letter of submission (Abbas A., 1992).

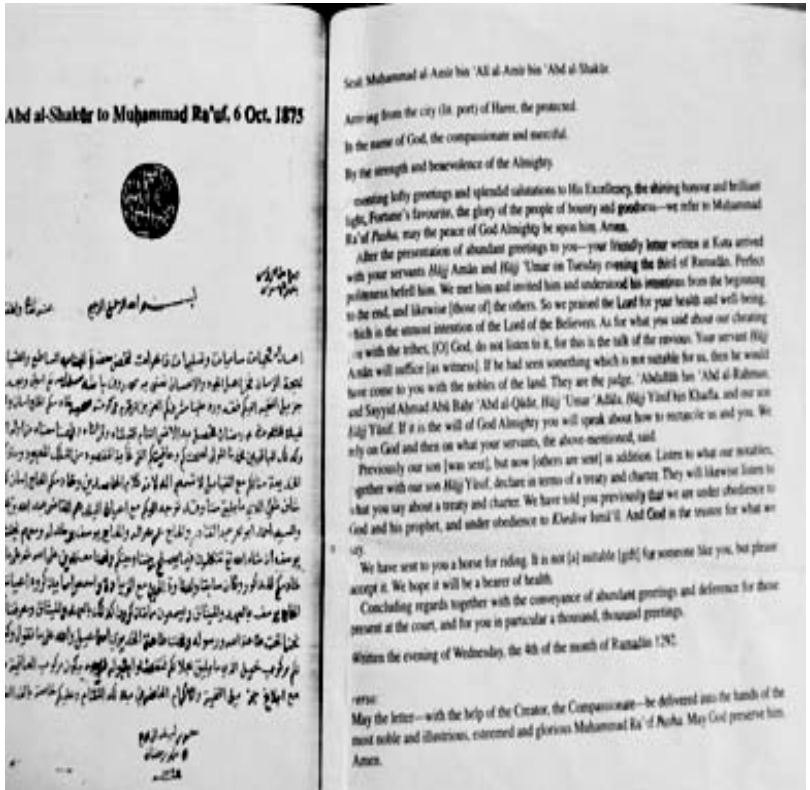


Figure 3:-One of Amir Mohammed's Letters to Mohammed Rauf Pasha

This Amir's delegation met Rauf Pasha at a place called Jaldeisa, but to no avail. Leaving Zaila with an expeditionary force of some 1,200 troops on 18 September 1875, Muhammad Rauf *Pasha* advanced on

Harar, which he entered, on 11 October, with no opposition. The Egyptians put an end to the Sovereignty of the emirate of Harar. In October 1875 Amir Muhammad bin' Ali b. Abd ash-Shakur (r. 1855-75) was executed (Miran, J., 2005).

Amir Mohamed ibn Ali ibn Abdushakur; Fate and Demise

According to Emran's translation of the Ottorine Rosa's book "L' Impero Del Leone Di Guida", the two versions of Amir Mohammed's death:

1st Version is that he, while the Amir was reading Qur'an with his family on Friday morning, 4 Egyptian soldiers just entered Harar, presented themselves at his palace. They requested him to accompany them to meet their general rauf pasha who was stationed at Abokker Hill, overlooking the City.

The Amir got up with alacrity and went out to the palace enclosure. The waiting soldier's thrown a rope around his neck and strangled him. And immediately after, one of the Egyptian soldiers blew his horn, loud and clear. In answer, more soldiers rushed to all five gates and occupied the city. The reason they gave was that the Amir had refused to disarm his troops (Rosa, O., 1935).

2nd Version, The Egyptians entered Harar and appointed the city, aided by an officer called abdul wahab wahbi bey. After about two years, the Amir was accused of instigating a rebellion amongst some tribes and was killed in the exchange of fire (Rosa, O., 1935).

The first set of Egyptian measures aimed at establishing proper government followed by pacifying and ensuring peace and order in the surrounding rural areas.

Muhammad Rauf Pasha conducted campaigns in the country-side in February and March 1876 and controlled all rebel attempts. The Egyptians convinced the farmers to resume cultivating their fallow lands, and further

encouraged them to plant coffee. Caulk (1977) noted that when Rauf toured the western part of Harar, he found half the land uncultivated. He continues:

Those who hesitated to begin planting grain and coffee were attacked until they agreed to nominate leaders who would be responsible for parcels of virgin land. In March 1876, Rauf claimed that two hundred and fifty settlements had been founded in this way since the conquest. Each was under a notable who had been given the Harari title, Garad; a cape, turban and robe; and a deed entitling him to fixed units of land, in return for a fee in cattle and the commission to collect tithe (from which such appointees were themselves exempt) on the harvest and herds of the new settlement (Caulk, R., 1977).

As a result, many were settled in groups, converted to Islam, and were incorporated into the city economic and social loops.

Oromo notables responsible for parcels of land in far distant areas, were appointed and given the Harari title of *Garad* or *Malaq* in return for a fee, and commission to collect taxes paid in cattle. Under Muhammad Rauf, the Egyptian administrator in Harar had enacted a set of measures aimed at developing the emirate's economy.

Considerable reforms were introduced to enhance Harar's commercial vitality and to develop agriculture. The cultivation of coffee and other crops was also encouraged by the Egyptians. Tax was levied on crops and on livestock to encourage settlement and further cultivation. Muhammad Rauf reorganized and established new local urban administration and its institutions; i.e. he introduced some additional systems, while keeping most with minor changes to strengthen his public

administration. Communications improved, and substantial public works were undertaken during his tenure of office; most of the trade was routed through Jarso and Nole clans, to and from the coast. Some edifices were built in this period, such as the Arab mosque, the premises of today's municipality office (Miran, J., 2005).

The governorship of Muhammad Rauf Pasha ended in 1878 and he was replaced by Ridhwan *Pasha* who served as Governor until June 1880. After Ridhwan Pasha, the governorship was occupied by Muhammad Nadi Pasha. During his tenure, European merchants such as Xavier Alfred Bardey settled in Harar establishing trading houses. They mostly purchased coffee and hides for export, and imported European goods. Further, evidence of Harar's increasing exposure to Europeans was attested by the establishment of a French Capuchin mission headed by Monsignor Taurin Cahagn in April 1881. Throughout the decade commercial activity intensified and the annual frequency of caravans between Harar and the coast increased from 70 to 400 (Miran, J., 2005).

Muhammad Nadi *Pasha* was responsible for some public works and services in Harar, such as: the interventions, and some improvements, in their own style and mode on the western section of the Jugalwall; extending mainly through the Asmadin gate and its vicinity, on the Jugal wall surrounding the city; the strengthening of a local police force; and the improvement of the already existing urban civil administration.

There was a certain degree of conflict between Muhammad Nadi and Aboubaker Ibrahim Shim, Governor of Zaila, over matters relating to the latter's implicit role in slave trade activities that ran counter the official Egyptian policy. Consequently, in late 1881 Zaila and Barbara were separated by the Egyptian government from the administration of Harar. The last governor of Harar was 'Ali Ridha *Pasha* from December 1882 to early

1884. The Egyptian occupation of Harar came to an end as result of the Egyptian financial crisis which eventually led to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (Miran, J., 2005).

Although the Egyptians collected taxes to the extent of 200,000 Egyptian pounds for the expenses of the Egyptian force in Harar they claimed the Egyptian treasury was drained by 33,000 pounds annually. The expenses coupled with Egypt's problem in the Sudan led to the withdrawal that ended on 15th June 1885, when the last of the 8,359 Egyptians arrived in Zaila (Mohammed H., 1980) on their way home.

7.2. Amir 'Abdullahi and the Battle ofChalanqo

As elaborated above, the Egyptians withdrew from the city of Harar in mid-June 1885. Before their evacuation, the Egyptians gathered the Harari elders and nobles asking them to propose an Amir to rule them. Harari representatives chose, on behalf of the people, Amir Abdullahi - the son of the deposed Amir Muhamad - for his honesty and dedication to the welfare of Harar and Hararis. The new Amir became well known for his religious monitoring of his emirate. He also revived his predecessor's policy of sending teachers to the Oromo in order to teach and spread Islam. He sent circulars to the officials ordering them to maintain chastity and expand Islamic teaching. Amir 'Abdullahi also reformed the commercial policy and urged the local people to become fully involved in foreign trade, thereby reducing the presence and influence of foreigners in the emirate. This policy eventually earned him the enmity of the expatriates in Harar, who began to conspire against him by collaborating with and spying for, *Negus* Menelik who was planning to wage war on the Amir's territory for easy access to the sea (Ahmed Z., 2003).



Figure 4:-Amir Abdullahi the Last Amir of Harar

It is hard to tell exactly when Negus Menelik decided to start his aggressive war. In his letter of December 6th 1878, there is a hint that something was in his mind. The urge to have control over the rich resources and lucrative trade that passed via Harar added impulse to Menelik's desire for the conquest of the emirate. Since Harar is strategically located and commercially the focal point from where the trade routes of Arsi and Gurage passed through it. The conquest of Harar meant control of the trade routes leading to the coast; thereby, securing use of ports for Shewa. Yohanne's crushing victory over the Egyptians in the north and his expressed wish to send an army to conquer Harar might have influenced Menelik to do same. It is certain that the Egyptian evacuation of 1885 provided Menelik with the moment he had been waiting for (Muhammed H., 1980). Furthermore, Amir 'Abdullahi bin Muhammad was stigmatized as enemy by both

infidels and the foreign traders whose commercial activities and businesses were practically ruined by the Amir's reform policy. There was also the added determination to instigate war consequent to the disputed case of the Italian expedition team, led by Count Porro, allegedly massacred on 18 April 1886, at Jaldeisa, while on reconnaissance of the emirate for the invasion of Harar.



Figure 5:-Menelik's Letter to Mr Borelli, his French advisor dated Tir 2 in the city of Harar.

Translation

How are you Monsieur Borelli? I am fine thanks God. When I invade Harar, I have found the Amir of Harar has collected all his army being armed with weapons in a place called Meta, Warabile. The Amir is not willing to have reconciliation with me instead he has imprisoned my messengers. With the help of Almighty God, I massacred all his people and entered to Harargeyy and its city. I captured his field guns and cannons while the Amir escaped on horseback. It is written on January 9 in Harar city.

Seal, Menelik King of Shewa

The incident was used by Negus Menelik to pre-empt any probable action of retribution by the Italians, as well as to achieve the dual goals of retaliating the Amir and occupying Harar (Chernestov, S., 2003). Addis Hiwot (1975) narrates the preparations of *Negus* Menelik in the course of Egyptian evacuation. He states that one of Menelik's competent spies, Atsme Giorgis, entered Harar disguised as a Muslim merchant, and collected all possible data on Harar, its cultural life, economic conditions, number of dwellings, composition and size of population. Atsme then returned to Menelik's court, where he presented the fruits of his three months of spying (Addis Hiwot, 1975).

G/Egziabher W/Aragay, the chronicler of *Negus* Menelik narrates that the *Negus* ordered *Dajazmach* W/Gabriel to conquer Harar. The advance force which was led by *Dajazmach* W/Gabriel (*Abba Saytan*) was defeated by the Amir's army under the leadership of Commander Bakri Salih, at Hirna and its commander *Abba Saytan* was killed (Ahmed Z., 2003). The remnants of the defeated army fled to Shewa where they faced the punitive measures of Taytu Bitul, the wife of *Negus* Menelik

(G/Egziabher, W., 1959). After the defeat at Hirna, Menelik personally led his vast army of over 30,000 men, over 10,000 of whom formed a crack corps “armed with the newest breech-loading rifles from his arsenal; however, Amir 'Abdullahi's force was no match for Menelik's army, in size, armament or organization. The *Amir* of Harar, had no more than 3000 men, of whom only 1000 were equipped with firearms, and of these no more than half in good condition. At the battle of Chalanqo, near a town by the same name some 80 kilometres west of the city of Harar, on January 6, 1887, Amir 'Abdullahi lost about 1000 of his men. *Negus* Menelik won the day by using the intelligence report and his superior force, in men and armament.

But there is also another version that says even Menelik himself was defeated by the Amir's force at first. And desperately as Menelik was about to return to Shewa, he was approached by some traitors among the Meta, who showed him a critical route for a pincer attack on the rear of the Amir's forces, which were celebrating premature victory on the enemy in the front.

(An agreement which is concluded between Emperor Menelik and Harari Authorities)

Senior authority of the Harari people goes to the place where Emperor Menelik resides. These officers are Haji Yusuf Barkhadle, his Excellency Vechan Ali Abubakar who is the son of Amir Abdushakur, Kadi Abdullahi who is the son of Kadi Abdurahman, Garad Abdurahman Kenawaq, Garad Abdulwahab, Sheik Ahmed Amano and other renowned elders of the Harari people. The purpose of this meeting is to establish peace and order. They have arrived at Dirre Shimbure which is the Awaach of Sheik Abubakar. The delagte was permitted to deliver their demand.

- *They want the Harari people will receive public safety.*
- *They don't want any Christian to interfere in the affair of Islam.*
- *They also need the Harari people to freely exercise his right on the land he has possessed.*

After the Emperor has heard the opinion of the representatives of Harari people, he states that as far as your questions are those which are stated above, there is no any problem. The emperor also stated that the above stated ideas shall be incorporated in the reconciliation agreement..

In return, the emperor has requested as to fulfil three conditions.

- *The first is that you should not hide the income and expenditure tax which the Egyptian government has taken.*
- *The second is that you should not hide anything which harms our country by foreigner.*
- *The third is that if an act which harms the people is committed, you should report to the responsible body for remedial action.*

We have agreed on the above stated three issues.

This document is found in both sides. The document is sealed on behalf of Emperor Menelik by the representative Ras Mekonnen.

It is written on 9th May 1887.

There is seal that reads Ras in its upper and Mekonnen in its lower part at centre.

Next, on the copy shown a place having illegible name and signature of witnesses.

(Seeannex4, Amharic version, where the source of this translation is taken.)

This could also be backed by song that the Harari Mugads (peer groups) used to sing in any celebration the verses below, as part of oral tradition to convey the history to the generations to come, the cause of the defeat of Chalanqo.

Harari	English Translation
<i>Chalanqoseif biriqbeyawa(bilichbawa)</i>	In the midst Battle of Chalanqo with flicker of swords
<i>Eir sawarwar ziwerarabewa</i>	It is not the sunstroke that made me to fell
<i>Sariwa samor ziqochabewa</i>	Neither the mountain nor the valley
<i>Endaribiw miyin masalewa</i>	It is a mirage not water
<i>Tiezow agri zashaw Tiram aladaqewa</i>	Nor hunger and thirst that diluted me
<i>Adawa takhum altawa, Meta khadda'agnachzowaayiin adaqtawa</i>	Neither the large number of Menelik's soldiers that shattered me Nor my brother's agony, But the traitor among the Meta caused my defeat

In the war, Harar had lost 1000 men including 700 newly-wed young fighters in the battle of Chalanqo. Amir

'Abdullahi survived Chalanqo and retreated to Babile.

Before he left Harar, Menelik appointed *Balambaras Makonnen W/Michael*, as governor of Harar, with the title of *Dajazmach* (later *Ras*) (Addis Hiwot, 1975). Amir 'Abdullahi retreated to Babile and began to reorganize his force for counter attack. However, while in the course of preparation the Amir was approached by Menelik's delegates to give up his redeployment, on the basis of the Dire Shumbura treaty. Amir 'Abdullahi spent his last days living under house arrest and was buried at the Awach of Abadir Umar ar-Ridha (Ahmed Z., 2003).

7.2.1. Reasons for the Loss of the Battle of Chalanqo

Menelik's superior army, in number and in armament was the primary cause of Menelik's victory on the war. Menelik came for his war with thirty thousand soldiers; of whom ten thousand were equipped with modern weapons. On the other hand, the Amir went to the front only with three thousand soldiers, of whom only one thousand were armed. Furthermore, the support Menelik had received from Europeans, in intelligence and in supply of armament, played a role in the result of the war.

Besides the superior military power both in number, as well as, weapon, Menelik's army had far better composition compared to that of Amir 'Abdullahi's. Since Menelik had already controlled a number of new nations, he was able to create a multinational army with their variety of indigenous military tactics and experiences. In addition to his Shewan troops, his army included that of the Tigrian, the Gojjam, the Gondar, and also as Abba Dula in his book asserts, the Shewa Oromo troop of Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Dinagde and Ras Gobana Dache who were in the front line on the side of Menelik. On the other hand, Amir 'Abdullahi's forces due to its lesser magnitude, both in number and weapon, comprised only the Harar forces composed of the Hararis, the Somalis, the Oromos, the Afars and the Argobas.

The Amir rushed to the war front without sufficient preparation. Since the time Menelik's army approached Chalanqo was during the Christian *Ganna* (Christmas holiday), Amir 'Abdullahi, mis-calculated that the enemy's force would be busy and pre-occupied with the festivities of *Ganna* holiday. Consequently, he chose a swift military offensive on the front and take Menelik's huge army by surprise.

7.2.2. Causalities of the War

It is stated that the loss of lives on both sides was extremely heavy and blood turned the river red. On Amir 'Abdullahi's side, there was a loss of 1000 soldiers, out of which 700 were a newly-wed young Hararis. In some cases, it was reported that three members of a single family lost their life. In memory of this calamity, the Hararis daub (smear) the floor of their house as well as the wall of raised front '*Nadaba*', with red. The men add a long red-coloured stripe at the edge of their *labeqbay*, otherwise, referred to as *Satti-baqila*. Causalities on the Menelik's side too were 100 dead and 300 wounded.

As war ransom, Menelik imposed on the Hararis a total of 49,259 Maria Theresa Thalers as partial compensation for the loss of life and property in the war. The total was allocated gate-by-gate and on other groups and individuals as follows.

Sources of war ransom	Maria Theresa Thalers
AsadinBari	3,129
Assum Bari	3,100
ArgoBari	3,100
Suqtat Bari	3,054
Badro Bari	2,842
Other shops foreigners	1,272
Government properties	16,497
Haji Yusuf and Shash 'Ali Aboubaker	<u>16,265</u>

Total	<u>49,259</u>
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The amount taken in cash was detailed on the above list. Arthur Rimbaud explains, in addition, Menelik took in kind, 40 bundles of Abujadid that raised the amount to 75 000 Maria Theresa (Ayub A., 2011).

Furthermore, Menelik continued with strategic retaliation. Ahead of the beginning of the war with the intention of conquering Harar, Menelik had established a garrison around Chalanqo and sent an espionage squad. This group was caught at a place called Warabille and completely wiped out by the Amir's men. Now that, Menelik was victorious, on his way back to Shewa, he condemned the people as collaborators of the Amir during the Warabille incident, attacked them and looted their property. To add insult to injury, families of the martyrs were also left homeless. Menelik confiscated these houses, regardless of the fate of mothers and their children, under a so-called "Dam Bet" (the house of blood).

Menelik, after his victory, compensated the leaders of the traitors among the Metawho betrayed the Harar forcesto Menelik at the battle of Chalanqo with houses (dam gar) in BadroBari, as well as paying them with monthly stipend to them and their descendants until the advent of the Dergue regime.

Also the force that was sent by Menelik to combat the Amir's redeployment at Babile faced strong resistance from the Amir and lost the war. However; back from the defeat, again Menelik's soldiers mercilessly massacred the people, committed every atrocity and looted their property. An eye-witness account of one of these looting sprees reported as follows.

A large Abyssinian expedition returned from the Ogaden whilst Mr. Harris was in Harar, bringing with them as booty some thousands

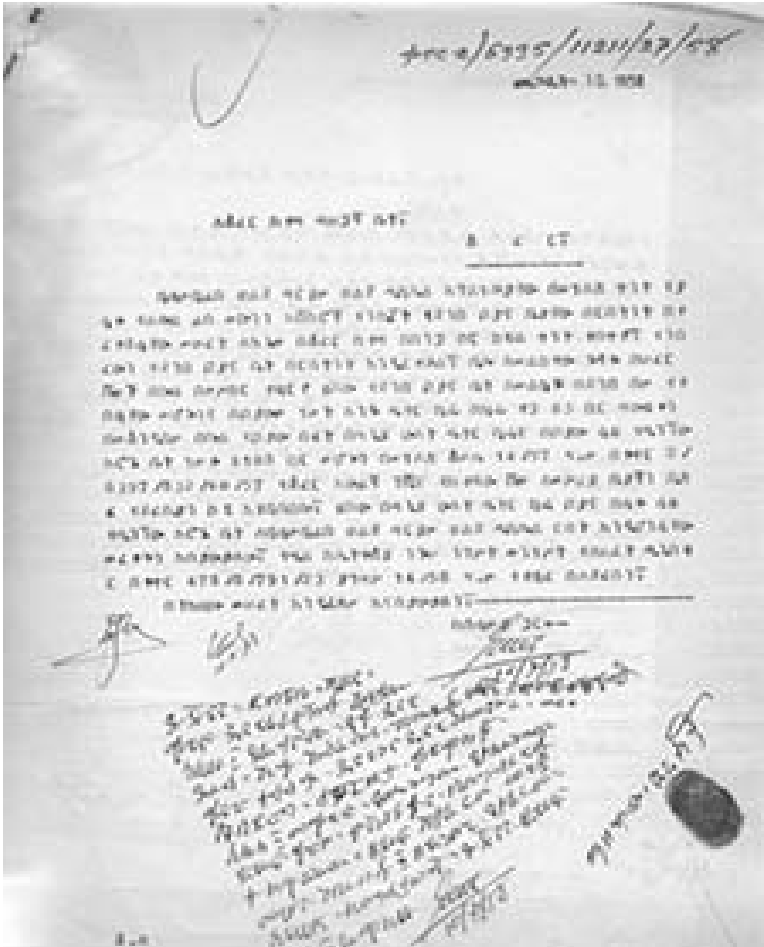
of camels and cattle and property of all descriptions. I hear from other sourced that they have devastated a large part of the western Ogaden and slaughtered the people. This will probably, I regret to say, seriously affect the trade of Barbara.

Harar itself and the country near it in the direction of Shewa are in a most lamentable condition. Many people are dying of starvation and an epidemic said to be cholera. But which may be "starvation fever" has broken out, and carries off numerous victims daily. It is an actual fact that the hyenas and dogs are feeding off the flesh of the dying in the streets of Harar during the night time. The cries and lamentations throughout the night in this large town are described as most heartrending. This state of affairs is attributed entirely to the conduct of the Abyssinian soldiery, who eat up everything.... The cholera or whatever the disease may be, originated, it is said amongst the plundering host just returned from the Ogaden. The Europeans and higher officials and all the soldiery have now fled from the town (Harris, C. W., 1842).

Moreover, in Harar the consequence of the war was eagerly and attentively followed. The information of the process of the war, therefore, reached very soon and the residents forecasted the result would be a loss. Then they cleared some of the expected problems. It was known that a great number of people have been martyred.

As soon as the names of the martyrs were identified, the Qadi, believing that it would pre-empt the conqueror's raid of the orphan's properties, ascertained their death,

backed up by valid witnesses; and thereby distributed the properties among their respective heirs swiftly and urgently before the enemy force entered the city. Thus, a substantial amount was saved for the inheritors from Menelik's confiscation as *dam gar*.



**Figure 7:-letter that illegally transfersHarari’s propertyto
occupiers**

19th March 1966

To Harar City Municipality

H
arar

Whereas, *Balambaras Welde Mariam Welde Michael* applied for permission of Rest land and house given to him earlier in Harar city Senga bar by (the so called) regulation[confiscation of the property of Harari martyrs], stating his service period and that the servants of the previous Prince Ras Mekonnen were permitted Rest land and house by the above mentioned regulation; I note that you have received a copy of letter with reference number 2/6397/832/40/57 dated 21st July 1966 written by the Governor of Harar Awraja and the City mayor to our office stating that the case is cleared through local authorities from witnesses that this land and house was given to him under the mentioned regulation and this day the price of one metre square of the land is 3 Birr and the total area of the land is eighty two metre square as proved by engineer and the old house on the land is estimated to be 108 Birr. As we have received a letter with reference number 478/8/791/23 dated 23rd December 1965 from Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Pen which states “I permitted this 82 metre square land and the old house found on the land to be the rist of *Balambaras Welde Mariam Welde Michael*”, we inform to execute in accordance with the order given.

With regards,

There are signatures.

Figure 8:-List of Sultans and Amirs of Harar

No	List	GC	GC
1	Amir Haboba bin Abrhim bin Ishaq bin Ali bin Eza-Din	896	928
	A period of internal tribal conflict	929	1001
2	Amir Umar Ar-Ridha 'Sheikh Abadir'	1001	1020
3	Amir 'Umar Din I bin Shekh Al Kabir bin Umar aw Qotb-Din	1020	1033
4	Amir Nasir I	1033	1033
5	Fekhi Nasroy	1033	1038
6	Amir Nasir bin Jamal ad-Din II	1038	1038
7	Amir Muhia ad-Din Yusuf al-Akwan (<i>aw</i> -Barkhadle)	1038	1065
8	Amir Umar Ar-Ridha Sheikh Abadir (for the 2 nd Time)	1065	1066
9	Amir Muhia ad-Din Yusuf al-Akwan (for the 2 nd Time)	1066	1067
10	Amir Eidal 'Amir <i>aw</i> -Abdal'	1067	1086
11	Amir Maya Lama	1086	1105
12	Amir Tedin bint Maya Lama	1105	1128
13	Sultan Haz Beza (Har Har)	1128	1183
14	Sultan Hussein(Gidaya)	1183	1202
15	Sultan Abdallah I(Gidaya)	1202	1216
16	Sultan 'Umar Walasma'(Yifat)	1216	1293
17	Amir Bezewi bin Walasma'	1293	1313
18	Amir Haq ad-Din I bin Walasma'	1313	1320
19	Sultan Sabr ad-Din I bin Muhammad bin Mansur	1320	1324
20	Amir Jamal ad-Din I bin Mansur Sabr ad-Din I	1324	1331
21	Amir Qat 'Ali Sabr ad-Din	1331	1364
22	Amir Ahmed bin Qat 'Ali Sabr ad-Din (Harb Ar'ad)	1364	1366
23	Amir Haq ad-Din bin Mohamed (Harb Ar'ad II)	1366	1386
24	Sultan Sa'ad ad-Din I bin Muhammad Harb Ar'ad I	1386	1415
25	Amir Sabr ad-Din bin Sa'ad ad-Din bin Harb Ar'ad II	1415	1424
26	Sultan Mansur I bin Sa,adadin	1424	1425

27	Amir Jamal ad-Din bin Sa'ad ad-Din bin Harb Ar'ad II	1425	1432
28	Sultan Badlay b. Sultan Sa'ad ad-Din b. Ahmed Harb Ar'ad	1432	1445
29	Sultan Muhammad I b. Badlay b. Sa'ad ad-Din b. Harb Ar'ad I	1445	1471
30	Amir Ibrahim bin Mohammed Awrei' Aboubaker	1471	1471
31	Amir Shams ad-Din bin Mohammed bin Bedlay	1472	1487
32	Amir Ibrahim bin Qat Nesredin II	1487	1488
33	Sultan Mohammed II b. Azer b. Aboubaker b. Sa'ad ad-Din	1488	1492
34	Sultan Mahfouz	1492	1517
35	Sultan Mohammed III	1518	1519
36	Amir Ibrahim bin Ahmed (Amir Hobet)	1519	1519
37	Garad Mahfouz Hawaz Wasene	1519	1519
38	Amir Mansur II Ibin Mohammed bin Mahfuz bin Mohammed bin GaradAdash	1519	1519
39	Imam Mahfouz bin Mohammed bin GaradAdish	1519	1520
40	Garad Abogn bin GaradAdish	1522	1525
41	Sultan Abibaker bin Sultan Mohammed	1525	1527*
42	Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim AlGazi	1527	1543*
43	Sultan 'Umar Din II bin Mohammed bin Azer	1527	1553*
44	Amir Nur bin Mujahid bin Ibrahim Soha	1551	1559*
45	Sultan 'Ali bin 'Umar Din	1553	1555*
46	Sultan Barakat bin 'Umar Din	1555	1559*
47	Amir Nur bin Mujahid bin Ibrahim Soha(for the 2 nd Time)	1559	1567
48	Amir 'Uthman bin Badlay ('Uthman al-Habashi)	1567	1569
49	Sultan 'Talhah binWazirAbas bin GaradAbogn	1569	1571
50	Sultan Nasir bin Uthman bin Badlay	1571	1572
51	Sultan Muhammad IV bin Nasir bin Uthman	1572	1577
52	Amir Mansur bin Muhammad bin Abogn	1577	1577
53	Imam Muhammed Gassa bin Ibrahim bin Umar	1577	1583

54	Amir Sa'ad ad-Din III	1583	1617
55	Amir Abro bin Adam	1617	1646
56	Amir Sadiq bin Yahya	1646	1646
57	Malaq Adam Amir Sadiq bin Yahya	1646	1646
58	Amir Ahmed II binWazir Abramo	1646	1647
59	Amir Ali bin Dawud bin Qasim	1647	1662
60	Amir Hashim bin Ali Dawud bin Qasim	1662	1670
61	Amir Abdellah bin Ali Dawudbin Qasim	1670	1699
62	Amir 'Talhah bin Abdellah bin Dawud	1699	1721
63	Amir Aboubaker bin Abdallah bin Dawud	1721	1732
64	Amir Khalaf bin Aboubaker bin Abdallah Dawud Aifif	1732	1733
65	Amir Hamo bin Aboubaker	1733	1747
66	Amir Dawud bin bin Yousuf Afif Aboubaker bin Abdallah	1747	1755
67	Amir Ahmed IIIbin Yousuf Afif bin Aboubaker bin Abdallah Dawud	1755	1782
68	Amir Muhammad VI bin Yusuf bin Dawud	1782	1783
69	Amir AbdashShakur bin Yusuf Afif Dawud	1783	1794
70	Amir Ahmed IV bin Mohammed bin Yusuf Afif Dawud	1794	1821
71	Amir Abdurhman bin Mohammed bin Yusuf Afif Dawud	1821	1825
72	Amir Abdul Karim bin Muhammad bin Yusuf Afif Dawud	1825	1834
73	Amir Aboubaker III bin Amir Aftal Garad	1834	1852
74	Amir Ahmed V bin Aboubaker Aftal Garad	1852	1856
75	Amir Muhammad VII b. Garad Ali b. Abd as-Ashakur b. Yusuf Afif Dawud	1856	1875
	Egyptian Intervention	1875	1885
76	Amir Abdullahi b. Muhammed b. Garad 'Ali b. Abd as-Shakur b. Yusuf al-Afif Dawud.	1885	1887

*The presence and reigning of Sultan, Imam and Amirat the same period should not lead to confusion because it reflects the hierarchy of the Adal Dynasty.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8. HARAR UNDER ETHIOPIAN REGIMES

8.1. The Aftermath of the Battle of Chalanqo

The forced incorporation of Harar into the Menelik's Ethiopian empire was followed by an agreement between *Negus* Menelik and the Harari elders. Menelik and his forces were unable to enter into the city of Harar for five months. He camped at Mount Abokker, near Hammaressa, and at times groups of his soldiers raided the City intermittently for quick loots including food grains, flour and minor items.

Thwarted by months of hostility and clashes, Menelik began to indicate willingness to negotiate. In response, prominent Harari elders went to Menelik's camp to arrange terms of negotiation and eventually a consensus was reached for peace. Harari elders were recalled and met with *Negus* Menelik on the eve of his departure several weeks later, the Peace Treaty of Dire Shumbura, was signed on May 10, 1887, between the two parties (Caulk, R., 1975).

The treaty contained five articles, which stipulated the obligations, as well as, the guarantees of specified economic and political rights of each side. On the Harari side, they agreed, firstly, to pay taxes to Menelik to the amount they used to pay to the Egyptians. Secondly, they agreed to inform the regime of any foreign incursion in the region that came to their notice, and thirdly, they promised to communicate with the new governor of Harar and, whenever necessary, with *Negus* Menelik himself regarding any administrative malfeasance that may take place in Harar. On the Shewan side too, Menelik agreed not to intervene in the internal administrative affairs of the Hararis including their religion and related matters of internal affairs. Furthermore, he agreed to preserve and

not to infringe on the land and related property rights of the Hararis.

On behalf of the Harari side, *Haji Yusuf Barkhadle*, *Qadi 'Abdullahi 'Abdurrahman* and *Sheikh 'Ali Aboubaker* were the chosen representatives authorized to endorse the agreement. On the other side, the cousin of *Negus Menelik* and the appointed governor of the newly acquired province of Harargey, *Dajazmach* (later *le'ul Ras*) *Makonnen W/Mickael* represented Shewa and ratified the agreement with the royal seal (Ayub A., 2011). He was accompanied by one of *Negus Menelik's* Muslim officers, *Fitawrari Saied Bashir*.

Sources explain that the Harari self-administration was agreed to maintain by Menelik, as he appointed Amir 'Ali Aboubaker, the grandson of Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur under Ras Makonnen. However, Amir 'Ali had a defiant personality in line of his belief, would not conform to the policies of Ras Makonnen the governor of Harargey. Ras Makonnen deposed the Amir within three months of his appointment and sent him to Shewa as a prisoner. Menelik confirmed the Amir's imprisonment and sent him to Aliyu Amba where he was incarcerated for 22 years, and released in 1909 (Ayub A., 2011).

8.2. Harar under the Domination of Menelik

After the battle of Chalanqo, Harar and its surrounding regions were incorporated into the future emperor's expanding realm. (Carmichael, T., 2005) Following Menelik's annexation of Harar, as we will show briefly below, the traditional political hierarchy was temporarily retained. And new political insinuations were introduced by the imperial government. The new administration took over, not only most of the land formerly owned by the *Amirs*, but also considerable other areas were given for its government officials and soldiers as well as for the needs of the Church. (Pankhurst, R., 1968) As stated in the

previous Chapter, confiscation of land owned by freedom fighters and many more other persons was very extensive and exhaustive (Ayub, A., 2011).

The process of confiscation of Harari lands for allocation and re-distribution among the newcomers continued for decades, from the battle of Chalanqo, up to the Italian occupation. Richard Pankhurst (1968) clearly indicated that this acquisition of land started at the very beginning of Menelik's occupation and continued with the growing influx of settlers from Shewa. The previous local chiefs had possessed large areas of the most fertile land. However, and similarly, as the native lords in the other provinces, were allowed to keep a portion of their possessions, perhaps a third, which was classified as *miraz* or the equivalent of *rist*.

As noted above, the age-old political hierarchy in Harar was partly retained after the incorporation of the Emirate into the Ethiopian Empire. In the course of land allocation, the remainder of the land was then divided between *gabbars* and the new 'squirearchy' recruited from among the nobles, soldiers and others who had accompanied Menelik's army. Land measurement, by Menelik and his soldiers, was at first carried out by eye, but on coming to Harar, the temporarily installed co-government system helped them to adopt the long established Harari measurement method of the *qalad* unit. The old chiefs were permitted to retain for themselves an ample *gasha* of about 11 *qalads* by 7, each *qalad* equivalent to 150 cubits (Pankhurst, R., 1968).

With the immediate withdrawal of Menelik, very soon the Shewan governors of Harar started violating the treaty step by step. The first step taken in violating the agreement was the arrest of the Harari co-governor, 'Ali Abu-Baker, the grandson of Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur. Also many of his troops earlier quartered outside the city entered where they sought out, and looted, the silos in

which the inhabitants had stored their grain. The soldiers raided the surrounding villages more or less daily, with the result that the number of cattle in the area was greatly reduced and the population of merchants declined substantially (Carmichael, T., 2005).

Within the year of the battle of Chalanqo, *Dajazmach* Makonnen W/Mickael pushed the periphery of the 'empire-in-the-making' to the east and south of Harar. Further, his troops entered and occupied parts of Ogaden, Issa and the *Gadabursi* territories in the following two years. With some reinforcement from Addis Ababa, *Dajazmach* Makonnen's forces were able to occupy almost all of the Ogaden by 1891. He then went to Entoto in Addis Ababa, and supposedly in this occasion that he convinced Menelik of the efficiency of the Egyptian system of taxation in Harar, according to which a levy of ten per cent was made on the harvest. Similarly, the idea of a municipal police force came to Addis Ababa in the 1920s, via Tefari Makonnen's experience of the superior civic organization of Harar (Caulk, R., 1977).



Photo 5:-The Sheikh Bazikh Mosque (under destruction) and the Dome of Medhane Alem Church (simultaneously in process of erection) – 1897

It seems *Dajazmach* Makonnen especially appreciated Russians, who unlike western Europeans, were Orthodox Christians and did not have colonial ambitions in the Horn. The exposure of Fitawrari Tekle Hawariat to modern world was due to *Dajazmach* Makonnen's proclivity towards Russia (Tekle Hawariat T. M., 1998). *Dajazmach* Makonnen also shared with Menelik his passion for firearms. He imported weapons, most of which were shipped to Shewa, through Harar, and many were later put to use in the Battle of Adwa (*Carmichael, T., 2005*). The installation of *Ras* Makonnen and the end of the Emirate of Harar was epitomized symbolically by the destruction of the city's second principal mosque (originally built as a Bazikh Mosque by the Hararis, and later expanded into the second biggest mosque of the city by the Egyptians) and the erection of the Christian

Church, the Medhane Alem in its place. Thus, as Waldron pointed out, Christianity and the Amhara presence were thus forcibly introduced into the heart of Harar.

The old mosque is still referred to in the present time in a women's wedding song (Waldron, S., 1984). Being the only church constructed within the *Jugal*, replacing the second biggest mosque, it had become a politically sensitive building in the region. In the subsequent decades, the demographic feature of *Jugal* was changed as some Christians were given the '*dem-bet*' (the house of blood ransom) mainly in the city's *Badro Bari* quarter. Although this act was illegal, it was used as a pretext to violate the treaty agreement and, thereby, confiscate the houses of the martyrs who passed away defending their homeland against aggressors.



Figure 8:-Approval of Ownership Transfer Illegally

Translation

Number 478/8/791/23

23rd December 1965

Emblem

Imperial Ethiopian Government

Ministry of Pen

To Harar Province Office

Harar

Balambaras W/Mariam W/Michael requested to provide him the land and house which was previously occupied by him which is located in Harar city Senga Bar similarly with the permission given to the servants of Prince Ras Makonen. It is confirmed that the land and the house was given to the applicant. The price of one square metre of the land is three Birr estimated by the engineer. The engineer has stated that the area of the land is 82 metre square and the old house which located on the land is estimated to have the value of Birr 108. Accordingly the Harar Awraja governor and the Mayor of the city have stated that 82 metre square and the old house located on the land is permitted to be given to Balambaras W/Mariam W/Michael by the letter written on 21st December 1966 with reference number 2/6397/832140/54.

With regards

Sign

Salmon G/Mariam

General Director

Copy

To Imperial Ethiopian Government

Ministry of Interior Municipal Department

Addis Ababa

Signed

The action was an open violation of the human right and the property rights of the martyrs' heirs, such as wives, children as well as parents made homeless. From then onwards *Jugal* was exposed to non-Muslim culture, which culminated with the conversion of the Bazikh mosque into a church.

The estimated number of inhabitants of Harar early in the twentieth century stood at 30,000 at minimum and at most 60,000 maximum by different writers (Pankhurst, R., 1982). The settlement was, as Dr. Merid emphasized, for a time the largest in Menelik's empire. It is interesting to note that in those days, settlement of Harar exceeded Addis Ababa until the beginning of the twentieth century. Around the time of World War I Harar, as Dr Merid witnessed, was still the only city in Ethiopia worthy of the name. Fitawrari Tekle Hawariat did express his admiration for the architecture of Harar when he entered into the city for the first time at the very end of the 19th century.

Because of its commercial importance, and the presence of a large number of foreigners in the later part of 19th century, the British, French and Italian governments, appointed consular representatives in the city. The British agent, on account of the large number of Indian merchants and the proximity of the British Somaliland protectorate, was the most important noteworthy. The

walled city's, European population, in the late nineteenth century included a French poet Arthur Rimbaud, whose supposed home, is today one of the major tourist attractions, was built by an Indian merchant named Jiwaji Azernet, who lived in Harar before Rimbaud (Pankhurst, R., 1982).It is said that Menelik acquired it from Jiwaji against his taxation debt. The foreign population further increased in the first years of the twentieth century too. During World War I, there were, according to Merid, over 200 expatriates in the city, including about 60 Greeks, 50 Armenians, many Indians, and a dozen or so French, Italians and others.

Unlike most other subjugated lands in the south, Harar's pre-conquest governments historically employed literacy as a tool of governance. Furthermore, the state of Harar was run by formal organizations. As such, *Ras Makonnen* and the subsequent governors inherited these long-established administrative structures in Harar. Prudently, they chose not to destroy or replace them, rather to rule through, and with them.This policy helped the new governors acquire long established Harari administration skill; as well as copy and implement it in the other parts of the country, especially in Addis Ababa (Carmichael, T., 2005).

One of the most important institutions was the *Diwan*. The documents of the Diwan were written in Arabic, which was historically the backbone of Harari administration. Thus, Harari officials were retained initially but over time, when the new governors believed that they learnt the system from their Harari co-governors, Christian personnel were increasingly employed and the Hararis were thoroughly replaced by the conquerors(Carmichael, T., 2005).

Hence, only a few literate Hararis and administrators were retained in the service of the new rulers of Harar, due to their Arabic and administrative knowledge and

skill. Among these Harari subordinates of the imperial state since the conquest, *Haji* Yusuf Barkhadle, *Haji*Ahmed Abogn and, *Haji* 'Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq were the prominent ones. Among these, *Haji*Ahmed Abogn served as a *Diwan Shum* longer than the rest. He had served *Ras* Makonnen and his successors for four decades.

The responsibilities of *Haji*Ahmed Abogn could be divided into three categories: first, he handled major economic issues such as finance, livestock tax, and the issue of '*gabbar*' at *Ras* Makonnen's court. Secondly, he distributed grain as per the order of his seniors, handled to produce an annual financial report. In addition to these various economic responsibilities, *Haji* Ahmed Abogn was the *Dogignof* Gurgora area and other places. Thirdly, *Haji* had served the imperial government at Harar as a *Diwan Shum*. This office dealt with land administration. The *Diwan Shum* by virtue of his religious background and prominence in his public service had acted as representative or head of the Muslim community of Harar (Siefu Metaferia, 1982).

Haji Ahmed was the third to hold the office of *Diwan*; the first was *Haji* Yusuf Barkhadle who was suspended before he died in 1889. The second was *Haji*Abdullah 'Ali Sadiq, who was also suspended in 1900 However; he was sent to America by Menelik in 1905 as the first economic diplomat (New York times; 1905) and back again in 1909. *Haji* 'Abdallah Sadiq was removed from his post, by Haile Selassie, because of his association with Lij Iyasu. *Haji* Ahmed Abogn filled the post, vacated by *Haji* 'Abdallah 'Ali Sadiq, for eighteen years (1917/8-1935/6) (Siefu Metaferia, 1982).

Harar's governors thus were able to manage or oversee a complex bureaucracy, at the apex of the newly created Governor's Office. The Office maintained close communications with various ministries in the capital in

order to observe at first hand the application of imperial policies. Nonetheless, with influx of large numbers of other ethnic groups social tensions ensued (Carmichael, T., 2005).

By now, as one of the provinces of Menelik's Empire, the entire Harargey became the major region through which the imperial state relied to communicate with the rest of the world. Furthermore, Harar was one of the much coveted areas, not only for its commerce but also for its agricultural resources. The lands of the Amirs were expropriated, classified as *hudad*, *mad-bet*, *warra-gannu*, *melmel* and *gult* lands. Various taxes and tributes were levied on the *gabbar*, paid in kind or in cash, or both, and "the normal tributes" accumulated on the *gabbar* as back-breaking burden were by no means light (Addis Hiwot, 1975).

3. RM to [H]AA. Tahsas 3, (no year)

[This] is from *Ras Mäkonnen*. May it reach *Ḥājj Aḥmad Aboññ*. How are you [Aḥmad]? Thank God, I am well. I received your letter.

I want you to send me in writing, [the accounts regarding] all income up to the day of the feast of Saint Yohannes.²⁹

Written on Tahsas 3, (no year). At Māqälé.

Seal: “*Ras Mäkonnen*” in Amharic, Arabic and French.

4 RM to [H]AA. Mäskärām 6, (no year)

[This] is from *Ras Mäkonnen*. May it reach *Ḥājj Aḥmad Aboññ*. How are you [Aḥmād]? Thank God, I am well. I received your letter.

You will show me all, when I shall come there.

I understand [my error]: I thought that your love for me was only in my presence at Harargé. The fact that you wrote me, however, [proved the contrary]. And it gave me great pleasure in that day, it made me understand your true love for me.

[As to the accounts], get me ready those of the period up to the feast of Saint Yohannes. The accounts for the new year [namely, that of the period after this feast], calculate separately.

I insist that you, my son, be assiduous [in your work] as usual.

Written on Mäskärām 6, (no year), at Adwa.

Seal: “*Ras Mäkonnen*” in Amharic, Arabic and French.

Figure 10: translation by Seifu Metaferia, 1982

Harar was due to its commercial wealth from the beginning of the occupation, a major financial asset for Menelik and Ras Makonnen. It is worthy to note that the international recognition of the city's value as a financial asset was taken into consideration, in the Italy–Ethiopian convention signed by Makonnen in Rome in 1889. Article V of the agreement provided that the Harar customs-house revenues should serve as collateral for an Italian loan of four million lire(Pankhurst, R., 1982).

Due to its geopolitical importance and rich natural resources, Harar and Harargey became the major imperial centre after Addis Ababa. A number of public buildings were built in Harar in the early years of *Ras Makonnen's* rule, including a prison. French missionaries established a leprosarium just outside the city walls, though there was not a single patient in Harar. In 1906 a school by the name Antonius and a branch of the Bank of Abyssinia were established and Harar maintained communication links via post, telegraph and telephone to satisfy the demands placed by Menelik upon the engineers of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway. The presence of the missionaries led to the founding, at about the same time, of Ethiopia's first periodical, the *Bulletin de la Leprosierie de Harar*, a duplicated publication edited by Father Marie Bernard. It continued to appear until 1905 when its editor purchased a small printing press, and renamed his journal *Le Semeur d' Ethiopie* (Pankhurst, R., 1982).

After the passing away of *Ras Makonnen* in March 1906, the governorship of Harar was given to his eldest son *Dajazmach Yilma Makonnen*. The reign of *Dajazmach Yilma* was very short, he ruled Harar for about two years and after his death at the age of 34 years, he was succeeded by *Dajazmach Balcha Saffo* in 1908. It was this *Dajazmach Yilma*, who demolished the minaret of the Sheikh Bazikh mosque, the last remaining element of mosque after its conversion to Medhane Alem church. Later the half-brother of *Dajazmach Yilma Makonnen*,

with similar title, Tefari Makonnen (later Emperor Haile Sillasia) replaced *Dajazmach* Balcha. Before his appointment to the governorship of Harargey province, Tefari Makonnen had been the governor of Salale. He was actually in the court of Emperor Menelik II and attending modern education in the capital in the first school of the country and was too young to be the governor of Harargey, (Mersie Hazen, 2000) at the time of his appointment. In 1916 Lij Iyasu removed him from the governorship of the province and appointed him the governorship of Kaffa.

8.3. Harar During Lij Iyasu`s Reign

Iyasu`s rule was one of the most enigmatic and controversial affairs in Ethiopian history. Maligned as an apostate by his enemies and *Atse* Haile Sillasia I, he had been effectively written out of the history books for much of the 20th century. However, there is a serious doubt on the image of religious apostasy and total irresoluteness that his enemies had attributed to him (Bairu T., 2005). Iyasu`s father was the powerful ruler of Wallo, *Ras* Mickael (former Muhammad Ali) and his mother was Shewaragga, daughter of Menelik II. At the age of seven, Iyasu was taken to the court of Menelik and he attended Menelik II Secondary School along with Tefari Makonnen and other children of the nobility. On 13 May 1909, Menelik officially designated Iyasu heir to the throne by imperial proclamation (Bairu, T., 2005).

The Lij Iyasu era was a period of political relief for Harar and other occupied territories, due to the moderate policy that the young emperor applied in Ethiopia, particularly his concern for the welfare of marginalized groups. In particular, Harargey was a favourite province in his short reign, most probably, because Harar was the most advanced and attractive province, compared to other parts of the country, including the capital itself. He frequently

visited Harargey, more than any other place, in the new empire.

Among the many reforms Lij Iyasu's endeavour to establish a central and provincial police force for the first time in Ethiopia is worth mentioning. It is recorded that his reign saw the establishment of the institution of a municipal police force, the *Ṭerenbullé* (the Amharic version of Tripoli), so called because the recruits were returnees from the Italian campaign of Libya in 1911 (Bairu, T., 2005).

Lij Iyasu came to Harar for the first time in February 1915 and it was *Dajazmach* Tefari, the then governor of Harargey, who welcomed him. All through his visit, Lij Iyasu discussed in detail with the Hararis and the Somali. Unlike his predecessors, Lij Iyasu was benign towards non-Christian values, as well as, the marginalized groups of society, and thereby succeeded to win the sympathy and respect of the Muslims and the subordinated ethnic populations (Emiru Haile Sillasie, 2008). For example, he had initiated a radical change in the administrative and military structure of the empire in Harargey province. Every time he visited the provinces, Lij Iyasu wore traditional dresses of the area. He would give ample time to Hararis and the Somali as he would to the Christian rulers. Furthermore, unlike the previous rulers, Lij Iyasu was accessible to local chiefs in the provinces and entertained the political cases and social issues brought to his attention. With his marriages, Iyasu had linked himself politically with very diverse political and economic leaders, such as Ras Hailu of Gojjam, the Muslim merchant 'Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq in Harar, the Obakarto lineage of Zaila', Jimma Abba Jifar, the Oromo of Leqa Qellam and others (Bahiru T., 2005). His opponents accused him of violating imperial protocol whenever and wherever he made a trip to provinces (Tekle Hawariat, 1998).

In the administrative aspect, Tekle Hawariat (2007 - 273),

states that Lij Iyasu had ordered his subordinates to prepare a written document that dealt with a general description of the districts and administrative candidates. Lij Iyasu is said to have declared that, since Harargey province is a Muslim inhabited region, its governor should be Muslim and he planned to appoint Muslim chiefs from Wallo, Shewa and Harargey in place of preceding governors. Among the candidates, *Dajazmach* Gugsu Ali, Fitawrari Saied, Fitawrari Sira Bizu, Fitawrari Zalalaw, *Kagnazmach* Abubaker and many others were mentioned (Tekle Hawariat, 1998). To this effect, his subordinates prepared a written document except for the sub-district of Ogaden. This Somali inhabited region, according to Tekle Hawariat (1998), was reserved for Haji Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq. Lij Iyasu later appointed *Haji* Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq as a governor of Ogaden.

Haji 'Abdullahi was a successful businessman of Harar, he was politically influential. 'Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq was a well-established businessman at the beginning of the 20th century, with connections in Zaila', Aden and other commercial centres of southern part of the Red Sea. He assisted *Ras*Tefari Makonnen to cultivate good relations with various Islamic communities in Harar and its surroundings and was given the title of *Ra'is al-Muslimeen* ('the Head of the Muslims'). He won the confidence of the court of Emperor Menelik II court so that he was occasionally sent as a secret envoy to the Somali leader, Muhammad 'Abdallah Hassan and officially to the Ottoman court and Europe. (Bairu Tafla, 2005) More than any other Ethiopian ruler, it was Lij Iyasu who made *Haji* Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq his close associate. (Tekle Hawariat, 1999)*Haji* 'Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq survived the demise of Iyasu and died of illness, caused by the poisoning of Haile Selassie in the mid-1920.

In the military aspect, Lij Iyasu is said to have planned to remove the whole imperial army from Harargey which is

another indication for his effort of equality. Tekle Hawariat (1999), states that as much as the army and the Christian settlers were offended by the decision made by *Lij Iyasu*, Muslims were satisfied. He continued: ‘Therefore, his opponents conspired and believed that along with the imperial troops of Harar, the other major one is the *Gondar*, if we could agitate the *Gondar* against Iyasu, the rest is easy to handle.’ Though the plan to remove the army was not an easy task as Lij Iyasu assumed, his intention to unburden the natives from some maladministration and suppression shows his commitment to strengthen and sustain the unity of the country through maintaining good governance in his empire. This decision was strongly supported by the subjugated peoples in the province. Bahiru(2005)points out that *Lij Iyasu*’s policy can be interpreted as one of trying to redress the injustices of the past, of making the Muslims feel at home in their own country. In this he represented a revolutionary departure from the past (Tekle Hawariat, 1998).



Photo 6:- Lij Iyasu sitting in the middle with Haji Abdullahi Ali Sadiq and his family
Source: Abdushakur Badri

In addition to his anti-hegemonic religious policy in the empire, Lij Iyasu was involved indirectly in the anti-colonial resistance in the Horn of Africa. Via *Haji* Abdullahi 'Ali Sadiq, Lij Iyasu used to communicate with the Somali nationalist leader, Muhammad 'Abdullah Hassan (better known among his enemies in his derogatory name Mad Mullah). The moral and material support that he rendered to the Somali nationalist, who had been fighting the British and Italian colonial rulers for much of the first two decades of the 20th century, left him vulnerable to his enemies. (Bahiru Zewde, 1991) It is obvious that Muhammad 'Abdallah Hassan organized the Dervish, anti-colonial movement and led the Somali nationalist resistance struggle against the combined powers of Great Britain and Italy from 1898 to 1920. Lij Iyasu sent Muhammad a German technician named Emil Kirsch *alias* Casson who was to take care of the ammunition and maintenance of the Dervish fire-arms (Saeid Samatter, 2007). To the neighbouring colonial powers, Lij Iyasu represented a demonic influence on their colonial subjects, at a time when they were locked in mortal combat with the Germans and the Turks during World War I. (Bairu Z., 2005).

The anti-colonial and the pro-equality policies of Lij Iyasu at home and in the Horn, brought his internal and external enemies to a common front against him. Accordingly, it was the alliance of these two forces domestic and foreign that brought about Iyasu's deposition in September 1916, while he was away on one of his frequent trips to Harargey (Bahiru Z, 2005). The Italian, British and French Legations were decidedly pro-Shewan and actively conspired against Iyasu. As noted above, at this time the British colonialists were fighting against the liberation resistance forces of Muhammad 'Abdullah Hassan. Hence, it was a golden opportunity to work against the person who supported their enemy. The French minister for his part alleged that Iyasu had presented the Turkish Consul an Ethiopian flag decorated

with the Crescent and that Iyasu was dealing with a Turco-Ethiopian alliance. No one suspected the authenticity of the picture at the time Lij Iyasu is said to have presented to Turkish Consul. The Italian Minister joined in the anti-Iyasu propaganda: which claimed that Iyasu was again wearing an Islamic seal on his finger (Addis Hiwot, 1975).

Addis Hiwot (1975), moreover, pointed out that the *Shewancoup d'état* intercepted Iyasu at Harar. Iyasu's open and overt espousal of Islam is apparently traced to his activities in Harar in 1915. Be that as it may, his presence in Harar seemed to have occasioned a movement on the part of the local population Harari, Oromo and Somali who demanded the removal of the imperial *naftagna* officials and their replacement by Muslims, Harari, Oromo and Somali.

At a public gathering in Addis Ababa on 27 September, he was charged with disrespect for the deceased *Atse Menelik* and with antagonizing the country's powerful neighbours. But the main charge became religious apostasy, with numerous forged evidences and false witnesses produced to drive the point home (Bahiru Z., 2005). Hearing that his enemies deposed him in *coup d'état* in Addis Ababa, he tried to crush them and left Dire Dawa for Addis Ababa. However, he was defeated at midway, at a place called Meieso. His father's more serious attempt to turn the tide was quashed at the Battle of Sagalé on 27 October (Bahiru Z., 2005). The fleeing troops of Lij Iyasu hold of the town. Though Lij Iyasu's governor was there in authority, the Syrian Hasib al-Idlibi, assured their security, when 400 Europeans left the town and the rail traffic was suspended. After the battle of Meieso, the government troops from Addis Ababa re-established a regular administration (Wagner, E., 2005).

After the unsuccessful attempts to defeat them and regain his legal royalty from the *coup d'état* forces in a series of engagements in Wallo, Lij Iyasu became a fugitive and

prisoner for about five years. Iyasu was finally captured in a church, in Tigray in January 1921. He was imprisoned in Fichie. In May 1932, Iyasu, assisted by *Ras Hailu Tekle Haimanot* of Gojjam, escaped from prison. However, he was captured in Gojjam and this time taken to, and confined in Garamullata.

The last days of Lij Iyasu were uncertain till now. Many oral narratives circulate about his death. One version has it, that he was killed at Garamullata before Haile Sillasia marched to the north to face the Italian forces. Another version is that he was moved to Addis Ababa in November 1935 and was killed in 1936 by Haile Sillasia subsequent to his defeat at Maichew and flight to Djibouti.

8.4. The Early Rule of Ras Tefari to the 1930s

After Lij Iyasu was deposed in September 1916, the privileges that the chiefs of the marginalized groups had enjoyed and the right of equality that the mass had hoped to be respected in Ethiopia came to an end. Since the annexation of Harar into Menelik's bigger Ethiopia for 104 years until the May 1991 EPRDF victory, despite the frequent turnover of governors, Harar and the Harari had been mistreated, oppressed and deprived of not only their self-identity and human rights, but also their property rights. They were subjected to Menelik's feudal scheme of land and property grabbing of subjugated people. This situation prevailed not only in Harar, but also went beyond.

Such brutal policy invariably generates resistance on the part of the suppressed people. In Ethiopia, wherever the conquerors faced such resistance, they brought in large number of their own settlers amidst the natives that resulted in domination. This form of imperial government is termed feudo-military colonialism and was rampant during the reign of Tefari Makonnen / Emperor Haile Sillasia.

For centuries, Hararis preserved their cultural practices, creating wealth from trade and agriculture and ensured the effective development of their society. However, by 1920s, the previously dominant urban position of the Hararis had been snatched away in favour of the immigrants, mostly Christians, who succeeded, with the support of the oppressive government, to extend their land holdings from outside the old wall to inside it as well (Carmichael, T., 2005). Emiru Haile Sillasie (2002) tells us that out of 32,000 people who lived within *Jugal* in 1922, the Harari population was estimated to be 24,000. He further noted that the city of Harar was not limited to the *Jugal* and the land beyond the wall, was confiscated from the natives (Emiru Haile Sillasie, 2008).

To the Harari who were accustomed in the past, to live with people of similar religion and cultural practices, the government-led and supported encroachment in 1920; by the Christians was unfair and intolerable. To stem the growing tide of land confiscations, a small group of prominent Hararis established a cultural organization named *Firmach* (signatories, since the founders signed a covenant together). The goal of *Firmach* was to protect Harari property ownership and maintain Harari unity by fighting and discouraging a cultural invasion they deemed damaging to the community as a whole. *Firmach* also opened the first Islamic school in Harar which taught “modern” subjects, in addition to religious lessons (Carmichael, T., 2005).

The second threat that Harar faced came from the establishment of a new town near Harar as a result of railway line construction from Djibouti to Addis Ababa in 1900s. The initial scheme of the railway line construction considered Harar to make the city one of the railway stations. However, when it became difficult and more costly to lay the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway via Harar because of the steep access to the town, *Atse Menelik II* accepted (in a letter dated 5 November 1896)

that the first part of the line could end at a village at the foot of the mountains, which should be named Addis Harar (New Harar). The new name did not win recognition. Eventually, the local name Dire Dawa was generally accepted (Wagner, E., 2005).

Due to the financial difficulties the railway tracks terminated in Dire Dawa for some years during which, it developed into a place where goods for export converged from all over the country (Baldet, H., 1972). With regard to this decisive development, Richard Pankhurst argued that the coming of the line diverted to Dire Dawa (New Harar) much of the trade formerly handled by the old city of Harar, as well as indeed some of its trading community. The importance of the new town was enhanced by the very suspension of building work on the railway line, with the result that Dire Dawa remained the rail way terminal for over a decade (Pankhurst, R., 1982). Hence, in the 1910s, the town greatly profited much and became a 'boom city', attracting most of the trade which formerly passed through Harar (Wagner, E., 2005).

The town was from its inception a place of considerable trade. Its market was supplied with diverse European goods. Commerce was largely in the hands of foreigners such as French, Greeks, Armenians, and Arabs from Aden, including a few Sudanese and some Indian businessmen who had a virtual "monopoly of small trade". Indian merchants became increasingly prominent, to the extent that within a very short period the entire bazaar was in their hand. One of their members, Mohammad Ali, had a 'well-furnished store' in Harar (Pankhurst, R., 1982).

Dire Dawa, as a result of the railway line, rapidly acquired a sizable population, partially drawn from Harar, and part from the surrounding countryside. In 1903 it was estimated that the town had 9,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, while only two years later it was no less than 40,000

(Pankhurst, R., 1982). All in all, the railway became the chief medium by which Ethiopia joined the world economic communities. The railway became the main means of transport for both goods and passengers to and from Ethiopia. It was also through the railway that ideas and fashions percolated to the country (Bahiru Zewde, 2002).

Eventually, Dire Dawa effectively replaced Harar as the essential transitional link in the trade between the Red Sea and the Ethiopia hinterland. The emerging merchant groups of Harar for the first time faced the dilemma of abandoning Harar for better markets or stagnating in their home culture. Economic rationality thus began its competition with life in the City (Waldron, S., 1980). In the 1920s and early 1930s, the economic importance of Harar as well as the relative self-administration of the Hararis declined. It was at this historical juncture that Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia.

8.5. Harar during Italian Occupation

After the defeat of the Ethiopian army at the battle of Maychew, the Italian army made swift progress and occupied Addis Ababa on May 5, 1936 under the leadership of Marshal Badoglio. Three days later, on May 8, Rodolfo Graziani occupied Harar. In his military action he was supplied with trucks, tractors by his allies. Thereafter, Italy established its empire which came to be called Italian East Africa or, in its Italian rendition *Africa Orientale Italiana* (AOI).

This new empire was consisted of Ethiopia, and Eritrea and Somaliland. The reconstituted Italian colonial empire had six major regional divisions, one of which was a composite of Harar and Somalia including the Ogaden with its capital Harar. In the colonial Empire in descending order, came the district commissioners, the residencies and the vice residencies. Of these hierarchies,

the residency was the key unit of Italian control, and the resident often exercised autocratic powers. At the top, the fascist power was represented by the viceroy. Three Viceroys had served in their capacities until the defeat and withdrawal of the Italians. These were Marshal Badoglio who was replaced by Graziani and the last was Amedeo D'Aosta (the Duke of Aosta). His deputy was Enrico

Cerulli, who was later transferred to Harar as governor, due to disagreement with the viceroy.

Each of the six governorates established by the Italians became a member of the Assembly of the Council of the Empire and each was represented by one local leader, who was elected by the viceroy. Harar was represented by Sufian 'Abdullahi, son of the former *Amir 'Abdullahiof* Harar. Although the council was to be an advisory body, it could also function as a forum for discussing colonial matters with those familiar with the problems of their people. It could also serve as contact point between the Italian government and its subjects. The local representatives were meant to serve as advisors, though at the same time they were its de facto hostages. In order to portray the magnificent Italian civilization to the subject people, the Italian colonial government arranged very expensive visits for the local representatives. They have visited the different Italian cities, and the manufacturing centres and brain-washed to share, transmit and propagate the splendours of Italy to their respective peoples.

The Italian occupation, in fact, caused various damages to Harar, as it did to the country. For example, the preying of the resistance forces on the peaceful popular movement, the blast of bombs in the city as well as the rural areas, as a result of which part of the wall of Jugal was destroyed. One of these bombs was dropped at Gideer Magala, which fortunately did not explode, but resulted in death of many, in the stampede fleeing the bombardment at the gates of Harar.

The Italian invasion of 1935-36 generally gave some respite from the violations of the human and property rights of the Hararis practiced by the Atse's maladministration. There came a breathing space for the Hararis to regain some of their property usurped by the Abyssinians regimes. The fascists followed a policy of pitting different ethnic and religious groups against each other to gain the support of the subordinated groups (Carmichael, T., 2005). To ensure the effectiveness of their policy, they built one mosque and repaired another. The Italians encouraged the use of Arabic in schools and courts. Hararis and other Muslims were hired by the administration and previously confiscated lands were restored to their original owners or their descendants.

The Italians themselves had their own interest in returning the confiscated land for the expansion of settler agriculture and were actively engaged in retaking the land through different mechanisms such as purchasing and employing dubious mechanism of bequeathing Harari land surrounding the old city. In effect, the only difference regarding the Italians was the payment of compensation for the confiscated land.

There exists a document which was used by the Italians concerning the purchase of urban houses and the payment of compensation. Originally the document was produced in the Italian language with attachment in Amharic translation. The document, which contains files ranging from 1 to 95, tells that the Italian government bought land plots from former '*rist*' owners in areas where the city was expanding beyond the wall. The areas were the present day Shenkore, ButegaAw-Jajab Mahe Sheikh Awach education centre, (present day Sillasie church), as the Italians began to extend the new city for the settlement of their own citizens. The documents display a standard format on which details of the name of the property owner; document number; *Hujjah* number; land size bought or sold, in sq. metres; the amount paid in lire;

the boundaries in four directions; and the names of the witnesses present at the time of registration in the *Diwan* (*court*) records. (Archive source) These documents are invaluable and help understand the system of administration during the Italian period in Harar.

The Italian invasion, further, left lasting imprint on the architectural landscape of the city of Harar. Some of the buildings and edifices constructed during the Italian period are still visible and are evidence of their enduring impact. They erected buildings at the centre of the *Gideer Magala* (big market) which is located in the middle of the town, to expand its service. This central market is an ideal site and a convenient location, where five of the *bariyach* (five gates) meet. The Main Street of Harar (*Andagna Mangad* in Amharic), *Amir Uga* (king's street) was expanded by the Italians to lead to *faraz magala* (Horse Market). The street also connected *Duke Bar*, the sixth "pseudo gate" newly added by Tefari Makonnen. *Faraz Magala* later became the main station for buses and taxis. A fountain was built by Ras Makonnen at *Faraz Magala* in 1907, Later the Italians renamed it *Piazza della Fontana* (Belete Asante, 2003). Furthermore a number of buildings, outside the old city, were constructed to serve their administration and to provide the services required by the people. The Italians had the intention of building an Italian town west of the walled city. However, their master plan (*Piano regolatore*), drafted by the engineer Guido Ferraza was not fully implemented. Only a few buildings were erected before the Italians left Harar.

8.6. The Return of Haile Sillasié and His Tyranny (1941-1974)

In the 1930s, when Haile Sillasié was crowned Emperor, he had a special interest in Harar, as his test project for modernisation of certain Ethiopian towns (after Addis Ababa); as the only city ready for such activity, and

would provide him with the opportunity to exercise his newly acquired technology.

After the defeat of the Italians and the return of Emperor Haile Sillassie from exile to re-establish his throne in 1941, (though the taste of temporary “freedom” during the Italian occupation was not forgotten in Harar,) the Hararis still chose to remain as part of Ethiopia, through referendum, despite the oppressive rule of the *Atses*. This monumental decision was taken when the alternative was offered to them by the British colonial power, to choose between becoming part of British protectorate or to continue as part of Ethiopia. Pro Haile Sillassie’s group were led by Haji Baraso (Amir Yonis, 2013).

The Hararis remember Haji Baraso as an elderly, noble patriot. He was an employee of the Indian merchant Mohamed Ali. Baraso was responsible for Addis Ababa store old post office of piazza. According to the book written by Ian Campbell, he was the one who had procured hand grenades from Barbara and handed them over to Bashahwired, one of the plotters to kill Graziani, the fascist Italian general on whom the attempt was made. Bashahwired handed over the Bombs to Abraham Deboch and Moges Asgadam.

Haji Baraso was suspected, tortured, denied and released. The Negus, after his return from exile, allowed Baraso to bear the title of Qagnasmach (Campbell, I., 2010).



Figure 11: Fitawrari Haji Baraso

His local representatives endeavoured to restore the emperor's political power as the *status quo ante*. Gradually the emperor reinforced his power in the provinces through his loyal employees and servants and, in subsequent years, began reorganizing the provincial administration. The over-whelming majority of Ethiopian people lives in rural areas and, in minor provincial towns and, as such, had little contact with the imperial government establishments and with the selfish exploiters who wield power therein. However, in the case of Harar, the political alienation and oppression were direct, closely felt, extremely severe.

The structure of the provincial administration was based on the traditional design according to which homogenous units with a sense of historical identity constituted, separate entities for purposes of government. Historically, the major provincial units in northern Ethiopia were Tigray, Wolkait, Semien, Begemidir, Wag, Lasta, Gojjam, Amhara and Shewa. The demarcation of the southern provinces following their conquest was more haphazard, and the criteria of homogeneity and historical identity often gave way to considerations of political and administrative convenience, which resulted in frequent alterations. Prior to the Italian war, there were around 34 distinct units. After the withdrawal of the Italians, the provincial boundaries were redrawn, with smaller units being incorporated into 12 large provinces. This was put into effect by the administrative regulation issued in 1942. Along with the obvious need for consolidation, political considerations that the Italians took into account influenced the redrawing of the provincial map.

Harargey was the largest provinces of the empire with a total area of 259.7 thousand km². The governorship was made hereditary and was vested in members of the imperial family. On the death of Prince Makonnen, it passed to his son, Wesen Segged Makonnen (Markakis, J., 2006).

Later, to reduce the territorial area of Harargey and further weaken it in line with the vicious policy of 'divide and rule' this extra-large province was split and Bale province was created from the south-western section. This redrawing of the provincial boundaries had an obvious impact on the self-rule and autonomy of peoples within the empire. The Hararis, who were made numerically a minority within the Harar region (their homeland) were amalgamated with the rest of the population and faced discrimination. They were forced to be governed by alien rule while they had centuries-old organized system of governance. Thus, the Treaty of Dire Shumbura was completely abrogated.

The 1942 decree had listed a set of administrative regulations for the provincial branch. The restrictions decreed on provincial governors and other officials established a clear limitation on the scope of the powers they previously enjoyed. They were forbidden to impose taxes other than those legally set by the government; and since they were granted regular salaries, they were no longer permitted to collect money from the people or accept gifts in various forms. They were forbidden directly to appoint or dismiss or transfer state and civil servants, they were not allowed to recruit police force of their own (Markakis, J., 2006). The governor general (for members of the royal family) or a Deputy Governor General (Enderasie), as officially styled, was forbidden to leave the province without permission from the Ministry of Interior. Although the independence traditionally enjoyed by provincial governors was severely curtailed, they still retained paramount authority over the people they ruled. The Governor-General was given supreme power of supervision over all governmental agencies within his province. He also retained the responsibility and power to oversee tax collection (Markakis, J., 2006).

In Harargey province a number of Deputy Governor

Generals were appointed since its incorporation into the Imperial state. A list of these Deputy Governor Generals along with their reigning period since the occupation of the Emirate is indicated, hereunder and includes some governors, viceroys, district rulers and other high ranking officials of the province of Harar.

Prince Ras Makonnen-Viceroy of the province of Harar from 1887-1906,

The vice-rulers, who governed in his absence were:

- Dajazmach Bante Habte Mariam,
- Dajazmach Abinnet,
- Dajazmach Gebre Dellele,
- Fitawrari Qolech, and
- Kagnazmach Geneme.

After the death of the above-mentioned Ras in 1906, the following were appointed in his place.

- Dajazmach Yilma Makonnen (Ras Makonnen's first born) governor of Harar 1906-07,
- Dajazmach Balcha Abba Nefso Governor of Harar 1908-10,
- Dajazmach Tefari Makonnen (later Emperor Haile Sillasia) Supreme Governor of Harar 1902-35, and
- Prince Makonnen Haile Sillasia Duke and supreme Governor of Harar, 1937-1964.

Pre-Fascist Occupation:

- Dajazmach Emiru Haile Sillasia Viceroy 1918-30,
- Dajazmach Gebre Mariam Gari Viceroy 1931-35 and
- Dajazmach Nesibu Zemanuel Viceroy 1935-36.

Post Fascist Occupation

- Afe -Mesfin Andargachew Mesay Viceroy 1941-43,
- Dajazmach Tasew Wallelu Viceroy 1943-44,

- Blatta Ayyele Gabre Viceroy 1946-57,
- Dajazmach Kifle Irgatu Viceroy 1958-61,
- Prince Wesen Sagged Makonnen Duke and supreme Governor in 1961,
- Lieut. col. Tamirat Yiggazu Viceroy in 1961,
- General Kebede Gebre Viceroy 1962-69,
- Dejach Workineh W/ Amanuel Viceroy 1969-74.

There were other prominent officials who played the role of viceroy, governor or district ruler-cum-adviser, who belonged to the epoch of Ras Makonnen and his son Emperor Haile Sillasie (Emran M. W., 2009).

From all these governors, it was the notorious Ayyele Gebre who had stayed longest in power and had no rival in his atrocities. His harsh rule disowned the Hararis from their land and property, as well as deprived them of their human, civil and political rights. The atrocities that had been committed by *Blatta Ayyele Gebre* still remain vivid and unforbidden in the mind of most Harari elders.

As will be discussed later in this Chapter, it was during the reign of *Blatta Ayyele Gebre* that a large number of Hararis were imprisoned, flogged, their properties confiscated, their family lives shattered, up rooted and impoverished and about 10,000 left their home into forced exile in far-away lands. However, though these atrocities were committed by *Blatta Ayyele Gebre*, it is obvious that the rule and policy, and order originated from the Imperial government, i.e., the emperor himself. Be that as it may, it was the inhuman activity by people such as *Blatta Ayyele* who had assisted fascist Italy (Graziani) in 1937 in executing and murdering the Ethiopian patriots. It is a dreadful paradox on Haile Sillasie's part that he could assign a person, who betrayed his country, to a vital post as governorship of this noble province and its people.

It is said that once upon a time, *Ayyele Gebre* reported to Haile

Sillasie his deeds proudly as he was ordered he succeeded in expelling such and such number of Hararis from Harar as well as confiscating the property of such and such numbers. But the unsatisfied emperor presumes even more in magnitude and degradation and replied to him, 'how many of them you throw to the street beggar', and 'how many of them converted to Christianity', even worse he expected much degradation when he inquired as, 'how many of their ladies employed as bar lady. Though these were the Blatta Ayyele's deeds, it was the system imposed by the Emperor. This is a popular story among Harari elders.

The post-1941 era was one of the extreme periods of the imposition of the imperial government. Centralization resulted in the opening of new offices, new personnel, the denial of multi-lingualism in government offices in favour of one language i.e., Amharic as a working language, abolition of previous rights and privileges. The previous political rights and the respect of the cultural values of the Hararis in Harar were violated. New personnel who were literate in Amharic were employed by replacing the remaining Hararis. Schools which taught in Amharic were promoted at the expense of Arabic. These measures have affected the Harari way of life (Markakis, J., 2006).

The restoration of Haile Sillasie to the throne, and the post-war decades of 1941-74 constituted a resumption of the era of absolute monarchy, but was fraught with regional uprisings and revolts by the major nationalities demanding that the right of national identity can no longer be denied and that one part of the country could not impose its views on the rest. The Ethiopians saw the return to absolutism, injustice, which caused civil and ethnic subjugation, famine and the consequence of this autocracy and tyranny, which in turn instigated popular resistances for instance, the 1961 coups d'état attempt. The curtailment of freedom of national groups was a common phenomenon of the regime.

This policy of stark despotism affected the Hararis, more

than any other national group forced to forfeit their national freedom. They were forced to use Amharic language in the court of *Sharia* and schools, and were not appointed to higher offices, even at the level of the administration of Harar. The Hararis sent delegates to the emperor, to present their complaints and to submit to him to protect religious freedom and equal rights to citizens. However, the emperor's response was that the requests would be attended to by the governor, Blatta Ayyele, implying not only the rejection of the request, but also indirectly confirming the policy was by imperial design and, not that of Blatta (Rahji,'Abdellah, 1994). In fact, but to the surprise of the Hararis, the prosecution by the Blatta was further reinforced to the extent that they were even forbidden to hoist the Ethiopian flag, on Muslim holidays. And naturally, the Hararis refused to accept the autocratic rule of Haile Sillasie, individually and in groups and resisted subjugations and violent reaction ensued. As an instance, *Sheikh* Ibrahim Gatur struggled against Emperor Haile Sillasie's government since 1941 (Markakis, J., 2006).

In the archive records consulted for the purpose of this book, there are evidences which indicate some government officials harboured concern and fear and were suspicious of the Hararis. A letter from Aklilu Dejene to the emperor dated February 3, 1944 reveals such suspicion and bad feeling the official had for the Harari. In his letter, he indicated that the Hararis were plotting against the government and were rallying other ethnic groups in their plot. He described them as the "central motors" of the region and pointed out that they had been assured that the Somalis will be allied with them if need be. He also made the Hararis responsible for the resistance and insurrections of the Oromo people in Harargey which had become prevalent in the early 1940s. The resistance in Gursum, Charchar, and Grawwa were attributed to instigations by Hararis. His report further alleged that the reason was because of the failure of the

government to disarm the Hararis completely. His advice to the government was to take immediate action to pre-empt another insurrection. He finally suggested uprooting as many Hararis as possible from their land and settling them into other “Amhara country” in order to quell their movements (Archive source). And accordingly, these transfers began to be implemented adroitly.

In the modernization effort of Haile Sillasié, more than any other districts, Harar played a leading role next to Addis. It was in Harar that the second military academy, Teacher Training Institute, Post Office, Bank of Abyssinia and the first printing press in Ethiopia were established. As a result the Hararis who already had been city dwellers and had better acquaintance with modern concepts, managed to join these institutions by breaking the Imperial closed-door policy of the marginalized regions and proved their efficiency in all aspects, such as military, as educated professionals, managers of big institutions, as well as, ministers of government and served their country loyally and efficiently.

8.7. The Hararis and Harar under the Dergue Regime

The Imperial regime was hated due to its tyranny and absolutism, and its failure to bring about a general economic and political reform that can redeem the citizens. The famines, civil disobedience, ethnic uprisings and lack of freedom led to the 1974 revolution which overthrew the monarchy and set the Dergue regime in power. Ultimately, like its predecessors, the Dergue ‘high-jacked’ the people’s revolution and entitled itself as political power through the personal dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Maryam *et al.* Consequently, the years 1974-91 marked a period of unparalleled catastrophe. The blood and tear borne of the red terror, during this period and the civil war, that followed, dwarf any positive achievement the revolution may have registered.

From among the different policies the Dergue adopted, the

land reform proclamation of March 1975 affected Hararis most. Although the land reform proclamation was not specific to Hararis, its improper implementation reduced them to the status of a landless national group on their own soil. It forced Hararis to lose their last recourse to identity as a nation, as they lost their fundamental cultural legacy, which is their history (Ayub A. 2011). The other reform introduced by the Dergue was the nationalization of urban land and extra houses in July 1975 (Bahiru Zewde, 1991). Next to agriculture, the livelihood of most Hararis was based on trade. This proclamation, in the name of cooperatives, was also implemented improperly. Hararis' properties such as small shops were confiscated and the people were reduced to unemployment. The move had affected the economic base of the Harari people permanently, and finalized the action plan designed by Menelik and, after him, by Haile Sillasie, to ensure the economic destabilization of Harar and Hararis.

Archives consulted account that a number of enterprising individuals who were dependent on trading activities for their livelihood were under severe state control. For example, in 1970 EC, there was severe shortage of food in Harar. In a series of letters exchanged between the governors of Harargey province and the municipality, it was stated that the shortage of food was artificial and was attributed to the involvement of illegal urban traders who were said to have hoarded food for future advantages. In a number of these letters the names of traders were mentioned and the *Kebele* officials were urged to take legal measures to counter their activities. Some of the attempted measures included establishing official market places where the traders were taxed to the extent of regulating the prices these merchants should apply, i.e., tantamount to official price-fixing. In fact the real reason for the food shortage was not due to the conspiracy of merchants in the city. Rather it was the measures stipulated by the state for price control which stifled the activities of enterprising citizens (Archive sources).

Due to the implementation of these proclamations, and as a result of appropriation of personal and family properties by Dergue officials and the forced conscription of Harari youth into the army; and the suffering and deprivation from the Ethio-Somali war of 1977/8, those citizens who could, fled and sought refuge abroad, mainly to Italy, Canada and USA (Carmichael, T., 2005). Thus, the economic and political upheavals of the 1970s resulted in the last exodus of Hararis from their homeland. With this exodus, the strongly rooted centripetal force of Harari culture which had begun to weaken after the repression of the *Kulub* finally collapsed. The dis-functioning of that force of inherent attraction meant that little socio cultural pressure remained to keep Hararis at home or to attract them back to their homeland. Nevertheless, the urban and historical Harar remains central to Harari identity both in, and around, the city itself and throughout its national and global Diaspora (Carmichael, T., 2005).

The inter-states war which broke out ensued, the *Dergue* repulsed the Somali irredentist forces through a combination of impressive mass mobilization on the Ethiopian side (Bahiru Zewde, 2005). In this war, Harar had served as a command post for the Ethiopian army, although the city was badly damaged physically (Carmichael, T., 2010).

Moreover, the Harar military academy which was established by Emperor Haile Sillasje in 1958 had trained elite officers for the Ethiopian army, and contributed its own share in the victory that Ethiopia scored against Ziad Barre regime (Carmichael, T., 2010).

The newly created large scale resettlements after this war further pushed and drove Hararis off their homeland. This is excerpted with alien governors assigned by the regime. These are:

- Fit. Meharinna Minda 1974,
- Ato Ahadu Sabure 1975-76,
- Fit. Damisse Tafara 1976-77,

- Commander Lemma Gutama 1977-78,
- Col. Zelleqe Beyyene 1979-81,
- Gen. Merid Nuguse 1981-82,
- Gen. Nuguse W/Michael 1983-89, and
- Ato Abebaw Asseffa 1989-91.

Therefore, as one can witness from the above list, the Dergue, also followed the same pattern of appointment neglecting the native peoples, in the tradition of their fore-runner.

In recapitulation of events so far, the post-war decades of 1941-1974 constituted a resumption of the era of absolute monarchy, encouraged regional uprisings and revolts. In this respect, suffice it to mention:

- The 1944 Tigray rebellion,
- The Harari uprising of 1946 and
- The resurgence, in fact the continuation, of the series of Sidama revolts dating back to Menelik's time.

The military dictatorship was overthrown in 1991, bringing to an end to the series of feudal, despotic, dictatorial states and governments. Great sacrifices were made by generations of Ethiopians from every nation, nationality and people throughout the country.

Through the passage of time coupled with the economic crisis, which in turn was the *Dergue's* own failure and the global change, the *Dergue* was unable to cope with the challenges posed by these groups. From these groups, it was the TPLF that made successful advance in liberating the province it represented. Hence, the Ethiopian Peoples Liberation Front (EPRDF) was born. Its constituent members were, TPLF, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM) a group composed of mainly former EPRP members, The Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO) which represented the Oromo population and the Ethiopian Democratic Officers'

Revolutionary Movement (EDORM). It was this coalition of forces that liberated the country from the *Dergue* military regime in 1991 and established an ethnic and language based federal government (Carmichael, T., 2010).

CHAPTER NINE

9. HARARI RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

9.1. Resistance Movements

Throughout the imperial era, Ethiopia's citizens faced unrelenting hardship and oppression. Historically, unjust rule was the core characteristic of the successive masters of the central governments of Ethiopia until the advent of democracy and self-government. In the event, regional revolts and uprisings by major nationalities demanding the right of national identity and self-administration were common reaction and consistent demand. Hararis were among the politically marginalized nations and nationalities and relegated into the periphery of the Ethiopian state structure. In consequence, they openly resisted the oppression and imposition of the hegemony of one part of the country over the rest and in full realization that armed struggle against a formidable dictatorship was feasible only in alliance with the rest of Ethiopians with similar national demands and common cause vis-a-vis the oppressive regimes; they bided their time for opportune conditions.

With this goal in mind, Hararis embarked on a primary phase of establishing diverse political groups and organizations. A few associations, which had been operating hitherto under cover, became public. In addition, close relations were developed with other suppressed entities, particularly with Somalis who have been historically allied with, and supportive of, Harari interests.

The following organizations and associations are of basic relevance in this respect.

9.1.1. The Watani and the Kulub

Immediately on the departure of Menelik from Harar, his troops conducted a pervasive campaign of atrocities, land-grabbing and general looting in direct breach of the terms agreed upon between the king and the Harari leaders. Furthermore, the Chalanqo victors introduced an insidious cultural invasion directed at the Harari youth who began to favour the living and recreation habits of the others. In mid-1920; prominent Harari citizens and elders formed a self-help association commonly known as *Firmach*’ i.e. “Signatories” in reference to the specific terms of austerity and restitution of the “Harari Social Contract” set in place by the association.

9.1.1.1. The Watani Association

By the year 1926 the *Firmach* group metamorphosed into the *Jam’iya al-Wataniya al-Kheiriya*, commonly known as the “*Watani*” in short (the word “*watani*” means literally in Arabic “nationalist.” The *Firmach* group paid serious attention to education and built the venerable *al-Madrassat al-Kheiriyah al-Harariyah*, with the all-round assistance (including secondment of competent educators and technical support) of the Azhar University of Cairo (Egypt)

The Watani inherited from its predecessor, the Firmach, the stress and dedication to education, not only to ensure the return of the Harari youth to the patriotic fold, but also, as the most effective means of the immediate and long-term development of the Harari nation. They further initiated a wider programme of extending comprehensive education in their region by providing scholarship to the children of the Oromo, thereby expanding the Harari/Oromo fraternal base.

It should be noted at this juncture that it was the caucus of the young alumni of the Madrassa that politicized the

Association and created a symbiotic relationship with the Somali Youth Club as detailed herein-below.

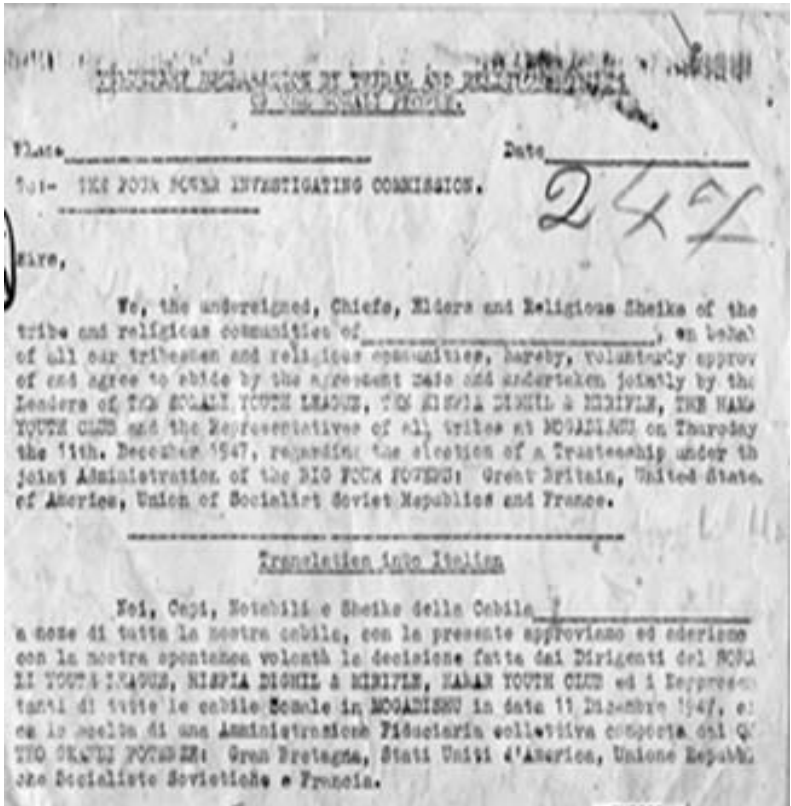


Figure 12:- Declaration of Agreement Form Under Supervision of the UN Four Powers Commission

9.1.1.2. The Kulub

The word *Kulub* is Somali version of the English club. The designation was originally adopted by the members of Somali Youth Club which was established in

Mogadishu in May 1943. This club was renamed as the Somali Youth League (SYL) in 1947 and evolved into a political movement with the aim of uniting all Somalis living in different boundaries in the Horn of Africa. It is presumed that this “Unity” of Somalis might have received additional impetus from the proposal of a “Greater Somalia” made by the then-British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin in his speech to the Council of Foreign Ministers.

9.1.2. Harari Uprising 1946-48

By the year 1942, Watani became intensively politicized by its youth section, which has been active hitherto separately in Harar, Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa. Within the year, the section became formally *Jamiyah Itihad Shebab Islamiyah* within its Parent Watani and gave impetus to the Harari struggle to gain national freedom and self-administration.



Figure 13:- Correspondence between Ayyele Gabre and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia

Translation

EMBLEM

THE GOVERNMENT OF EMPIRE OF ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Ref No 144/41

Date: 20th December 1953

Top secret

*To His Excellency Blata Ayele G/Hiwot
Hararer province head*

Harar:

Your Excellency,

You may know the fact that the Adare community member who went to Cairo via Mogadishu does not stop their propaganda against the Ethiopian government in order to convince Islamic states that the Ethiopian government is harassing and persecuting all Ethiopian Muslims.

In order to solve the problem through diplomacy by holding discussion with the Egyptian government, the job resumes through our embassy located in Cairo. In order the job of our Embassy to be fruitful within short period of time, we want to inform your Excellency about the following governing idea in order our effort to bring back the individuals to Ethiopia to be successful. We understand that as the individuals cannot be successful as they have intended, they are willing to comeback to Ethiopia. It is important to support the intention of the individual to comeback to Ethiopia. Therefore, it is important to encourage the families of the individuals who are living in Harar to write letters to

their respective relatives who are living in Cairo.

In addition, the families of the individuals must be advised and convinced indirectly. If they asked his majesty's pardon on behalf of the individuals, they will be pardoned within short period of time.

The numbers of Adare community members who are living in Cairo are 13 according to the information we have obtained from our embassy located in Cairo. The list of their name is annexed with this latter.

As it is important for you to take the necessary precaution, the following are the individuals who are working as messengers with the Adare people in Cairo.

- 1) Mume Ali who was serving as Harar police captain and currently he is working as tailor in Djibouti. As we have heard that this individual is communicating with the Adares who are in Cairo through letters, it is important to conduct close follow-up activity on the individuals who are living in Harar and sending the information to these individuals.
- 2) Ismael Ali Hussein whose birth place is Harar and whose occupation is coffee trader in Erer Bar and domiciled at the same place is currently living in Mogadishu. Similarly this individual is communicating with the Adare individuals in Cairo by obtaining information from Harar.
- 3) Mohamed Omer Bahar who is living in Syria and a Syrian citizen and working in Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As his brother Abdi Rehaman Sheik who marries the daughter of Haji Abdullahi Ali who is the president of the Harari Association and Elder of Harari. We heard that he is supporting the destructive idea of the Adare individuals in Cairo as he is convinced that the step-father of his brother is imprisoned for his religious beliefs. This individual had sent a letter to his brother through our Embassy located in Cairo. We also state that we have sent letter to his brother together with the latter we have written to you dated 18th May 1948 with reference number 3596/13. Therefore, as this individual may communicate with his relatives in Harar; it is important for you to undertake the necessary follow-up in this regard.

- 4) Abdulkerim Mohamed Yusuf who is residing in Senga bar and one of the Adare individuals in Cairo is the brother of this guy.
- 5) Abdullahi Mohamed Shedar who is living in Erer bar and working as tailor.
- 6) Abdurahim Abubokar who is living in Erer bar commodity retailer. We heard that, the above last three individuals went to Mogadishu from Harar and their representative in Mogadishu sent the letter including his own information to the Adare individuals in Cairo.

We heard that those last three individuals are currently living in Harar, and therefore, you are required to conduct strict follow-up against these individuals.

We hereby sincerely request you to write a letter about the where about of these

individuals if they are not living in Harar.

Sincerely yours,

Signed

Sealed

Concurrently, over this period, the *Kulub / Hannolato* (a motto, which means “long live” in Somali, and was used by members of the *Kulub* in public meetings and demonstrations) movement spread gradually to the regions inhabited by Somalis and attained recognition as an independent entity fighting for freedom from the oppressive Ethiopian government. In the event, *Watani* and *Kulub* created in the year 1947 a common front to achieve their parallel goals.

There were several factors that precipitated the forming of common front of *Watani* and *Kulub*. Firstly the two peoples had lived together for centuries, closely related in trade and commerce and comprehensive economic and social services, such as finance, education, health care and spiritual and religious affiliations. Secondly, the reflexive and positive response on the part of the alumni and adult students of the *Madrasah al-Kheiriyah al-Harariyah* to the political agitation of the Somali Youth League (SYL) attracted the Harari nationalists to join the *Kulub*. Thirdly the international political developments, further impelled Harari resistance, and fourthly, the machinations and conspiracy of Harari parties that had long plotted the *Watani-Kulub* “merger” as an act of treason and simmering rebellion by the Hararis, and thus to be eradicated by the central government.

በካዲሮ ያሉ አዲራዎች ስም ዝርዝር

ሐጂ. ከሐውድ. አዲራ. (ወረዳቸው)	ሸዋ. ቦር.
ሐጂ. አብረሃም. አብረራ. አብራሃም. ተምህርት. ስት. አስተማሪ. የነበረ.	አረር. ቦር.
ጠሐውድ. አሐውድ. ዩሱፍ (ገምገማ)	ሸዋ. ቦር.
አዲ. ስ. ስ. መር.	ረዳ. ቦር.
ሐጂ. ውመር. ገብ. (ግዳታ)	ረዳ. ቦር.
ገደስ. መሐመድ. ዩሱፍ. ገ/ካ- ንግስት. 022	አገገ. ቦር.
ገ. ስፍ. አብረራ. ለሃማን. ሐረር. የመካት. የብረት. ጸሐፊ. የነበረ.	አረር. ቦር.
ዩሱፍ. ሸር. መኪና. ሰረ.	ረዳ. ቦር.
መሐመድ. አስማኢል. አስተማሪ. የነበረ.	ረዳ. ቦር.
ሐጂ. አብ-ህቢር. ረቲ. ውልደተ. ሐረር. ሥረው. ገብ.	ሰዳ. ቦር.
ዮገስ. መሐመድ. አዲ. ስ. አቦኛ. ኑርው. ደደር. ነጋዴ. መደብር. ያሉው. አማርኛ. ረዳ. ቦር.	
ዓረ. ቢኛ. የሚያውቅ.	
አዲ. ስ. መሐመድ. አዲራ. ኑርው. ሐረር. ሸዋ. ረዳ. ቦር. መኪና. ሥረው. መኪና. ሰረ.	
ጠሐውድ. አስማኢል. ውልደተ. ሐረር. ኑርው. ረዳ. ቦር. ሥረው. አስተማሪ.	
ዝነዚህ. መኪና. አዲራ. ስው. በጂኛው. ተረ. የተመለከተው. የደስ. መሐመድ. የሚገኘው.	
ገዳ. ሐጂ. ከሐውድ. አቦኛ. ሐረር. ቦር. አት. ከፍል. ከፍተኛ. ሥረ. የያዙ. ሐጂ. ያሉት.	
ገ/ ስው. በጂኛው. ተረ. የተመለከተው. መሐመድ. አሐውድ. ዩሱፍ. የሚገኘው.	
ሀ/ አባት. አሐውድ. ዩሱፍ. ገረ. መረዳው. ሸዋ. ቦር. የታወቀ. ስው. የሆነ.	
ሐ/ አገቱ. ሙሚ. ስራ. ለሚገኘው. የመገናኛት. መረተ. ስም. የሆነ.	
ዝነዚህ. ሆስቴ. ስዎች. ዝመደቻችንን. ላይ ሰጠች. መግኘት. እያሉ. የፍራቻና. የመደገት.	
ነጋገር. በዙ. ጊዜ. ደናገረ. ስ. የሚሰጥ. ወረ. በሌጋሲናናችን. በሁሉ. ተሰጥቷል.	

Figure 14:- Name of Harari refugees in Cairo/Egypt

Figure 13 Translation

LIST OF ADARE INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN CAIRO

- 1) Haji Ahmed Adish (leader)
Shewabar
- 2) Haji Ibrahim Abdulsalam (who was
teacher in Islamic school) Erer ber
- 3) Mohammed Ahmed Yusuf (Kumsariato)
Shewa ber
- 4) Addus Umer
Fellana ber
- 5) Haji Omer Geto (Wedato)
Fellana ber
- 6) Yonis Mohamed Yusuf-
ber
Senga
- 7) Yusuf Abdurahman - who was registrar
of Harar enemy property
- 8) Yusuf Sheno - who is a tailor
Erer ber
- 9) Mohamed Ismael- who was a teacher
Fellana ber
- 10) Haji Abukeber Feqi - whose birth
place is Harar is a farmer Buda ber
- 11) Yonis Mohammed Addus Abogn - who lived
in Deder and is a business man fluent
in Amharic, French and Arabic
languages,
- 12) Addus Mohammed Adish who lives in
Harar and who is a tailer
- 13) Mohammed Ismael whose birth place is
Harar and who is teacher
 1. The individual who is stated on
number 6 above, Yonis Mohamed Yusuf,
has children who have higher position
in Harar Land administration
department named Imad Haji Ahmed
Abogn.
 2. The individual, Mohammed Ahmed Yusuf,
who is stated on number 3 above
 - A) Whose father is Ahmed Yusuf Kara
who lives in Shewabar and he is

famous

B) *His uncle Mume Suleiman is an officer of government land*

We heard that these two individuals regret that they left their country without saying good bye to their relatives through our embassy located in Cairo.

Nonetheless and as a result of the strategic alliance of the Kulub and Watanito create a common front to achieve a common goal, in December 1947, Hararis rallied around the Kulub. The swift action by the Watani and Hararis to join the *Kulub* was precipitated by the news that reached Harar about the arrival of the UN Four Power Commission to Mogadishu (MakuriaMakasha, 2000). The role of the Somali Youth League in agitating nascent Harari nationalist movement to join the *Kulub* was also significant. On the other hand, one external factor for the emergence of the movement was the idea of merging the Harar region with Somalia (Rahji 'Abdallah, 1994).

After the merger of the *Watani* and *Kulub*, thirteen men from both sides were chosen as delegates, to Mogadishu to present their cases to the Four Power Commission. The delegates went to Mogadishu, on the invitation of the SYL headquarters and consisted of four members from Kulub, four from Watani and one independent senior statesman. The Commission's Terms of Reference were to canvass, compile and evaluate local public opinion and preferences regarding the future administration and governance of the ex-Italian colonies in the Horn of Africa. When the government of Haile Sillasia realized this Harari-Somali delegation to Mogadishu, it reacted with fury. In order to suppress the growing opposition, Emperor Haile Sillasia deployed thousands of soldiers from the Northern provinces into Harar and Harari region. The Governor of Harar, BlattaAyyele Gebre, under the Emperor's orders rounded up more than 800 members

accused of involvement and imprisoned them (Rahji 'Abdallah, 1994).

In his persecution of the fighters and supporters of the resistance movement, he and his forces confiscated all movable heritages (manuscripts, irreplaceable, invaluable and priceless books, texts and documents) and other properties in each house.

According to the materials from the national archives a total of 81 Harari nationalists, considered by the Ethiopian government as ring leaders of the Kulub and Watani, were imprisoned in 1948. After the imprisonment of these Hararis, Blatta Ayyele had a lengthy meeting on *February* 19, 1948 with his cabinet members in Harar discussing different matters pertaining to the detention of the Hararis. In the meantime the Harari elders requested the release of the detainees on grounds that their demand was that of all the Hararis. The 81 Harari nationalists were crammed in a tiny room which could not accommodate the prisoners. After 20 days stay in these inhuman conditions, they were transferred to three warehouses built by the Italians in Abokker. Under a pretext of transfer to spacious quarters the prisoners were relocated farther from their community, to specially selected areas. Throughout their stay of three months in this prison, the Hararis were subjected to diverse forms of torture including flogging (Makuria Makasha, 2000).

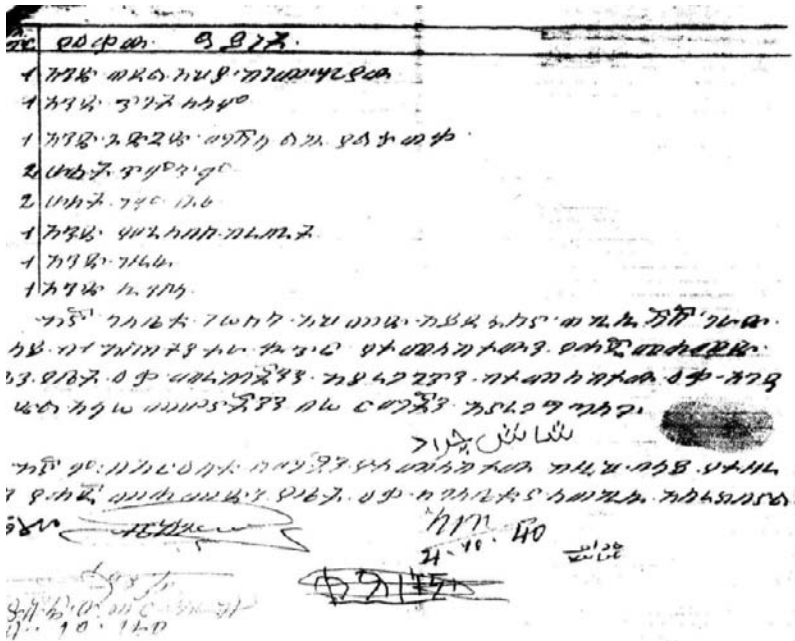


Figure 15:- commodities of ‘rebels’ return what has been left after amnesty

Translation

Number	Type of commodity
1	Big donkey with its harness and
1	attachments
1	One cattle

2	<i>one sorghum reservoir</i>
2	<i>Two folds</i>
1	<i>White cloth</i>
1	<i>One bag</i>
1	<i>One Zrefa</i>
	<i>One Libola</i>

We have confirmed that we have received the above stated commodities of Haji Mohamed. We have so confirmed by our signature that we will be liable if commodity is lost.

We have delivered the above stated commodity of Haji Mohamed to his wife and his representative.

There are signatures

Later, the Hararis were ordered to nominate their representatives to attend to their sequestered properties and businesses. After a long waiting period in secluded custody at Dire Dawa airport, they were transported to prisons in Jima, Gore and Gojjam. Another measure taken by the imperial government was the confiscation of Harari properties and the imposition of travel restrictions. (Carmichael, T., 2005) Here again a careful study of the national archives in Harar depicts numerous cases of property confiscation that resulted in societal deprivation and impoverishment of many families. The archives state that these people were imprisoned because of the so-called “*ye Adarewoch Tifat*” meaning “the Hararis’ misdemeanour”.



Figure 16:-Agents of the rebels' families

Translation

Figure 14's translation
Emblem

Harar Province Administration Office

Ref. No 14982/11

Date: August 25, 1954

Re:

To Mr Aklile Dejen

Harar

1. The representative of Mume Zyad is Remedan Haji
2. The representative of Haji Basha Allam is Mohamed Ahmed
3. The representative of Umer Ahmed is Mohamed Ahmed
4. The representative of Abdullahi Abubakar is Abdurahman Abubakar

We hereby state that the above stated representatives have stated that they face difficulty to pay the annual tax and we have sent one pages of the application they have written on 26th July 1948 together with this letter. We hereby state that, if the representatives deduct some amount of money from the daily sales and pay the required government tax there is no legal ground which prohibits doing so. In addition, by the required receipts from the municipality and special customs office, we hereby state that the representatives shall pay the outstanding annual government tax.

Signed
Director

Cc:
To Harar municipality

To Harar Inland Revenue Office

Seal

*Emperor Haileselesie I Ethiopian King of
Kings*

Governor of Harar Province

The Harari prisoners and their property, under the custody of the government, were released in 1948, in accordance with the emperor's letter to the governor of Harar, dated July 1949 to return the property of the Hararis who were imprisoned due to their active political involvement. (Archive) However, by this time most of the businesses had gone bankrupt and were in no condition to recuperate or revive. Based on the Ethiopian Embassy from Cairo, the message sent from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to *Blatta Ayyele Gebre* gave a clue as to why the Ethiopian government decided to set the Hararis free. Previously when the 81 Harari nationalists were detained, 13 others had succeeded to escape to Cairo through Mogadishu. These freedom fighters have effectively portrayed to the world and influenced the Egyptian government and other Muslim communities that the Haile Sillasie government was committing crimes against the Ethiopian Muslims, in general, and the Hararis, in particular. As such, the Ethiopian government was under severe international pressure which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also admitted. Further, the Ethiopian government had also promised the Egyptian counterpart that they would release the 81 prisoners provided that the Harari refugees in Cairo returned home. (Archive) Based on this agreement, the refugees safely arrived and along with the released prisoners they were summoned by the then Minister of Agriculture and Trade, Makonen Habtewold to the National Theatre in Addis Ababa and officially told them that they were free (Makuria Makasha, 2000). However, they were not allowed to return to their home in Harar and were forced to establish their livelihood afresh.

Mockery activities to humiliate Hararis moral which was written on official government magazine called “Sendeq Alamachin” as if it is the rebellions application [See the detail on *Annex-5*-with its English translation].

9.2. The Aftermath of the Suppression

The overall impact of the suppression of the *Kulub Hannolatomovement* was long lasting. After this disastrous venture many Hararis began, for the first time in their history to leave their homeland with no intention to return. They settled, near and far, from Jigjiga and Dire Dawa to Addis Ababa and Arab countries. Though *Kulub* was suppressed, it had served as a source of pride in some contexts and could be considered as a symbolic affirmation of continued resistance of the Hararis against the tyranny of the imperial government. It is considered as a link between the generation that symbolized Chalanqo and the generation that inherited its legacy, and its image at this stage in the political history of Hararis, and further invokes another theme to be derived from historical auto-reflection, i.e., not a theme of defeat, but of the birth of armed struggle and resistance in Ethiopia (Makuria Makasha, 2000).

Those Hararis who remained and were willing to cooperate with the dominant political arrangements were gradually integrated into Ethiopia’s educational, economic and military structures far more than previously, perhaps encouraged by the State’s construction of a High School and a Military Academy in Harar. Though there emerged well-educated and capable Hararis, appointment of Hararis to potentially sensitive positions was inaccessible, and by the 1970s Hararis dissatisfaction remained high (Carmichael, T., 2005).

To conclude, the level of physical violence in Harar and the overt hostility between the *Hararis* and the rulers appointed by the central government in the 1940s was so

vindictive it was surpassed only by the Red Terror Campaign of the 1970s. The Red Terror Campaign targeted Harar among other cities because it was one of the centres of a growing anti *Dergue* resistance movement vis. the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) (Gibb, C., 1996).

***Amashna*:** After the collapse, and closure of the headquarters of Watani in Harar, Harari nationalism and the feeling of mistreatment in their own soil continued unabated and even strengthened in an organized manner. A new movement internalizing its predecessors' ideas but in a different manifestation, was born in Harar in the early 1950s. It was called *Amashna*. The movement was inspired by fifteen young men and their elders who were highly concerned about basic issues of Harari identity, language and the rising threat to the survival of the nation all-round (Makuria Makasha, 2000).

The movement's name was derived from the fact that it's the meetings were frequently held through the night. The movement was established basically as a self-help association and different committees were formed to coordinate activities such as fund raising, establishing schools and centres of social and other communal services.

The *Amashna* movement opened branch offices in different parts of the country where Hararis were presumed to live. These offices were in Haromaya, Dire Dawa, Addis Ababa, Gursum, and Jigjiga. Their activities were centrally directed by the Head Office. This committee ultimately used the Saba'i script to teach Harari language (Makuria Makasha, 2000).

Informants and written sources assert that the members of the *Amashna* movement were expected to take an oath on the *Holy Qur'an* in order to ensure its secrecy and to affirm dedication to the fulfilment of the objectives of the

movement. Through time, the movement became firmly established and the different committees began to operate at the international level. It also opened branch offices in Egypt and Germany. It was at this stage that the movement gradually adopted a political programme and a secret committee embarked on publication and distribution of pamphlets on themes, such as Hararis under oppression, and the quest for their rights (Makuria Makasha, 2000).

The political feature of the movement was openly declared when the Hararis demanded: self-administration, at least in the City; and the revision of different taxes which were not serving the Hararis although they paid the largest amount of tax in the city. However, the government failed to address the political question properly and peacefully.

As a first in recent Harari history when the 1957 Mawlid holy day (the birth day of the Prophet of Muhammad) was celebrated, more than 5000 Hararis openly opposed the government demanding respect for their democratic and human rights. The government arrested 19 *Amashna* leaders and decided to flog them in public claiming that they had instigated public uprising against the government. Later, in June of the same year, in response to public demand and upheaval, the government reduced the public flogging to term imprisonment and the defendants (*Amashna* leaders) were incarcerated. Later, on the pretext of a general amnesty, they were released in 1962, but were not allowed to return to their homes in Harar for 5 years (Makuria Makasha, 2000).

Hararis continued with their struggle for freedom even after the fall of the Imperial regime. When the oppressive military government took power in 1974, conditions were not improved and the plight of the Hararis continued. A large number of Hararis took refuge in neighbouring countries and later migrated to distant lands. Some

Amashna individual members participated in EPRP, while others took part in WSLF (Western Somali Liberation Front) and fought against the Dergue. A prominent example of the latter is Colonel Ezedin Yusuf who took an active role during the Ethio-Somali war by leading the Somali army against the Dergue.

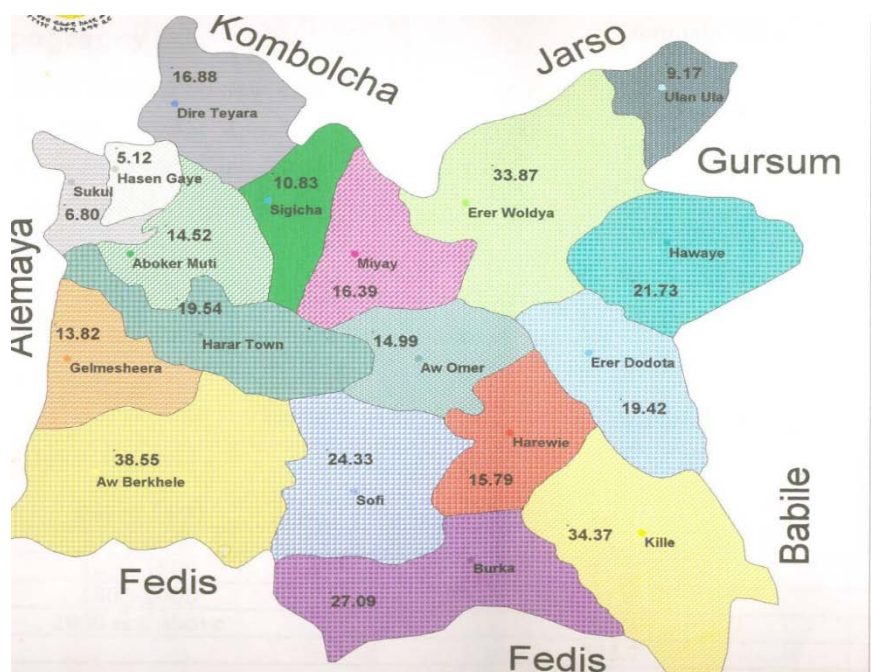
CHAPTER TEN

10. The Establishment of Harari Regional State

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in Article No 47(1) declares that the State of Harari People is one of the nine member states of FDRE. The present National Regional State of the Harari People was established immediately on the ratification of the Constitution in 1994. One of the socio-political tenets that make the Ethiopian federal system of governance unique is the fact that the union of the Ethiopian people's is based on the acceptance of:-

- i. The diversity of the nations and nationalities inhabiting this great land ,
- ii. The integral dignity and the right of self-identity and determination of each nation and
- iii. The historical, social and cultural symbiosis of the totality of the nations.

The Harari Nation is one of these Ethiopian nations, which traces its recorded history as far back as 896 AD Menelik's entry into the city of Harar in 1887 reduced Harar to the status of provincial capital of Harargey (which had then included Sidamo Arsi and Bale). In Haile Sillasié's times, Sidamo, Arsi and Bale were whittled away. The Dergue further carved Dire Dawa, the Ogaden, and Charchar and left Harar as the chief city of a small swathe of land i.e., Eastern Harargey. Today, Harar is delimited by a minuscule rural area totalling altogether approximately 340 km².



Map 6:-Harari People Regional State

Source: Harari People Regional State: Bureau of Finance and Economic Development, 2006.

The Harari nation which had been the core and motive power of a great Sultanate is an integral and coherent social formation with a uniquely built linguistic, cultural, ideological, political, economic, and overall psychological identity and integrity through historical processes which lasted a millennium and a century.

The fatal damage to the Emirate of Harar culminated in the course of the two closing decades of the 19th century after the climactic war with Menelik. The subsequent years witnessed consistent contraction of the Harari land

heritage and diminution of the size of the population through internal displacement and enforced *Diaspora*, within and outside Ethiopia. This contraction was so intense as to have rendered the Harari Nation the only Ethiopian nationality that has become a minority in its own “land of birth and permanent tenure.”

It was in pursuit of an equitable restitution of the national democratic right of a people of long historical significance that the Harari National State was established as a full-fledged member of the nine Regional States forming the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. And in so far as the diminution of the size of its population was due to the deliberate hegemonic acts of the preceding dictatorial regimes, a bi-cameral mode of governance, which ensures the dual democratic rights of:-

- a. the democratic right of national identity integrity and self-determination of the Harari people in their own land, and
- b. The inviolable right of citizenship of all Ethiopians in Ethiopia; was established through the effective application of socio-political affirmative action in an internationally recognized form. In effect, in the 36-member two chambers Harari State Council, the 14-member Harari National Council was given “the right of final decision on all fundamental and inherent Harari affairs, while the 22-member of Harari Representatives Assembly attends to the overall administrative businesses of the Regional State, jointly with the Harari National Assembly.

After considerable and legitimate justifications based on the acknowledged principle of the right of peoples to self-determination in the Charter (the founding document of TGE), through proclamation number 7/1984, the right of Harari people to establish a regional state was legally endorsed. In its 18th regular meeting, the House has dealt

with the claim of the Hararis to self-rule and has underscored the fact that Harar is founded by the Harari (Adare) people a millennium ago and *Harar* is a national Harari territory.

PART TWO

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Harar stands on the junction of trade routes from the important ports of Zaila' and Barbara on the eastern coast of the Horn of Africa and the interior, has been an important centre of trade, religion and politics. Furthermore, the favourable climate of the Harar Plateau facilitated animal husbandry and agronomy since time immemorial.

Economic history has a long lineage. Most of the 18th century and 19th Century European political economists and the founding fathers of western social sciences drew historical evidences when analysing society. In the 20th century, economic history was given a prestigious place in European Universities. Later in the 1960s and the 1970s, the new economic history, commonly dubbed as scientific history was dominant especially in American universities. Economic history is the result of this legitimate expansion of history (Marwick, A., 1989). In all these approaches the most dominant perspective to analyse the economic history of a society is political economy.

Political economy is the forerunner to modern economics, and it stressed that economic theory, activity, and behaviour could only be understood in relation to other spheres of life, not least social effects and politics. Political economy has wider applications in different disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, geography and history. Historians have employed political economy to explore the ways in the past that persons and groups with common economic interests have used politics to effect changes beneficial to their interests (Kuper et al, 1985).

Contextually, utilizing political economy as major framework of analysis, can explain the change, continuity and transformation in the production, exchange and

consumption patterns among the Harari society since ancient times to the recent period. The text will also include how different actors (individuals, groups, and institutions) influence or are influenced by this economic pattern, and how politics affected the economic formation within the Emirate of Harar. In applying this framework focus will be on some of the major themes. These are agriculture, trade and tourism. Albeit, the Harari economy in its macroeconomic concept was not different from any other countries, in its fiscal economy, of course, it should be approached in its inherent Islamic context.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Agriculture as Major Theme in the Economic History

1.1. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was the primary occupation of the Harari society since ancient times (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). It has been established in the earlier Chapters that the predecessors of the Hararis, the Harla, had already established a developed agricultural society, including crop cultivation and raising cattle. Therefore, it is clear that as descendants of the Harla people, the Harari agricultural practices are just the continuation of the Harla agronomy. Written documents on the history of agriculture in Harar are scanty. Some circumstantial evidences can be extracted from the famous 16th century document, *Futuh al-Habashah* written by Arab Faqih (Shihab ad-Din Ahmed, 2003). The earliest reference on the subject is Yusuf Ahmed's Arabic translation of ethnological account. Richard Burton's account as well as Mukhtar's and Paulitschke's may support Yusuf's work.

Existing sources indicate that the Amirs of Harar were active in agriculture and they themselves were involved by riding to their fields, out of the town, to inspect the recurrent cycles of agricultural operations such as ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing. Some of the fields near the city of Harar were owned by the Amirs who took part in farming on their own farmsteads (Burton, R. F, 1956). The agricultural fields and private activities along with the periods, and villages, where they were produced, were also discussed (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). On his approach to Harar, during the expedition, Burton had noted that Harari agricultural fields were found both near, and far from the city.

Increasing involvement in agricultural activities, however, virtually did away with the outlying agricultural production system of the non-Hararis. As such the adoption of Harari agricultural practices by the newly appearing Oromo was a continuous process in response to both demographic pressure and the growing interdependence with the markets of the city. Richard Caulk, who had done a great deal of research on the Hararis, concluded that through a long process of co-adaptation and cultural exchange, the Oromo had adopted the Harari agricultural practices.

A number of Oromo and Harari sources unanimously agree that the Oromo had acquired the agricultural practices of the Hararis. Furthermore, the agricultural terms in use even today by the Oromo farmers are still Harari words, *Hur* (reach), *la'ay* (up), *tahay* (down), *lett* (go), *qanni* (stop), *qarasir* (refusal), *amarakot* (bud), *ahadtagnluqum* (first harvest),

Besides, the Hararis practiced their cultivation using domestically produced tools, which are ancient and traditional such as *nuguy* (*shovel handle*), *mancha* (*sickle*), *harqot* (*yoke*), *makhra* (*digger*), *hakafa* (*short spade*)etc. Hararis called these tools *Harshi walat* which means agricultural tools.

Socially, agriculture was the most respected activity, and to be called a farmer was an honoured title among the Hararis. For instance; in the event of engagement, a bride's parent would ensure a fertile plot of land for subsistence as dowry for his daughter. This made the Harari women unique in those days to own land as compared to landless women in the then Ethiopia.

Traditionally a girl praises a farmer she loved by singing in Harari,

Harari	Direct Translation into English
<i>Aye Fatuma Liji</i>	Oh the son of my mother, Fatuma
<i>Tay Rahan qutti</i>	an aroma of <i>rahan</i> flowers
<i>Satti gar zibo'khulo</i>	looking for him at seven houses
<i>Satti tuf-tuf zashkhulo</i>	baking for him seven breads
<i>hakaafa wa nuguy zitorkhulo</i>	I carry for him the farm tools

2. Traditional Agriculture and Land Use System

With regard to the agricultural land around the city and its environs, Hararis demarcated three agricultural zones, based on their long-term knowledge, continuous professional research; and highly advanced farming skills accumulated over time. The zones were 1. *Gey (residential area)*, *city gardens (Gey harshach)*, 2. *Gey Fagay (horticultural area)*, and 3. *Gaffa (field crop area)* fallow land.

The zones, form concentric circles surround the city, as indicated in the figure below.

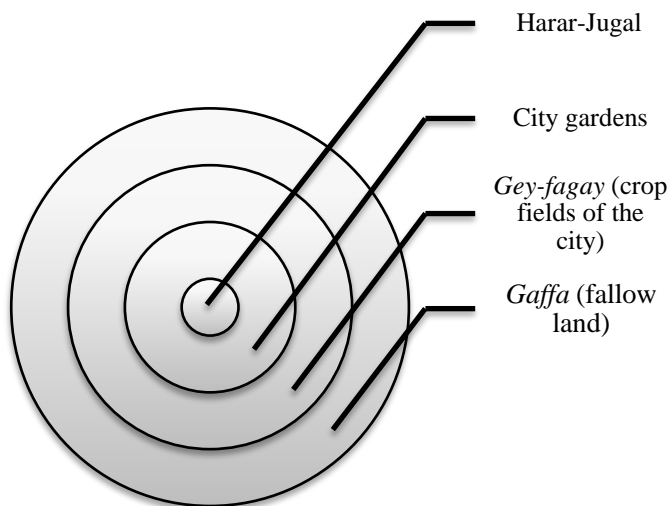


Figure 17:-Agricultural Zones. Source: YusufAhmed (1961)

The Three Agricultural Zones:

- I. The Inner Ring (Harar city): This circle represents the residential non-agricultural area. The citizens were engaged in various economic activities which will be treated a little later (YusufAhmed, 1961). There also existed agricultural practice in the town itself, in most of the Harar homes, there was bee-keeping for honey supply to the households and market gardening was practiced by the majority of Hararis.

Benefitting from the rainfall, the rich and fertile farmlands and orchards nearby the city produce fruits, vegetables and cash crops, such as *chat* and coffee. Farmlands farther from the city produce mainly cereal crops, and especially sorghum.

- II. The Intermediate Ring: This circle or *Gey fagay*, starts from the city's wall and covers 10 to 15

kilometres forming a belt around the city. It was cultivated by Hararis and was generally called “*Gey Harshach*,” meaning ‘city gardens’. (YusufAhmed, 1961) Based on the crops cultivated, this agricultural zone is divided into two: the irrigated (*mesno*) area and the area of grain cultivation that is rain-fed (*bukhra*). While the irrigated area is within an hour’s walk around the city, the fields of grain crops are found beyond the gardens. The former is generally reserved for the cultivation of fruit trees, coffee, *chat* and some plants producing a variety of condiments and certain commercial crops such as safflower *warsi*(Emiru Haile Sillasié, 2008).

In addition, a variety of fruits, vegetables and crops were cultivated in Harar and its surrounding fields in the 19th century. Some of these had been cultivated for centuries on the plateau of Harar, but there are also fruits and vegetables introduced upon the opening of Harar to foreign influence, especially since 1876. However, the agricultural potential of the Harar plateau was indisputably agreed by scholars, informants and travellers. For instance, the British traveller, Edward Gleichen, (in the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century,) in his ‘With the Mission to Menilek (1898)’, recounts that almost anything could be grown: vines, oranges, melons, bananas, and cereals of every description (Gleichen et al, 1898).

According to Mukhtar, at the time of Egyptian occupation of Harar, bananas, lemons (Yusuf claims it to be Turunga in Harari), a sour-orange like fruit (*safargen*) i.e. grape fruit, fourteen kinds of grapes, native sugar cane and tobacco were grown (Muhammed Mukhtar, 1877). Since Mukhtar had observed these plants growing at the

time of the Egyptian arrival, they were, in fact, commonly known some time back. Mukhtar also found some vegetables, during Egyptian occupation, such as chick peas, lentils, beans, garlic, onions and potatoes. He further gives the list of plants grown for condiments such as safflower (*warsi*) and sesame (Muhammed Mukhtar, 1877). But the list was not exhaustive. Yusuf's account, also corroborated by oral informants, adds to the list of plants like henna (a plant producing a reddish colour to decorate hands and feet commonly for brides and bridegroom, *shufu'* (a plant commonly used for medicaments), cabbage, figs, *qontar*, *kuchuli* beans, pumpkins, sunflower, '*hulbat*' (when powdered has a bitter taste and is used in soups, pepper, etc. (YusufAhmed, 1961). Some of the cereals and vegetables were unanimously mentioned by all authors consulted for this purpose and were certainly in production before the arrival of the Egyptians. In addition to the above list of crops, vegetables and fruits, food crops such as sorghum, barley, wheat and oats; commercial crops such as coffee, *chat* (*cathaedulis*), *warsi* (*Eriosema-erythrocarpa*), cotton and tobacco are mentioned (Burton, R., 1956).

- III. The outer Ring: This is called Gaffa, the area had also been cultivated by the Hararis for long. The major crop cultivated in this area was sorghum. Other cereal crops were also grown in this field. In this zone there was an extensive area that remained fallow. It was very wide in terms of land size but farmers cultivated only part of the land based on the availability of family labour force.

In the 20th century, the continuity of this agricultural practice was observed and noted by Ras Emiru who had served as the governor of

Harar. In his autobiography Ras Emiru related that Hararis produce *chat*, coffee, banana, orange, and lemon in the gey fagay land (Emiru Haile Sillasia, 2008).

3. Brief Notes on Major Crops

Sorghum was the staple crop of the people of Harar, unlike tef which was staple diet in the other parts of Ethiopia. Sorghum is known as ‘*ekhiy*’ by the Harari (YusufAhmed, 1961). It is a small round seed and has different varieties with differing qualities. ‘*Fendish*’ and ‘*mugra*’ are the best and produce white local bread (ukhat). The other type of sorghum is *wagare*, which produce less favoured brown coloured bread. Their qualities are reflected in the seasons they were sown (YusufAhmed, 1961).

Sorghum’s economic importance as the mainstay of the population could also be seen in its continued influence even to the 1930, and early 1940s and for some times now. Sorghum has occupied greater acreage than other cultivated plants and yielded more than all other grains combined. Even to this day, in spite of its aggressively expanding rival *chat*, the dominant cereal crop grown in Harar is sorghum. The crop owes its popularity to its adaptability to a variety of ecological conditions, with the cropping techniques necessary for its cultivation and its multiple utility. The grain is used as the basic food, the stalks as fodder and for building small structures and the roots as fuel and the remaining parts of the stalk and leaves were scattered on ploughed fields as fertilizers and cattle feed.

Coffee: The history of the origin of coffee has been and still is a topic of great controversy among scientists. Many argue that Coffee originated in Africa and identify four major species, namely, *Coffee Arabica*, *Coffee Robusta*, *Coffee liberica* and *Coffee esliaca*. These species are all found and grown in the natural forests of Africa.

The available literature put the origin of *Coffee Arabica* in the south-western forests of Ethiopia, specifically Kaffa. (Harari oral traditions reminds the name of the place Kafa derived from Arabic word “enough” which was uttered by the great Harari leader Imam Ahmed during his expedition to the southern part of Ethiopia). Many etymologists connect the origin of the word coffee with the name Kaffa similarly; historians testify that the coffee plant was first discovered growing wild in the Kaffa region. Coffee has been traced to: ancient Ethiopia where the bush is believed to be indigenous and still grows wild in abundance, and to south Arabia, where the mysteries of roasting and brewing the bean evolved (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). However, the available literature is not clear about the period of its discovery.

On the other hand, informants argue that Harar is the birth place of cultivated coffee, in view of the fact that, the Harar Mocha is strongest in Harar and loses its mocha flavour and potency the content it is taken farther from Harar. There exist coffee trees planted on Sofi Burqa Area to this day which have more than two hundred years of age, as recently identified by Japanese experts. Besides, the growing technique is very elaborate, such as making sheds to allow in appropriate levels of sun heat, the use of cow dung as compost. Owing to this developed technique due to their long period acquaintance with coffee, the Arabica Coffee of Harar managed to be the world’s first class quality coffee. These and other techniques are evidently guaranteed Harar’s coffee its quality for centuries in international markets. Commenting on the quality of Harar coffee, Burton wrote: “The coffee of Harar is too well known in the markets of Europe to require description: it grows in the gardens about the town in great quantities.” (Burton, R., 1956). He added that the price of coffee at the time of his visit was worthless and its profit was insignificant that cannot cover the cost of labour and the risk involved. However, Mukhtar did not seem to agree on Burton’s

observation and says the “real wealth of the country is coffee” (Mukhtar, M., 1877). His discussion indirectly indicates the interest of the Egyptian government and its official policy to expand coffee plantations on large scale by encouraging farmers. After the evacuation of the Egyptians, Paulitschke, writing in 1888 confirmed the importance of coffee in the economy of Harar which produced for export an annual amount of 200-300 tonnes of coffee (Paulitschke, P., 1888). The technical knowledge of coffee cultivation could not be mastered unless practised for many years. Harari must have had long years of experience in cultivating coffee as their know how exceeds, to the extent of using its two bi-products, i.e., the leaf (*qutti*) and the thrush (hasher) as well as in a variety of way, *Sirriwabun*, making the Harari the only society eating coffee as a sandwich crunching. From the discussions of Burton and Mukhtar along with the narration by oral informants, a picture can be drawn that the growing of coffee has a long history in Harar, at least, as far back as, and beyond, the medieval period. Harar coffee had a superior quality and was commercialized at international markets even in the 19th century. *Qutti* and *amartasa* are also coffee leaves used for making *qahwa* a hot beverage taken with milk. (Informants)

The coffee farms, surrounding the town of Harar, were mostly owned by Harari women. They had inherited the coffee farms from their fathers and acquired from their husbands as dowry. By owning these farms the Harari women liberated themselves from their economic dependence to their husbands.

Warsi or Safflower: This plant originally identified as a condiment has multi purposes and is widely known in Harar plateau. Concerning its use and other details Burton says:

It is cultivated in considerable quantities around the city. The article together with slaves forms the staple commerce between

Barbara and Musqet. In Arabia men dye with it their cotton shirts, women and children use it to stain the skin a bright yellow; besides the purpose of a cosmetic it also serves as a preservative against cold. When Warsi is cheap at Harar; a pound may be bought for a quarter of dollar. (Burton, R., 1956).

Chat (*cathae edulis*): Chat is a commercial crop grown widely and was taking over arable land, labour, and investment through time. The plants leaves are mild stimulant. It has been grown in abundance to the extent of being considered as a monopoly of *Harari* (YusufAhmed, 1961). The earliest mention of *chat* is found in the 14th century chronicle of Atse Amda TSION when the Sultan of Ifat boasted, that when he conquered the Christian highland kingdom, he will plant *chat* on their land (Huntingford, G. W. B., 1965). Richard Burton also gives a brief account and states that it is exported from Harar to Aden by using camels. He added the market value of *chat* was one and a quarter rupees per parcel (Burton, R., 1956).

Indeed, through time, *chat* has increasingly dominated the agricultural fields of Harar. Especially in the early 1940s, *chat* began gradually to replace the customary sorghum cropping pattern in Harar and its surroundings. Eskeal Gebissa, elaborated that owing to faster transport, *chat* had become the chief cash crop of the region competing with the regular crops especially sorghum and coffee for land, labour and capital. This change in the local system of production was spurred by land scarcity caused by high population growth especially in the areas surrounding the city of Harar. In the absence of other economic sectors which could absorb the region's demographic surplus, farmers increased their *chat* fields so that they could use the profits from *chat* sales to purchase non-farm commodities, pay taxes and make productive investments (Eskeal Gebissa, 1997).

CHAPTER TWO

2. Techniques of Agricultural Production

Since agriculture was an old practice and the main source of the livelihood of the Hararis, they have through experimentation developed different indigenous techniques of production. For the sake of simplicity, the major elements are pre and post-harvest divided as techniques

2.1. Pre-harvest Agricultural Techniques:

2.1.1. Land Preparation

Various techniques of agricultural production were employed by the Hararis in this phase. These include irrigation, crop rotation; the use of manure from the waste of animals, thinning, transplanting, the knowledge of applying maximum tillage on a certain field, intercropping, grafting, seed breeding; the construction of terracing and contours to preserve soil erosion, environmental protection through the planting of trees, etc. (Informants). The major technique to be discussed under this rubric is irrigation. Irrigation is applied in the orchards of the middle zone. Most of the orchards are irrigable. For this purpose, water is directed from the surrounding rivers and streams to a pool called *kouri* (YusufAhmed, 1961). *Kouri* is a wide but shallow basin fenced by easily accessible materials such as mud, pieces of wood and different kinds of plants to compact and hold the river water. An outlet is formed and blocked with the help of a large stone or a piece of wood, which can easily be removed when the pool is full. The construction of the *Kouri* is a co-operative activity carried out by all the farmers of a certain area. Any farmer, who did not share in the labour or the expenditure, forfeits the right to claim water for the irrigation of his plot. After the *Kouri* has been built each farmer digs ditches and channels to that direct the water to his farm (YusufA., 1961).

The responsibility of managing and apportioning water rests with a person called *Miy Malaq* who is chosen by the local farmers or water users. He may be a farmer or only an owner of a farm in the locality. Most often, the farms or orchard in the upper parts of the area near the *Kouri* usually receive water first. Gradually the lower parts of the orchard would be irrigated in turn. However, there are times when the gardens at the lower end may suffer from shortage of water and become vulnerable to drought. In such occasions, the *miy Malaq* will intervene and distribute water for orchards which are badly in need (Informants, see list of informants in *annex-1*).

Normally, it takes between 12 hours to 24 hours to fill one *Kouri* (pond). The water in one *Kouri* is expected for the irrigation of one farm. Nevertheless, there is variation in the size of the farm land; accordingly the supply of water is regulated. For services rendered by the *miy Malaq* is allowed to irrigate his orchard once a week on Fridays. This free allowance of water is known as *Juma-miy* i.e., Friday water. Should he not need to irrigate his field, he may transfer the water service to others (*YusufA., 1961*).

The system of irrigation was practiced during the dry season. In the rainy seasons, water would be abundant and there would not be a need for the irrigation of fields unless the amount of rain is insufficient. Irrigable fields are called *masno* while those that are rain-fed are *Bukhra*. *Masno* orchards enable the cultivation of cash crops such as fruits, *chat* and coffee whilst *Bukhra* is for cultivation of grain crops and some other drought resistant plants. In this respect, it ought to that grain crops such as sorghum are cultivated not only on *Bukhra* but also on the outer parts of the *gey fagay* (*YusufAhmed, 1961*).

After the occupation of Harar by Emperor Menelik and the subsequent introduction of the new system of land tenure, the newly assigned landlords have taken most of the irrigable land and to begin to sell water to farmers

from their own storage basins (*kouri*). The cost of watering for a single plot differed depending on the size of the plot. In Kombolcha, for instance, it was said to have been between 25-30 birr. However, this practice came to an end with the 1975 land reform (Eskeal Gebissa, 1997).

2.1.2. The Use of Calendar for Agricultural Activities

Hararis have a well-developed calendar based on solar movements. With this calendar they were able to know what crop should be cultivated at which season. Among Harari calendar has four seasons, each divided into seven periods. A period lasts 13 days except for *Gabah*, which has 14 days (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). According to this arrangement, the days of the year make a total of 365 days. By using this calendar Hararis know which season was dry and which was wet. They would also prepare the soil, cultivate different crops according to the needs of the crops; undertake the different routines of agricultural practices; and harvest the crops. For instance sowing sorghum was undertaken during the season of *Bayg*. According to the different written and oral sources the four seasons of the year are: *Bayg* (from March 24-June 21); *Kirmi* or *Ganna* (June 22-September 24); *Zirat* (September 25-December 23) and *Jay* (December 24-March 23). These seasons are sub divided into seven periods called *menzeel* (pl. *menzeelach*).

2.1.3. Ploughing and Sowing

Basically ploughing and sowing are similar to practices in other parts of Ethiopia. Seeds were carefully selected and exposed to fire smoke in order to dry them and serve as pesticides, in readiness for the upcoming sowing season. It all starts with scattering these selected seeds on the untilled land. The soil using is cultivated with a pair of oxen shouldering the wooden plough at the beam. In this process, the farmer dictates the direction of the oxen. The furrows were made as a result of cultivated lines and the

seeds were covered underneath the soil(YusufAhmed, 1961). Incidentally a 20th century European traveller, Thomas Comyn-Platt, had witnessed the ox-plough system practiced by farmers while passing through Harar to Addis Ababaand said that “the cultivation that brought the best results was carried out in much the same technology as it is today i.e., the plough which is drawn by oxen” (Thomas, C. P., 1935).



Figure 18:-Photographed by: Meftuh A. Shash, Harar

2007. A schedule of the faces of the moon in the course of a Lunar month (Source: - Sh. Har. City Museum)

- The title of this illustration is: The say on knowing the past from night hours by measuring the moonrise.
- The large circle around the central one is divided into 30 slices, each of which has a time or hour (e.g. two hours and fifth hour, etc.) relevant to the slide around it in the larger circle.
- The larger circle starts in the top then clock wise with the moonrise, until the slide that facing it in the lower part of the circle where the word moonset appears.
- The largest circle includes the numbers 1-30 (the days of the month).
- The little circles around the largest circle are the moon shape in relation to the slides of the circles that the shape is facing.

Description by: Prof. Hisham Mortada. King 'Abdulaziz University, Jeddah.

With the fall of rain, the seeds grew up as green shoots, along with the contending weeds. It was vital to eliminate the weeds so that the young plants grew sturdy. In the meantime, in order to soften the soil, the earth is turned over by using spades locally called *hakafa*. This process of removing weeds and softening of the soil is called *hagay*. This process was repeated after one or two months was called *kaba* and could carry out twice or thrice to assure a better produce (YusufAhmed, 1961).

2.1.4. Harvesting and Threshing

Technically, harvesting and threshing could be considered as transitional phase from pre to post harvesting. In the process of agricultural production, most of the agricultural produce among Hararis, as already discussed, was sorghum. The harvesting period begins in *Sawlah manzeel*. The crop is harvested by using a sickle like tool called *mancha*. The ear is cut together with the cane which is separated from the ear of the grain at the top.

The ears (*gumma*), which are now quite dry, are collected in one corner of the *Uud* threshing field (YusufAhmed, 1961). Inventive farmers classify heads of the crops of the same colour in one circle apart from the circles of another colour.

Ultimately, a fascinating cone-shaped pile with alternating rings of colours was formed. For threshing, the top of the cone shaped pile is lowered and spread over the *Uud*. Both informants and available written materials relate that the threshing was performed by a group of people (*gouz*) with long cudgel-shaped sticks, with which the grain is threshed out of the chaff. Apparently, this process shows some deviation from other agricultural communities as threshing was most often done with the help of oxen and other animals. These animals in large number move in circles for several hours until the pure grain is separated from the chaff (YusufAhmed, 1961).

The process ends by sifting the grain gently against the wind from the light husks. The harvest is transported home for consumption and for storage (YusufAhmed, 1961).

2.2. Post-Harvest Technology:

In common with other Ethiopian societies, the surplus grain of the Harari family is stored for future usage. (YusufAhmed, 1961) The major method of storing surplus produce, especially for sorghum is excavating underground pits. These pits are often within the courtyard and were a well-designed granary. The type of soil selected for this purpose was a hard soil called *bililich tili dachi*, shiny sandy ground. This was to prevent the percolation of water into the ground during heavy rains and its subsequent fall. It also prevents the soil mixing with the grain (YusufAhmed, 1961).

Underground granaries are called *ekhiy-gadu* in Harari;

they often have a bottle like surface structure with a narrow neck at the mouth and a wider belly. Granaries vary in size. Most often smaller granaries were owned privately and contain from 50-120 *awsuk*, equivalent to 25-60 donkey loads. On the other hand, large granaries were often owned by the state. Some state granaries were located in the outskirts of the city such as the granary at aw-Bahar in Harawwe; the granaries at Gona in Bisidimo and the granaries of Sona, just north of Harar where the Harar prison is located (YusufAhmed, 1961).

The episodic Egyptian rule had its own significant impact on the agricultural production of Harar. Certain types of crops were introduced to Harar by the Egyptians, Indians, Turks, and Greeks. Paulitschke stated that the Egyptian soldiers were given land and introduced into Harar new types of grapes, almonds, peach, and lemon trees. This was not supported by Mukhtar's account (Paulitschke, P., 1988). Some Middle Eastern fruits were claimed to have been introduced by an Egyptian named Khawaja Ibrahim, who had possessed an extensive farm and orchard in Harar. A Greek named Manole was also associated with the introduction of prickly pear (*tini*) in early 20th century. Initially it was brought by the residents as enclosure for their orchards. However, the plant grew gradually into a dangerous weed and expanded rapidly to threaten the orchards (YusufAhmed, 1961).

The Egyptians had strong influence on the surrounding Oromo cultivators. Rauf Pasha was said to have encouraged the farmers to plant coffee, and consequently, its cultivation spread from the environs of Harar city to the entire districts of Harar plateau. Coffee trees planted during this time still exist in the districts of Gursum, Garamullata, Obbora, and Charchar (Eskeal Gebissa, 1997). It has also been reported that there were surpluses of grain kept in the city, since the administration stored the collected *Zakat* in pits and sold to the public at a low price (Mohammed Hassan, 1973).

With the opening of the 20th century, agriculture among the Harari began to decline. A number of factors have contributed for this. The conquest of Harar by the Imperial feudal state of Ethiopia, the conquest of the Italians, the return of the Imperial government and the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution could be mentioned as factors. All of these governments share in common the typical feature of confiscating Harari land to distribute among their respective associates, soldiers, servants, officials and minions. In the case of the *Dergue*, the inappropriate implementation of nationalization of the land drastically curtailed the Harari land ownership. Furthermore, these regimes' land policies of confiscation and so-called, land reform impacted adversely on agricultural productivity. Under these circum-stances, it is imperative to review and evaluate the land tenure dynamics of these governments and their contribution to: the declining productivity and the consequent food shortages and famines; and the alienation of Hararis from their centuries old profession and property.

CHAPTER THREE

3. LAND TENURE DYNAMICS IN HARAR

Land tenure is essentially a social and political concept that deals with the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of peoples or institutions on a specific land. It is strictly related to the productive values of the land. In the discussion of land tenure, relations could be approached from two levels: the social and political levels. The former underlines how descendants of a particular founding father or mother share the land. It implies in what ways class, status, and rank relate to each other in a certain society. On the other hand, the political level discusses the structure. What are the elements of the political structure that relate people to state, what obligations and/or rights do political authorities have, what are the rights/or obligations of peoples living on the land (Shiferaw Bekele, 1995).

In general three broader land tenure dynamics were observed in Ethiopian political economy, at least up to 1974. These were: the Abyssinian; the other conquered areas; and the Harari land tenure dynamics.

3.1. Comparison of the Three Land Tenure System

The Abyssinian system was very old and was characterized by land cultivated by the peasantry. The land the peasants cultivated belonged to the descendants or kinsmen related by blood. This system gives the peasantry a use right for an indefinite period of time. This system of tenure was based on bi-linial system i.e. people inherited from both parents and was characterized by divisions and re-divisions of land among relatives. It was a system commonly termed as *rist*. The State has no authority or control on the land. What the State had was a tributary right over administrative unit. The State awards these rights to deserving elites and institutions. This was

called *gult*. (Shiferaw Bekele, 1995) *Gult* rights were always temporary and jealously guarded by the State. *Rist* is believed to have been the first natural property managed communally. It is a naturally developed system from communal society. Whereas, *Gult* was devised by the State so that it can be recalled, revised and historically retraced. *Rist* is natural and is a domain of the social world but *Gult* is political issue (Geberewald Engidaworq, 1962).

The Conquered Areas' System: Here, the State achieved direct control over the land by the right of conquest. It applied its right on the ownership of land as putative. Land can be given out or sold to individuals by the State. Land can, therefore, be privately owned. The State can control tribute on the land. This system was the result of the expansion of the imperial feudal State of Ethiopia under emperor Menelik II in the last quarter of the 19th century. In the conquered southern regions land alienation by the expanding force was the dominant feature against the indigenous population (Addis Hiwot, 1975).

The Emirate of Harar had its own land tenure dynamics, which was unique in some respect from the two land tenure dynamics, briefly highlighted above. Indeed, even before, the conquest, land among the Hararis, (apparently, all property,) was owned privately especially in the City and it's surrounding i.e. *gey-fagay* which consisted of both orchards and farmlands belonging to the Hararis. As opposed to the *gaffa* areas, these zones were thoroughly surveyed and the properties delimited.

Ownership of immovable - land or house - was recognized officially by the Emirate. The owner was given a document which recognized his ownership and stated the origin and basis of his title to the property. The title was ascertained and the document was approved by the *Qadi* (Judge). This document which was known as *hujjah* (certificate) was written in Arabic and followed a

standard form (YusufAhmed, 1961). It was the official certificate of the owner without which it was difficult to transfer the property[see dry sealed and stamp sealed hujjahs on Annex – 8].

The main points elucidated by this text among many were:

- The name of the title holder of the property and how it came to his or her possession;
- The nature of the property, whether house or land with specifications of the type of house or land;
- The location of the property;
- The size of the property in *jareeb*;
- The limits of the property on all sides, with reference to neighbouring farms or houses or rivers or public streets;
- If the property was purchased or sold, the question of whether the agreement was legally and materially binding is scrutinized;
- The eyewitnesses of the agreement are always stated at the end of the document;
- Seal of the *Qadi* and signature of witness. (YusufAhmed, 1961).



Figure 19:-Seal of the *Qadis* (1531 AH) Source: - SHCM

It is absolutely natural that registration of property was put into effect in line with the above format since as citizens of an Islamic state; the Hararis were, in the

majority literate as stressed upon by their religion. On the other hand, Ahmed Zakaria implies that Amir Abd ash-Shakur, the 11th Amir of the 'Ali ibn Dawud Dynasty reformed the administration of the City by improving the register (*Sijill*) and the Chancery (*Diwan*) in the third year of his reign. The *Diwan* was particularly responsible for maintaining land records and for judging court cases according to the *Shari'a* (Ahmed Z., 2003). When the Egyptians came, they modified its system of application to serve them in their jobs under the existing circumstances. As such, Harar was the only emirate, in Ethiopia, where private property was registered and officially recognized.

Regarding land property and ranks in the rural areas, Chiefs fall into at least three major ranks, *Garad*, *Dameen* and *Malaq* the latter two titles in the course of time became also references to the land under their jurisdiction akin to the *gult* right imposed by the occupiers. Both the Dameen and the Malaq are appointed by the Garad. A *Dameen*, who is directly appointed by Garad, is chief of a clan and responsible for application of the system within his community. The Dameen was the appointee of the Garad, who collects taxes and supervises farming under the Garad's control. The Dameen was an official title given to the rural area administrator, whereas the Malaq was responsible for urban areas. The appointed *Dameens* were chosen from among men who had property, children and wives in the city. A *garad* was chief appointed by the Amir as a higher administrator of a district in highland areas (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961).

The *Malaq* was granted about 300 *jareeb* land, and the *garad* about 600 *jareeb*.

The grants were marked by a ceremony. The Amir would envelop an honorary symbol around the body of the person whom he appointed to the office. In the case of the appointment of a Garad, the performance was called

Garadnat matalal which means the garadship 'coronation', and Dameennat matalal which means Dameenship 'coronation' when a Dameen was appointed. In return each new appointee gave to the Amir in payment a certain number of calves. The payment was a formal acknowledgement that right of allocation of land depended upon the goodwill of the *Amir*. Further, it was a token of loyalty and homage. Incidentally, this system of land ownership and its ceremonial practice continued well into the 20th century and were discussed in detail by *Ras Emiru* (YusufAhmed, 1961). These offices were hereditary - passing to the eldest son. However, they were sometimes transferred to someone else - perhaps the owner of the largest neighbouring area of land-at a cost. The bearer of the office enjoyed the free service rendered to him by the peasants under his *garadship* or *Dameenship* (YusufAhmed, 1961).

At the head of the above mentioned chiefs is the *dogign*, governor of the outer districts. The *dogign* paid ten Thalers in return for the appointment. These officials were given *madeniya* (*dwelling place*) within the areas of their jurisdiction in lieu of salary. The *dogign* was responsible only to the *Amir* and might be called "the eye of the king."

3.2. Impact of Emperor Menelik II's Conquest

The Battle of Chalanqo, January 6, 1887, was a landmark in the history of the Emirate of Harar. It was the last in the series of foreign occupations and permanently sealed its demise. Harar with its rich agricultural potential became part of the expanding emperor Menelik's empire. After the conquest, Emperor Menelik had signed a treaty with representatives of the Harari people. In the treaty, among other things Emperor Menelik agreed to respect the land ownership of the Hararis. This was based on the Harari payment of tribute (tax) to the imperial

government (Rahji 'Abdallah, 1994). The tribute paid was based upon the “Egyptian System” in which 10% was levied on their farm produce. Thus, the Harari ownership of their land was respected at least in the initial years of its incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire (Muhammed Hasan, 1973).

Initially, some land was expropriated for the sustenance of the system such as rationing for soldier settlers, for the upkeep of the Orthodox Church and land grants for some state dignitaries (Waldron, S., 1984). But the Abyssinians began violating the treaty by confiscating land. The very infamous aspect of confiscation of land and Harari houses were undertaken on the immediate aftermath of the conquest which violated the basics of the treaty mentioned above. Harari houses found in the old city of *Jugal* were seized and were given on the pretext of compensation for the close relatives of the Abyssinian soldiers killed in the battle of Chalanqo. These houses were impounded under the title of *yedem-bet*. And during the time of Emperor Haile Sillasié these lands and houses became the ‘Rist’ of the occupants as the archives clearly elucidate (Archive).

Gradually with the appointment of new officials and increasing settlers’ new demands for land emerged. Serious changes in land tenure began to occur in 1897 as new settlers grabbed the Harari land, in massive, sizes, through a pretext of the so-called new land reform and land was measured in terms of the *qalad* (Tsahay Brehane, 2000).

Formerly, land with 25 kms circumference outside the city had a fixed standard of land measurement known as *Jareeb*. Land beyond 25 kms was measured in terms of *shibet*, a word expressing only the productivity of the land; hence, the actual size varying from place to place. (*Shibet* land was so named because when the Arabs [presumably Egyptians] were administering Harar and its

surroundings, when they roamed around the crops collected for threshing, they classified the crops collected based on their side. They classified big ones and small ones based on their size and started to collect tax accordingly. In Amharic it signified *gabbar* land.) In both sectors land tax was collected through the offices of the *Dameen*. In the days of *Ras* Mekonnen, in areas beyond 25 kms circumference, the *Dameen* collected the taxes in the areas under his *Dameenship*.

The *garad* had jurisdiction and used to control over five or six *Shibet* or the *Malaq* with a control over the *Shibet* half that number (Tsayah Berhane, 2000).

With the new land reform, *jareeb* lands around Harar were re-registered in such a way that favour the interest of the regime against the Harari right, and the tax was fixed according to the fertility of the soil. *Jareeb* is a unit of measurement applied on *qalad* lands. One *jareeb* is equal to 60 cubit width and 60 cubit length. Or in metres its length is 36 metres and its width is 36 metres. Hence, totally one *jareeb* is 1,296 square metres. The measurement of land by *Jareeb* is applied only on lands known as *gey fagay*.

In the process, excess land, in the name of *qalad* land, were extracted from the surplus holdings of the *jareeb* owners on the basis of *garad*. In terms of the *gasha* about one out of the holdings of 10 *garad* was registered as *qalad*. The so called new reform obviously was introduced to pave the way for Harari land confiscation, under the pretext of excess land survey. *Ras* Mekonnen was the first to benefit from the new method. *Ras* Mekonnen took the opportunity to register *qalad* as *gult* in his name at the time with permission of Emperor Menelik. Others, too, began to have registered as *Malaq* and *garad* of the extra *qalad* land in their *melkagninet* on payment of a certain amount of money to the regime. This process gradually placed more settler soldiers in the

position of administering the land directly (Tsayay Berhane, 2000).

The process of transferring these key positions along with the land to the settler soldiers, state and church officials then continued without restraint on various pretexts. The *malkagna* and *abegaz* began to 'inherit' these positions from the original *garad* and *malaq*. Some acquired the post by settling the bad debts of the original title holders; others on the promises of taking care of these officers in their old age and others on the excuse of 'friendship' and '*zimdinna*' a dubious term suggesting forced acquisitions. There was no limit to the number of the *garadnat* or *malaqnat*, a person could acquire in this manner (Tsayay Berhane, 2000).

In addition, by the 1920s the previously dominant urban position of the Harari had declined in favour of immigrants, mostly Christians, who managed to extend their land holdings from out-side the old wall to inside through the support of the state as well.

3.3. The Italian Occupation

Italy's colonial policy was to exploit Ethiopia's resources to meet the demand of Italy's need of agricultural products and providing a home for Italian farmers. Hence, Italy was committed to giving land to Italian settler farmers. One of the areas, selected as suitable for Italian agricultural colonization by the Italian experts, was Fedis near Harar for cereal production. Harar itself was expected to provide the metropolitan areas with grapes and olives (Sbacchi, A., 1997). But this Italian agricultural colonization was not successful.

Under the Italians, previously confiscated lands were restored to their original owners or their descendants. In order to follow up the land issue the Italians established a special office called *Ufficio Centrale Terreiro* (provincial

land office), which tried to keep the old land documents from destruction (Seifu Metaferia, 1982). It was during the Italian period that the Hararis were initiated *en-masse* into the mercantile economy. In an attempt to expand the city and build an Italian town west of the walled city with modern buildings and to expand large scale agriculture for colonial settler food self-sufficiency, the Italians paid compensations for the landed property (Haile Larebo, 2006). As a result a few Hararis took the compensation in return for the loss of their productive agricultural fields and turned their livelihood into mercantile economy by opening retail and wholesale shops in what is now known in Amharic *Andagna Menged* (First Avenue), which was originally *Amir uga* (Amir's boulevard). According to extant sources the most affected part of Harar in this process of Italian confiscation of agricultural fields was found in areas outside the *Asma'a din Bari* section of the city. Most of the farms outside the *Asma'a din Bari* were reputedly destroyed and were converted to residential, municipal and market areas. The present day military base is also located in this section(Waldron, S., 1974).

In his research : *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia (2006)*, Haile Larebo argues that the Italians forcibly confiscated the land of the native peasantry and distributed it to their settler colonies in an attempt to augment settler agricultural production. He also indicated that agricultural concessions were given to Italian companies in Harar. Accordingly, 124 companies were given a total of 65,878 hectares (Htrs) of land from which they cultivated only 11,700 Htrs. These confiscations and evictions of the natives affected the whole of the cultivators including private owners and *gult* owners while the majority of the cultivators were turned into tenancy (Haile Larebo, 2006).

3.4. Haile Sillasje and Land Tenure

The post-1941 era was a period among the Harari in

which their right to land was disenfranchised. With the return of the emperor, again Harari lands surrounding the city were confiscated and were given to his soldiers and individuals with a rather dubious arrangement called *balewileta*. There were two types of land here: *Milki* land and *gey fagay* land. The former was a land that was within the range of 5 kms surrounding the city and only *meeri* tax was paid, while *Hundene* land was a land encircling the city beyond 5 kms range. Owners of *gey fagay* land were expected to pay both land tax and *Asrat*. *Hundene* land was mainly coffee land, which was traditionally owned by women through dowry. Confiscation of *gey fagay* lands were made by such infamous individuals as General Kebede Gebre, who had the reputation of granting land which was even covered by forest, thereby contributing the already accelerated deforestation processes (Informants).

The other blatant confiscation of land was observed in the archives consulted. A certain Nuria Hassen had inherited land and house around *Badro Bari* from her deceased father in 1955. These properties as the claimant stated in her series of letters she submitted since 1955, went into the official registration of private properties on *Hujjah* under her name with all the demarcations indicated on the *Hujjah*. However, Emperor Haile Sillasie took this private property and made it part of his '*rist-gult*' land and later the property was transferred to Princess Tenagnework. As a result the repeated application of Nuria Hassen became frivolous (Archive). There were numerous cases of such nature in the archives regarding land taken by where the '*Bete Rist*' of the Emperor had taken lands.

In the post-1941 era, the Harari had been repeatedly declared their plight and appealed against oppression by the imperial government. One of the major causes of these repeated appeals and their resentment, through letters to the Emperor was the issue of taxation. There were repeated applications in the 1940s. One of the letters

written on *Sene* 9, 1937 EC (June 16, 1945) was the issue of taxations related to the payment of *meeri*-tax on *milki* lands. *Meeri* tax was taped to the region during the governorship of *Ras Makonen* in 1913/14. In their letter addressed they claimed that they were paying an exorbitant amount of land tax not comparable with that of non-Harari settlers. Besides, they were forced by the state officials to pay *Miri* tax for the last 20 and 30 years for which neither their forefathers nor other none Hararis did pay. But the reply they were given by the government was that these lands were no longer their property as their fathers has sold the property and their names did not appear on the *Hujjah*. (Archive) In another letter written on *Miyaziya* 29, 1933 EC (May 7/8 1941) the Hararis were forced to pay different kinds of taxes which were not officially recognized by the government and, therefore, not levied on other people even in, and around, Harar. Some of these taxes were:

- A. They were expected to pay tax on the gates of Jugal for each bull they bought from markets for meat. Since they bought the animals markets where taxes are officially collected, they opposed the second payment of tax.
- B. They were expected to pay on the gates of the city for goods they produced on their farmsteads such as honey, butter, coffee, etc.
- C. Tax on the occasion of the wedding ceremonies and the customary dances associated with the ceremonies(Archive).

Another aspects of oppression by the imperial government and its confiscation of property, was associated with the accusation of the Harari with a political movement called *Kulub-Hannolato*. But here, suffice to say, that those who were arrested and taken to prison due to their involvement in this political

movement, had lost their properties which were put under the custody of the imperial government. In fact, those who had shops, or any other business enterprise had their property registered and were administered by the so-called *wakil*. For the daily upkeep of their family, a meagre stipend was given through the *wakil* and the rest of the income, especially if the confiscated property was a shop, was channelled into the government's coffer. It was from this income that the government covered most of the costs of the prisons such as stationery cost, transport and per diem, petroleum gas for cars, car repair and others (Archive).

The agricultural base of the Harari economy was permanently impaired by the 1975 land reform of the *Dergue*. The proclamation declared any agricultural land must belong to the actual farmer and the maximum size of the farmland should be within the limit of 40 *gasha*. Up to the year 1974, most Harari farmers worked jointly with daily labourers. When the agricultural land reform programme was declared by the military regime the hired labourers became *de facto* owners, while the women and the elderly Harari farmers lost the land they had acquired as dowry, either by force or through wrong implementation of the proclamation. Oromo tenants in this case became *in situ* holders (Archive). Today, Hararis nostalgically recall the memory of fruits and vegetables that were once abundantly available in Harar and its environs. Due to the revolution and its reforms, the fruits and vegetables which were once the distinctive features of Harar, significantly declined, particularly, since most of the land was planted with *chat*, as cash crop to generate revenue to support the needs of the ever increasing family members and cover the costs of off-farm products.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. TRADE, CURRENCY AND CRAFT

4.1. Trade

Trade is the other most important economic activity in Harari history. Harar's geographical position and its political importance as a long-standing City State with established connections to both the hinterland, and the external world ensured its development as a major commercial centre (Belete Asante, 2005). Furthermore, Harar is located at a point where several East African trade routes converge. In general, for centuries, Harar had a solid advantage of being located on one of the major trade routes which linked the Northern and Southern regions of the Ethiopian plateau (Bahiru Zewde, 2002).

The centuries-long struggle and war between the Muslim Sultanates, on the one hand, and the Christian highland kingdom, on the other, were generated and nurtured by the urgent desire to control the lucrative trade routes that traverse the vast lowlands of the Muslim sultanate to the coast of Zaila' on the Gulf of Aden.

Hararis are active traders and Harar was essentially a commercial city. It had historical and long-standing trade relations with the interior parts of Ethiopia - mainly Ifat, Awsa, Arsi and Bale. Along the coast it was directly or indirectly connected with Tajura, Dongarit, Ras Kore, Bandar Ziad, Ras Hafon, Awbia, Brawa, Mogadishu, Kismayo and even Zanzibar. Through these trade centres, Harar had secured access to, or could establish contact with, the east and west coasts of the Red Sea, the cities lying along the Persian Gulf and even with the Indian cities of Mumbai and Karachi (YusufAhmed, 1961).

In trade also the Hararis share their entrepreneurship experience to Ethiopia. Regarding this Haile Selassie himself went as far as

establishing a joint business firm with a renowned Harari entrepreneur, *Qagnazmach* Haji 'Abdussamed. The first coin of Menelik was also minted in Harar; thereby, speeding up and modernizing the Ethiopian commercial activities.

4.1.1. Items of Export

The major export products of Harar were agricultural. The main items were coffee, tobacco, safflower, saffron, hides and cattle. Milk, butter and ghee were also exported (Caulk, R., 1977). But Harar also served as a major trading centre and depot for goods, *en route* to the interior or the coastal regions, such as ivory (which was the monopoly of the *Amir*) from elephant hunting (south of the city), civet and slaves. Slaves were brought from Kaffa and its adjacent regions and were sold in Shewan markets for a few metres of Indian textiles (Caulk, R., 1977). The Somali supplied the markets of Harar with gum, salt, and ostrich feather. Export of local goods included, locally woven cloths (*tobe* and *shash*) considered equal to the celebrated cloth of Shewa'; earrings, bracelets, wax, honey, sorghum, wheat, mules etc. (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961).

4.1.2. Import Items

Import items to Harar consisted largely of textile products: European, American, Chinese or Indian sheeting; copper, zinc and lead beads and coral-coloured silk threads, salt, dates, rice and sugar. Other items from abroad, which were rarely imported, and only in small quantities, include paper and gunpowder, rifles and watches. The imported goods were sold to the traders in the city, who, in turn sold them in small quantities to the public. Likewise, retailers of the rural regions bought their goods from the town traders, transported them to the remotest parts of the country for sale in the villages (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). Honey, ostrich feathers, and coffee were the common items for which goods were exchanged.

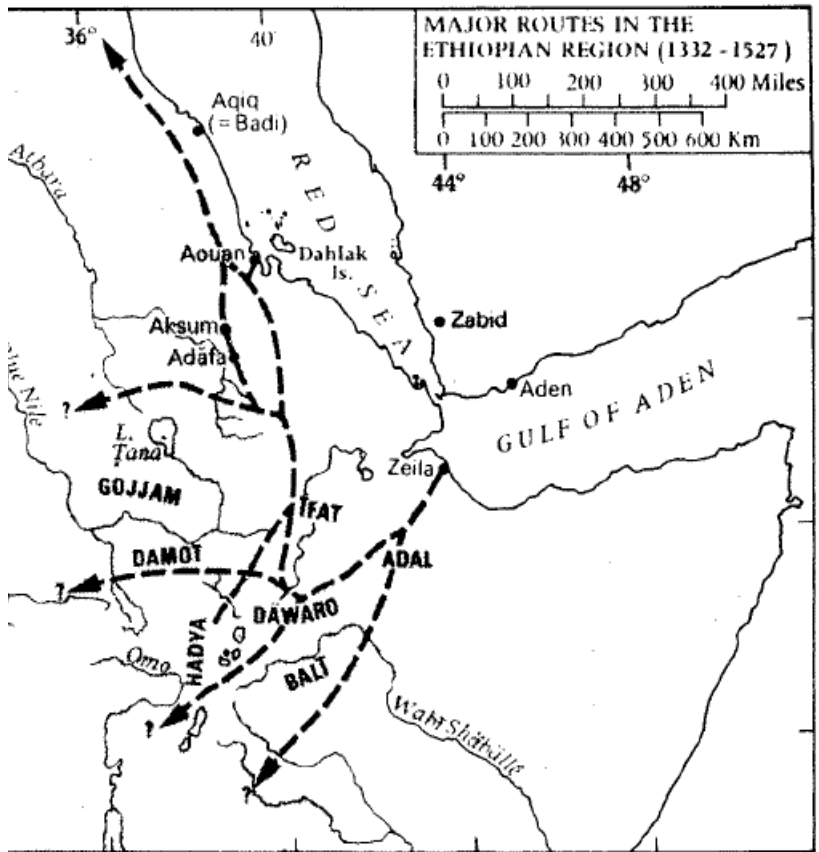
4.1.3. Large Scale Foreign Trade

Large scale foreign trade was carried out individually or co-operatively, according to the means of the traders. Financially able merchants could organize for themselves a complete caravan consisting of 30 camel or donkey-loads for export (YusufAhmed, 1961). Paulitschke says that there were about seventy caravans in a year reaching the town from the coast. (Paulitschke, 1988) On the other hand, Burton claims that “three caravans leave Harar every year for the Barbara market” (Burton, R., 1956). Describing the same situation for the ports of Zaila' and Barbara, Harris tells us that these two ports were visited thrice in a year by large caravans (Harris, CW., 1842). This asserts that Harar was the hub of commerce in the Horn. The caravans seem to have been important since their control would provide undisputed command over the wealth of Harar.

Merchants who were not able to cover the full expenses of the caravans form a group to share the cost of such an undertaking. Merchants with only small quantities of goods for disposal would get these merchants to sell their goods for them in the markets of Barbara and Zaila' and purchase other goods for them which they would sell in Harar (YusufAhmed, 1961).

4.2. Trade Routes and Alliances

Maintaining open trade routes or devising means for the safety of individual caravans were the major problems of the merchants due to the wide-spread banditry in the major trade routes. While travelling through the desert from the coast to Harar, Burton clearly described the conditions he encountered and concluded that trading conditions were not easy (Burton, R., 1956).



Map 7:- Major Routes in the Ethiopian Region (1332-1527)

In the 19th century the jurisdiction of the *Amirs* was limited to Harar and its close environs, while the whole trade routes to the coast passed through Oromo and the Somali territories. There were only two practicable routes: one was the Jaldeissa, through Somali Issa and Nole Oromo territories, the other of Darny through the Gadaboursi. The Somali, who held a monopoly as

transporters, took full advantage of the prevailing conditions and the merchants were the victim of all forms of abuse and extortion (YusufAhmed, 1961). Under these circumstances, the prices of commodities transported from the coast to Harar were exceedingly high. As an example, Mukhtar mentions the case of salt, which cost a trivial amount at the coast, but went for a price of 20 *piasters* for one *ankabe* (a bag of 3.5 kg) in Harar (Muhammed Mukhtar, 1877). The conventional means of ensuring safe transit through these territories was to hire an *Abban*. Explaining this state of affairs Yusuf writes:

Different clans of various tribes had their own Abban or caravan protector, who would supply the camels, mules or donkeys needed, and the workers to lead the caravan. Whenever a merchant wanted to dispatch his goods, he made his arrangements through the Abban. Once the goods were loaded and passed to him, it was the Abban who was responsible for their delivery at the place of destination. This was usually Barbara, Zaila' or Tajura along the coast or else Ifat, Awsa or Bale in the interior there, the owner's agent, should there be one, would receive the goods (YusufAhmed 1961).

It would appear that the owner or his agent was not required to accompany the caravan. In some cases, however, Yusuf, based on the Arabic manuscript, had established that certain individual merchants or their agents such *aw*-Sid Hamo, and *aw*-'Abdullahi Idris, travelled to Zaila' and as far as India(YusufAhmed1961).

4.3. Amirs in Trade Activity

One of the few debatable issues in trading activities in Harar was the role of the *Amirs*. Some sources indicate that many *Amirs* had been actively engaged in trade for

their personal wealth (Burton, R., 1956).

But some sources, oral and written, indicate that it was only *Amir* Mohammed bin 'Abd ash-Shakur who practiced trade for his own personal profit (Muhammed Mukhtar, 1877). According to the latter sources, the other *Amirs* were importing goods for their home supplies and government needs only. Yet, there is evidences that indicate the *Amirs* had indeed participated in trade. The last two *Amirs* before the Egyptian occupation were actively involved in the profession. According to Burton, one of the major occupations of *Amir* Ahmed was accumulating wealth through trade (Burton, R., 1956).

He was also remembered as having an enormous reserve of silver, coffee, and ivory which were apparently hoarded for trade. All written sources agree on the fact that *Amir* Muhammad had monopolies over certain commodities such as ivory, ostrich feather, musk and some kinds of imported canvas (Muhammed Mukhtar, 1877).

In general, it can be surmised that the *Amirs* engaged in trade but the extent of their trading activities entirely depended upon their personal inclinations and needs. The *Amirs* did not handle their commercial business themselves. They had agents (*wakeel*) who traded on their behalf. During the reign of *Amir* Mohammed bin 'Abd ash-Shakur the agents, who were known to have acted on his behalf at one time or another, were: 'Abdullahi Idris, 'Abdurrahman Ghazali, and 'Ali Sadiq. Under the supervision of these agents the caravan would be entrusted to *abbans* (caravan protector), who usually belonged to the Issa or Gadaboursi when destined to the coast and to Jarso when destined for the interior (YusufAhmed 1961).

Concerning the role of *Amir* Mohammed 'Abd ash-Shakur in trade and the overall economic performance of the

Emirate, sources are divergent. Among Hararis the reign of *Amir* Mohammed was considered as a period of betrayal because he imposed his tyranny against on his people (YusufAhmed 1961). The *Amir* monopolized the lucrative trade goods such as ivory, slaves and coffee; thus, making himself rich and the merchants of the city poor (Muhammed Mukhtar, 1877). The Oromo tradition further claims that the *Amir* encouraged the Oromo to plant coffee, *chat*, sugarcane, bananas and other fruits in Mojo valley, south of Garamullata (Muhammed Hasan, 1980).

4.4. Post-Conquest Trade

During the Egyptian period, especially under the governorship of Mohammed Nadi Pasha, Harar's commercial emporium in the region had been coveted by powers from far and wide; for instance, in the 19th century from as far as Turkey, Egypt, France, Italy and Great Britain (though the latter indirectly) (Muhammed Hasan, 1990).

A good and specific example in this regard was, European merchant Xavier Alfred Bardey who had settled in Harar establishing trading houses. These European merchants mostly purchased coffee and hides for export and imported European goods. Throughout the decade, commercial activities intensified and the yearly circulation of caravans between Harar and the coast increased from 70 to 400 per day. This success was attributed to the Egyptians who were said to have made the trade routes to the sea safe and improved the import and export of goods (Muhammed Hasan, 1990).

The Egyptians consolidated and modified the old and aged Hararis customs office at the five gates of the city, which later became a prototype to be imitated in all parts of Ethiopia to collect taxes for the then-regimes. Prior to the Egyptian occupation, these five gates were already

used as checkpoints for immigrants, tax collecting posts; and quarantine supervisions, for unhealthy animals as well as lumbers that were affected by termites.

Commodity concept was augmented at the time of Egyptian period and covered every type of product sold in the market, except bread which had not appeared, as yet, in the local market. Hence, market economy expanded in Harar, in addition to the technological transfer attained through modern trade and property registrations, as well as partial vital statistics registration such as birth, marriage, were processed.

From near, the Christian kings, and more particularly, Menelik had always coveted Harar because its control would provide Shewa with the best route to the coast and its lucrative trade as well as its revenues. The strategic importance of Harar for Ethiopia, in terms of trade was evidenced by Menelik's occupation of Harar in 1887. Harar's cash revenues and its access to Djibouti made the re-arming of Ethiopian soldiers possible and the victory at Adwa in 1895-96 complete (Muhammed Hasan, 1990). The economic importance of Harar was also seen immediately after its incorporation to the Ethiopian empire. Menelik sent *Ras* Mekonnen to Rome to sign a Treaty whereby the Italian Government agreed to lend Menelik 4,000,000 Lire on the security of the customs revenues of Harar. That trade of Harar should be used as collateral at this point to secure an international loan, suggests the value of the regional centre to the overall economy of the country (Starkie, E., 1938). It is also worth mentioning that it was during the Italian occupation that the modern transportation system was established in Harar.

One major transformation, after the battle of Adwa, in trade was the predominance of foreigners in controlling external trade. As a result of this development, Ethiopian traders including Hararis were invariably relegated to

internal and local trade (Bahiru Zewde, 1991). In fact, Harar continued to serve as an important trade centre, frequently visited by foreign merchants and missionaries. A good example was the first French merchant Alfred Bardey. The French adventurer and trader Arthur Rimbaud was another example; soon to be followed by merchants of other nationalities vis. Italians, Greeks, Armenians and Indians. Taurin, a catholic missionary, was also allowed to settle in the city and bought the compound, which was previously a Turkish palace (Muhammed Hasan, 2010). In fact, the Catholics had tax exemption privilege in Harar. An important aspect of the influence of the French missionaries in Harar could be seen with the establishment of a French coffee company called Mocha Harar Abyssinia in early 20th century (De Salviac, M., 2008).

The production of the-then state-of-the-art knitted garments, and beautiful commodities which used to be offered to the foreign market failed, and the artisans were relegated to the same fate as were those in other artefacts and household industries, after Haile Sillasié's occupation. Consequently, the human resource depletion and flight of skill brought the sector to a standstill. It was also an era of influx of immigrants from the north to Harar to the extent that the resident Hararis were reduced to a minority in their own land. Furthermore, the city had become a military garrison (Informants).

Harar's economic pre-eminence started to decline with the opening of the Ethio-Djibouti railway, and its terminus at Dire Dawa in 1902. The railway's original destination was planned to be Harar. But due to the mountainous nature of the important section of the line to Harar and the consequent high cost, it was decided to divert the route to Dire Dawa. Furthermore, the construction of the airport in Harar, at Dire Tayara, which began in earnest and according to plan slowed and eventually stopped due to, alleged lack of labour force.

The project was also shifted to Dire Dawa and thus, the young town replaced Harar as a vital transit route for Ethiopia's access to the sea (Shiferaw Bekele, 1995). In the event, the emerging mercantile sector of Harar faced the difficult choice of either abandoning Harar for better markets, or stagnation. With the economic upheaval of the 1970's, however, Hararis began to leave the city for the first time in significant numbers with no plan to return home compelled by economic rationality that competed against living in the old city of Harar (Gibb, C., 2005).

Hararis were subjected to a series of dispossession by the Military administration of the Dergue: their land, rural agricultural properties, urban spaces, and houses were confiscated indiscriminately. In addition, native Hararis lost their businesses; particularly retailers were replaced by a variety of cooperatives engaged in tailoring, fabrics, sewing, small shops etc... Moreover, the youth abandoned their homes, due to fear of the red terror, atrocities and massacres perpetrated by militias. They left their homes in permanent migration which resulted in the loss of two Harari generations. The negative impact was clear as poverty predominantly prevailed in Harar; and this historic city, a repository of Harari heritage, owner of memorable sites that were frequented and adored by tourists, were turned into slums as its frustrated citizens heedlessly abandoned Harar.

4.5. Currency

When long distance and local trades are discussed, at some length, the question that naturally arises is the medium of exchange, which in turn, leads into the question of currency. Harar is, indeed, one of the few ancient centres of civilization which had minted its own coinage, just like Axum (Ahmed Z., 1991).

In the 14th century in South-eastern Ethiopia, Dinars were used and in subsequent centuries a number of other

similar currencies were minted in Egypt. It has been reported that after the wars of *Imam* Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi there was a general economic depression in *Harar* and its surroundings, which was triggered by the devastating famine. The economy of the Emirate was adversely affected. A unit of measurement called *Sa'a*, which amounts to four handfuls of *Durrah* (sorghum) came to be worth 12 *ashrafi* (Harari currency) and a *Sa'a* of salt was sold at 15 *ashrafi*. A cow was said to have been worth over 300 *ashrafi*. The economy gradually revived from the effect of the famine and food prices became lower. *Durrah* cost four or five *mahalaq* (i.e. the lower denomination of *ashrafi*). During the reign of *Amir* NurMujahid (1551-1568), another famine set in and once again the price of *durrah* rose to two *ashrafi* (Ahmed Z., 1991).



Figure 20:-Samples of coins bearing the names of the owner and “La ilaha illa, Allah” on the reverse side (12th century)

Source: SHCM

In fact, each *Amir* used to mint his own coin, which was called *ashrafi*; the outgoing *Amir*'s coin (i.e. the outdated currency) was called *sicka*.

According to Barker, Maria Theresa Thalers were also used

as currency, concurrently with the Harari coins. In addition, he details the transaction values of the different currencies circulating in Harar, and indicated that a small copper coin called *mahallaq* came into use, 22 of which were equal to a nominal coin called *ashrafi* and 40 of the latter equal in value one German crown. The *mahallaq* resembles the *Dewani* of Jeddah; on one side is inscribed in Arabic character *La Ilaha Illa Allah* and on the reverse the name of the reigning Amir (Barker, W. C., 1842).

On the other hand, Crittenden, writing in 1848, six years after Barker's account, gives additional information about Harari coins used in the Somali coast. He explained the *ashrafi* stamped at the Harari mint is a coin unique to the place. It is of silver, and is the 22nd part of a dollar. The only sample coin that, he claims, to have obtained bore the date 910 of the *Hijria*, with the name of the Amir on one side, and on its reverse side *La Ilaha Illa Allah*. He also mentions that gold was used at the time of *Amir*'Abd ash-Shakur (Crittenden, C. F., 1848).

The other major source, of information on mid-19th century coins of Harar, (probably an eye witness), is Richard Burton's (1885) account. He stated that the currency in use at that time was called *mahallaq* and that

It bears on one side the words Zaribet al-Harar, - the coinage of Harar. On the reverse is the date AH 1248. The Amir pitilessly punishes all those who pass in the city any other coin (Burton, R., 1956).

Burton also provides information on the market transactions he witnessed in Harar. He reported the prices of market commodities, including those for slaves, as follows: price of female slaves varied from 100-400 *ashrafi*, and boys were sold from 9 to 150 *ashrafi*; and according to Burton's observation, in-mid 19th century Harar, 120 chickens or 66 full grown fowls cost only a

dollar(Burton, R., 1956).

Crittenden's coin is dated 910 AH (1504) which was long before the reign of *Amir* Aboubaker. It might be a remnant of an earlier circulation which was used as far as *Ras Asseyr* on the Somali coast, where Cruttenden, C, J. (1848) bought his only specimen. That might be an indication of the extent of the circulation of Harari coins outside the city. This assumption might be strengthened by the fact that recent works reveal that some Harari coins were found in Mogadishu (Ahmed Z., 1991). In fact, some works have also found out hordes of Harari coins around Chalanqa at the Kabanawa site (Ahmed Z., 1991).

Nowadays in the Sharif Harar City Museum, coins minted in Harar dating 1300 AD are exhibited.

It was during the times of *Amir* 'Abd ash-Shakur (1783-1794) that regular mintage of Harari coins was strengthened and large-scale circulation of coins was witnessed. *Amir* 'Abd ash-Shakur was considered as one of the richest men in Harar and was known for the strengthening of the mintage of coins in Harar. From Mukhtar's account it is observed that the *Amir* ordered everyone who had the old currency to exchange it for new, debased coins. The exchange rate was fixed so that for every 2,200 old pieces there would be 100 new replacement ones (Ahmed Z., 1991).

During the Egyptian period, the Egyptians were contemplating to abolish *Amir* Muhammad's currency which was highly inflated beyond its intrinsic value. Rauf Pasha, the Egyptian commander of Harar, appears to have initially suspended Harari coins from circulation. With the expectation to replace them with Egyptian currency, he also wanted to determine their silver content, and hence, sent some samples to Cairo for analysis. The Egyptian government, however, was not able to provide more than 100,000 *piasters* in silver, and 300,000 in

bronze, and therefore, advised Rauf Pasha to retain the local currency. The Egyptians attempt to introduce a new currency failed and two currencies were in circulation by then Harari and Egyptian (*piaster*-made of silver and bronze) currencies were in use side by side. However, the *mahallaq* was devalued to 311 *mahallaq* for one Maria Theresa Thaler (Ahmed Z., 1991).

After ten years of occupation, the Egyptians handed over the government to *Amir*'Abdullahi (1885-87), the son of *Amir* Mohammed bin 'Abd ash-Shakur, who continued the tradition of minting coins in his reign of barely two years. After his defeat by Emperor Menelik II, at the battle of Chalanqo, and the subsequent incorporation of Harar into the Ethiopian feudal empire state, Harar stopped to mint its own coins. However, Harar became the first centre of mintage of coins for the Ethiopian state. Emperor Menelik's first coins were minted in Harar bearing the date 1885 EC (Ahmed Z., 1991). Harar thus, remains the link between the ancient Axumite coins and the modern one



Figure 21:Emperor Menelik's Coins Minted in Harar

CHAPTER FIVE

5. TOURISM AND CRAFT INDUSTRY

5.1. Tourism

Tourism is travel for recreation, leisure, religious, family business purposes, and usually of a limited duration. Tourism is commonly associated with transnational travel, but may also refer to travel to another location within the same country. With the end of the Second World War and with international travel numbers increasing, towards the end of the 1960s, the need for further transformation to enhance its role to international level became apparent. In effect, it is only a recent phenomenon. Further, world States began to consider it as one source of income to their countries, only since the mid-twentieth century. But on the other hand, some sources maintain the existence of tourism related activities during the medieval period in some countries.

Harar, as one of the strong medieval empires, was involved in tourism which could be traced back to the time of Sheikh Abadir's Confederal States, centered at Harar. *Aw-Abadir* reinforced the link of its neighbouring clans with the city of Harar through commercial interaction based on mutual benefit and interest. This policy of *aw-Abadir* established strong interdependence of the clans among themselves and that created a continuous movement of people in and out of Harar, thereby, paving the way for host-guest relationship.

Domestically also the '*ziyara*' (visit) to the Awach sites, is one of the activities, that explains the existence of tourism-related activities in Harar. In the *ziyara* individuals or groups bring with them some gifts (*chat*, some money, cattle) to the site. Accordingly, some of those gifts were immediately consumed (*chat*), some of the money distributed among the members of the site,

while the rest was used for running the site administration. This ziyara activity gradually expanded to the extent that even people around Harar also participate. These tourism related activities played their part in creating economically strong, and politically influential Harar in the region, leading Harar to be considered as a capital of the Horn of Africa.

Further the strategic location of Harar also increased the international importance of the city, enabling to attain a prominent position as the commercial centre linking the trade between the Middle and the Far East on one hand and the Horn of Africa on the other.

Nowadays, tourists come to Harar attracted by its historical Jugalrampart, the unique Harari traditional houses; numerous *Awach* scattered within the wall and outside, the palace of Amir 'Abdullahi, the four museums: the Harari National Museum, Harar Sheriff City Museum, the Harari Ethnographic museum, and Arthur Rimbaud Museum, and participate in the *Ashura* ceremony celebrated on the 10th day of the first month of the new Islamic Calendar year.

These sites and events have their own economic advantages generating substantial revenue. Further, they have created new opportunities for the employment of citizens. This is a special advantage for a city which is emerging as a vibrant economy in the regional geopolitics.

In this regard tourism has influenced local economic activities by increasing the sales of the high skill local handcrafts and cultural items such as the Harari basketry, jewellery, wood and embroidery products as well as others, designed and produced in ways that meet the demand of tourists.

Today the city of Harar can be considered as a product,

the walls the streets and cultural houses by the natives' strive conserved and reproduced, their historic environment, that of squares and streets of houses of mosques and tombs that make Harar an exceptional and unique city in Africa (Ayub, A., 2005).Harar just as the central cities of Mombassa and Lamu (Kenya) as Barawa and Mogadishu (Somalia) and on the stone city of Zanzibar, it is the product of Muslim culture imported in to the Horne of Africa several centuries ago(Revault, 2004).

5.2. Craft Industry

Historic Harar is a pre-industrial city where large-scale industries played a minor role in the economy. But there were small scale local industries important in production of goods and commodities for the needs of the people. Further, there existed other economic activities of the Harari people worthy of note, such as weaving, gold and silver, black-smithery, wood-working, tannery, building, book-binding and teaching. Though these activities did play important role in the daily economy of the country, they could not be developed to the level of significant contribution to the economic activity of the urbanites. Weaving was at one time a well-developed occupation and produced high quality cotton cloths using local cotton. The materials used for weaving were also produced locally. Similarly, the woodwork was at one time, in the past, an advanced Harari occupation which introducedto the surrounding Oromo wooden plates and utensils (YusufAhmed, 1961).

The sources of the raw wood were the forests surrounding the city. From these forests, the Hararis produced wood products used for the construction of their traditional houses. All sorts of home utensils before their replacement by the recently introduced plastic products were also largely produced from wood. The agricultural equipments used by farmers were also produced by these

craftsmen.

The other activity for which Harar was well-known, even in the outside world, was the art of book-binding which will be dealt with herein below under 'Harari Manuscript and Book-binding Skills'.



Figure 22:-Harari Wooden Art craft

PART THREE

Social and Cultural History of Hararis

It is evident that, particular population, purposely or unintentionally, shapes its environment, and the ways in which it relates with the environment define its culture and socio-economic and political life (Philip et. al, 1996). Accordingly, the prevailing close cultural affinity and psychological identity that Hararis have established with the region through historical processes that lasted centuries witness that they are the founders.

In basic definition a Nation, Nationality or people is a group of people who have or share a large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable predominantly contiguous territory.

In corollary to the above definition, social history upholds reflection of political, economic, social, cultural aspects and portrays comprehensive image of the society. The Harari social history bears the collective and group life events and happenings, past and present. This Part III presents the Harari social institutions, highlights the inherent features that established the inner solidarity of its people, and further submits the distinguishing factors that inculcated Harari self-identification, and subsequently justifies the rationale that sustained Hararis history, custom, tradition as well as the warp and woof of the unity and harmony of its people.

The cultural history contains the material culture (the tangible heritage) of the Hararis. The long-time endeavours in material productions that depicted the society, in addition to the feelings and thinking that extended from the material culture to the psychological makeup, the cultural reform and revolution undertaken;

and the social holidays of Hararis, as well as a few of the elements that identify and distinguish the Hararis. The intangible heritages, too, are treated in this part. The last Chapter deals with the Harari language, literature, oral tradition, and sets down brief notes regarding the performing of arts.

CHAPTER ONE

1. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF HARARIS

Hararis social history is based solely on the social life of organizations or groupings identified by age, and sex and social obligations. Friendship is the basis for these groupings which are strictly gender – differentiated. The male friendship is called *marignnat* that of girls and women is *geilnat*. The fraternity begins from childhood up to adolescence, a stage, at which it enters into the *mugad* grouping. It is at this stage that the groups assume societal obligations. Next, *mugads* will progress to the *Jama'ah*, level where a new entrant is accepted, provided he or she shares the same interests. Lastly, every married person must join *afocha*. There is also an all-inclusive *afocha* known as *Hammisti Bari Afocha* which is *ad-hoc* in nature. It should be noted that none of the fraternities, sororities or association have gender-mixed membership. The members of these traditional associations are fully committed and truly exercise the right to self-determination of the Harari people.

The traditional associations are institutions, in the sense that they existed and prevailed over historical time, within the context of Harari customs and norms. They are institutional, too, for they did have their own rules, regulations, obligations and rights with proper formal leadership to render definite social services to the people.

The social institutions were, in fact products of Harari conscience and thoughts established to serve and preserve the culture, custom, norm and more importantly assisted the people, to form and establish

Harari ways of life and thereby develop and reinforce their self-identity.

1.1. Types of Organization

1.1.1. Marignnat / Fraternity/and Geilnat / Sorority or women'sPeer Groups

Both groups have the same age, they may be in one neighbourhood or classmates; they begin their friendship at the early ages of childhood, and will maintain it throughout their life. They play or study together but no societal obligations are assigned to them at this stage.

Harari society is characterized by an intricate mosaic of associations and obligations to ensure a very high degree of social solidarity. Fraternal friendship provides another dimension of Harari society and is strongly defined in mutually exclusive groups of men and women. Waldron too, underlines, in the context of the traditional institutions, "If kinship in Harar provides a network which links all Hararis in a system of differentiated status, friendship provides Harari with small groups of trusted equals who retain their association throughout life"(Waldron, S. R., 1974).

This precise perception is clarified by Durri Mohamed, "Each male has a group of close friends, which he begins to form in childhood, which is very important to him in adolescence, and which remains within him throughout his life." (Durri Muhammad, 1955).

1.1.2. Mugad/ Puberty Group

Male and female groups have their own separate friendships. However, a particular male mugad may

form a loose relationship with a distinct female mugad. This is the age in which the mugad accepts the obligation and responsibility to protect the society in any adversity to the extent of sacrificing life.

“The mugads of Harar were semi-permanent groups formed of both boys and girls of the same age (older than 15 or 16), and from the same neighbourhood. Social segment categorically, shared feature of dynamism. Harari belongs to only one small closed group of one another; friendship is formed in early youth primarily among neighbouring children of the same age.” (Durri Muhammed, 1955).

An identifying feature of a Harari mugad (also usual to the young anywhere) is the age-related interest of being fond of, and vitally promoting, Harari musical art. They performed publicly in organized musical teams with selected solo vocalists. A recent study reads, “Starting from 1950 a wide collection of recording testified the productiveness of mugad (youth association) in composing and performing both local traditional song and poetry and modern musicals particularly inspired by international repertoires.” (Sortori, H., & 'Abdulmuheymin, 2010).

The types and contents of their music were distinct. “They were specific songs for their occasions but they picked one from the common songs such as one which praised their unity and the love that existed among them” (Durri Muhammed, 1955). Durri clarifies to enumerate the subjects of the songs as praise and gratitude to God; deal with devils of our life; address to beloved friends and finally; songs of repentance for evil deeds committed during the day.

Further, the traits that characterize Harari Mugads are: their respective generation's desire for holistic developmental change to anticipate and inevitably

determine the need to learn fighting skills; to internalize courage; and determination and discipline. The ‘berti-berti’ is one example which keeps alive the battle spirit. The various mugads fight at *aw-Wariqa* and *Badro Bari*.

1.1.3. Jama’ah

Of all the solidarity groups and association of Harari’s *Jema’ah* is unique set-up, where emotions play the biggest role. *Jema’ah* also designates a group of persons who are not necessarily bound by friendship or by neighbourhood but rather by a common interest in revering the same holy-man.

1.1.4. Afocha (Association)

Harari traditional social association could be simply categorized as male or main *afochas* and mother’s *afochas*, in general. The Harari *afochas* could be further enumerated as, ‘*garafocha*’, *toyaafochas*, ‘*Mesjidtoyaafocha*’ in the neighbouring, villages, and mosque area respectively. In addition, special professional *afochas* such as *dukkanafocha*, *harshiafocha*, etc. may be formed.

“The several traditional associations hinge on the ability of the people of the city to preserve their identity and social cohesiveness in the face of growing external political and economic pressures and internal social turmoil.” (Waldron, S., 1974). The informers stated that, apart from the mosque, it is single most important social organization for the Harari and a cultural mechanism of identity formation and social control.

The *afochais* the backbone of all social institutions and the vanguard of Hararis. The *afochagoes* side-by-side with other traditional social institutions. The *afocha* and the *toya afocha* (neighbourhood

association) discharge duties of Hararis and preserve its continuity.

1.1.5. Structure of the Traditional Organization

The traditional associations have members, leaders, written or conventional rules, rights, obligations and disciplinary measures. Further, the leaders assume legitimate and appropriate respect of office. A new member is given orientation at time of entry regarding the association's norms by executive committee members. The entrance and membership in main *afochasis* strict, due to the vital importance of the tasks and the heaviness of the burden of the duties, it accomplishes. As such, the degrees of the commitment and devotion to serve the *afocha* unconditionally of the new entrant, is primarily, seriously scrutinized.

The discretion to choose to join is left to the person, who may consult senior persons or discuss the issue with friends. Either way "The choice of which particular *afocha* joins, theoretically is voluntary, although there are predictable elements that influence own choice." (YusufAhmed Waber, 1974). The fact and the tenet presumed is: 'Harari cannot live without *Afocha*'.

The *afochahas* committees, executives, and general meetings. The executives have regular monthly or just weekly meetings. Attendance of general meetings, funeral (burial attendance) and wedding (*Mawlid*) are mandatory without exemption. The women *afochas* are practically and functionally the counterpart of the main *afocha*. To be in main *afocha* is a demanding and lasting undertaking, where serious social tasks are handled and attended to.

In the association, in addition to the functions of

leadership mentioned earlier, there is also job distribution among members such as treasurer, store keeper, accountant, grave digging inspector and relevant funeral activities of recitation of the Holy Qur'an for the deceased at his home, managing the ritual of tending to the body of the deceased.

1.1.6. Role of Traditional Organizations

The traditional associations, i.e. the fraternities, the sororities and the adult *Jema'ah* enhance in their own way, the quality of life of the Harari people and are directly concerned with the societal immediate needs and problems. The ceremonial tasks serve the purpose of bringing people together and pave the way, by creating favourable atmosphere, for public deliberations and, thereby, maintain the continuity of Harari core values.

More earnestly, the *afocha*, although its prime task and function remains, as the observance of funeral and wedding functions, it has mandatory tasks and responsibilities far beyond. *Afochas* play extensive role in mediation and reconciliation and add legal dimensions such as: alternative dispute resolving mechanism; traditional platform to settle issues of inheritance and marriage devolution and engender peace and harmony among disputing parties, out of court. Historically, Hararis used to refer to these social institutions before recourse to *Diwan* for *Sharia*, and to civil courts of government (CarMichaels T., 2010).

Of all the significant traditional associations, documents refer to the *inter-afocha* meetings; otherwise, the '*pan-afocha*' discussion of prevailing Harari social problems, in general, and the *mugad* case on *tunsusin* particular. Two serious issues that amounted to breaches of security were discussed

when the 'pan-*afocha*' met, in 1955 and 1974 and passed important resolution.

The *afocha*; first, "provides frequent occasions for friends, relatives, and neighbours, where news and reports of social irregularities are passed on to corrective family authority; preserving the order of the city." (YusufAhmed Waber, 1974). Second, the thoughtfulness and the conscience of the members and leaders unfolded in their handling of legal matters and personal disputes, devolution and divorce, as well as, succession for inheritance which were settled amicably by *afocha*. Besides, petty offenses, such as assault or even bloody clashes, were resolved in settlements, "calling a police even to critical disputes, or an outsider to settle dispute between two or more Hararis is seen as a threat to the integrity of the Hararis ethnic group" (YusufAhmed Waber, 1974).

In a traditional Dispute Resolving Mechanism, out of court, *afocha* handle conflict with care and wisdom attained from their prior experience of trade route commerce and in propagating *Islam*. It is worthy of note that such services rendered are equivalent to those public *pro bono* aids in the 21st century.

Regarding the political aspects of *afochas*, Hararis discuss, the 'security of their country. A recent study revealed, the important role *afocha* plays in exchanging information, "For that gossip is important in passing along information about the condition of Harar to its citizens and great deal of strategic information is, thus, conveyed in course of *afocha* meeting. A full understanding of events taking place, enables one to discern the strategically important information in circulating interestingly via casual remarks... provide a system of social control for Harari society." (Waldron and Kohen, 1978).

“The several traditional associations hinge on the ability of the Harari people to preserve their identity and social cohesiveness in the face of growing external political and economic pressures and internal social turmoil” (Waldron, S., 1974).

1.1.7. The Harari Women

From close observation of Harari women, the Egyptian Muhammed Mukhtar shed light on the status of Harari women and their role, as well as their collective and individual situation. In a recent study on Harari and Lamu: Comparison of Two East African Muslimsocieties, E. D.Hecht, has ideas alluding to Muhammed Mukhtar, who duly revealed the Harari women’s status stood better than other women. Mukhtar states that “ [Harari] women were known to be good wives, taking also care of part of the economic burden of the household by selling the field produce of her husband’s in local market for stable marriage being one of the good characteristics of a traditional society. ”(*Hecht, E.D., 1986*).The section here reflects the history of Harari women, unfolds the status they have built for themselves through their endeavours, and portrays the magnificent role-model Harari women generally play. Further-more, the survey selects and presents role-model women: fighters, lawyer, social worker and vocalist; in different time, and their specific attributes and diversity.

1.1.8. Status of Harari Women in History

Muhammed Mukhtar, an officer who was in Harar, during the Egyptian occupation commented as quoted by (Hecht, E. D., 1982) that “Hararis, with the exception of the Amir had only one wife whilst divorce was practically unknown. As a natural consequence he adds they are virtuous and chaste.”

Ahmed Zakaria (1982) states:

'Most of all Harari women play an indispensable role for the survival of Harari identity. Their socio-economic dynamics are immeasurable. They dominate the market scene. They give a lively atmosphere to major social interaction, such as wedding, mourning and many ritual practices. They shoulder the responsibility of preservation of the colourful traditional costume and the making of the city-renowned basketry.' (Ahmed Z., 1995).

A woman was also free to speak and make demands on her own behalf and to make appeals for inheritance, divorce or registration of land in her own name. In this respect, Munain herassessment of 19th century manuscripts of court cases specifies that out of the sample of 13 divorces only two were initiated by men (Muna Abubakar, 2005).

1.1.9. Group Participation the 'Baha'

Elisabeth Dorothea Hecht (1980) in the Voluntary Association of Harari Women describes one vital aspect of the Harari women in social history. "The most predominant feature of the social life of the Harari is to be focused in the activities of their voluntary association." She Continues, "Voluntary rotating credit association for women 'Baha' and there are voluntary association *afocha* for adults." (Hecht, E.D., 1982). Membership of both *afocha* and Baha was by choice. The voluntary aspects of such an entry is that a woman or man may choose the association he or she wants to join.

The forum to attain equality for women of that era remained under one option, that is, joining the association regardless of this or that reason. "Harari women, however, feel strongly about membership in an *afocha*. *Afocha* membership gives her

independence in her social activities.” (Hecht, E.D., 1982).

1.1.10. The Oral Tradition about Harari “Gistis” in Silte Zone

According to Silte history and oral information, several Harari men and women elites travelled to central Ethiopia in ImamAhmed’s time and reached the Silte Zone. According to Teshome Berhanu Kamal’s interview of Abd ash-Shakur, a certain public relations officer of Silte Zone, these women known as early mothers, ‘Gistis’; were said to bear names Muluka, Tahira, Shemsia, Zebere, Mekia, Uigelet...etc (Teshome Berhanu, 2008).

The ‘gisti weliyis’, pious women, who arrived in the region from Harar, in search of their husbands disembarked in Silte Zone around the Lake Hareshiton. Teshome goes on, that mosques were built on the sites where Gistis settled. As understood from 'Abd ash-Shakur and other informants details, in Warabe and close vicinity, interestingly narrate oral tradition, well versed to the issue of faith, and subsequent, connect Silte people with Harari Women.

In Kheyredin Tezerra’s book, *Sile Yesilte Hizb Tarik, Bahilinna Quanqua* (2012) Haji Aliyu with five ‘*gistyach*’(plural) came to Alichu Weriro area and to the current Wereda centre. The place where these five pious women settled is known as ‘Five Gists Yafil Soyet’ meaning the five respected early mothers of Silte. The name ‘*Qawatoch*’ too came from these *Gistis*. Gisti Makiya and Muluka went to Hulbareg whereas Gistis Sankura, Gisti Tahira and Shamsia died in Alichu, before 500 years. According to Braukamper, this team of Gistis had its ancient docile in the Eastern part of Ethiopia in the surroundings of Harar. The reason the team left its place of origin

[Harar] is due to its desire to teach and disseminate Islam. They had mosques built for them in their names. According to indigenous writer, Gisti Taheras mosques, unique in Alichu Werero are situated about 39 kms from Warabe. It is hewn mosque, rather historical, frequently visited by locals and tourists.

The Silte people, highly reverent of so adoring the Gistis, identify the place and respect the location even where they rested in breaks in their journey. There are memorial stones at Yafulbuy, at Alichu Werero (Taqot). The five pious Harari women prayed in gratitude. Oral tradition in addition tells that coffee was miraculously piled for them. Taqot means coffee pile, and the place was named accordingly. The 'Gistis' are adored in, celebrated and considered holy women by all. These women are regarded with admiration and deep respect for their faith and prayer and they were loved and respected by the society. The social implication of the story, about the 'Gistis' underscores the dedication of Harari women, to their faith.

CHAPTER TWO

2. ISLAM AND ITS EFFECT IN HARAR

2.1. Introduction of Islam

The Hararis are an entirely Muslim community from the time they accepted Islam. It is further known that Islam came to the land of Habashah and its surrounding areas during the very time of its inception through the first and the second Hijras to the Habashah land.

Oral tradition among the Harari narrates that Islam reached Harar during the life time of the Prophet Muhammad, PBUH. The Harari elders relate the prominent '*zikh*':

Harari	Direct Translation into English
<i>Inbeem alri'enekh</i>	we have not seen you
<i>Warbeen sam'nekh</i>	we heard of you
<i>Amannabeekh Muhammad Rasul Allah</i>	We believed in you O! Muhammad - the messenger of Allah

The Arabic document in the hand of many Harari and Somali elders, explains that Islam reached Harar eight years before Medina (the then Yathrib). The document further elaborates that part of the envoy of the first Hijria to the Habashah land headed by the would be, the third Khaliph of Islam, 'Uthman bin Affan, together with his wife, the Prophet's daughter, Ruqiya bint Muhammad reached Harar in 615 AD, and delivered the message of Islam to the people, and stayed for 4 months. Hence, the name Ruqiya gey, probably depicts, where the envoy stayed.

It is a proven fact that the Hararis had commercial relation with the Arabian Peninsula long before Islam, and most likely heard of it even before the appearance of the first Habashah Hijria envoy.

Furthermore; according to some Arabic manuscripts, Harar is also believed to be the home of Bilal ibn Rabah al-Habashi, a well-known Sahabi (companion of the Prophet) and the first *Muezzin* (Islamic prayer caller) who was taken to Macca as a slave (Abdurahman Aljazuri, 2008).

Therefore, the '*Inbeem alri'enekh*' *zikr* quoted above, the Harari oral tradition mentioned and the Arabic document just discussed earlier, as well as, the region's proximity and relation with the Arab world, prove that, Islam reached Harar and its surrounding regions, at least during the life time of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH). Furthermore, based on the '*Inbeem alri'enekh*' *zikr*, which indicates that the people were waiting for the message to come and accept Islam without resistance, and that the Hararis are fully Muslim community, it is reasonable to conclude that Hararis were the people of the book before they accepted Islam.

2.2. Harar as Centre of Islamic Education and Trade

With the acceptance of Islam by the People of Harar and the surrounding area, the religion began to have strong base. The people had fully accepted and assimilated Islam into their culture. Immediately they devoted themselves to teach and propagate Islam to the neighbouring peoples. It is known that Harar was propagating Islam even long before the time of Amir Haboba, the first King of Harar.

Such a role of Harar had been strengthened with the

appearance of *aw-Abadir* into the life of the people. With the establishment of *Qur'an-gey*(through formal schooling curriculum), by *aw-Sofi* Yahya with the support of *aw-Abadir* and expansion of other Islamic learning centres and the subsequent emergence of great Islamic scholars, Harar's scope of Islamic propagation and teaching expanded to the extent of spreading it regionally as well as internationally. It could be said that, it is unlikely to find a Harari Amir who did not involve himself in propagation of Islam.

But among these Amirs, some became great figures, both in spreading, as well as, in protecting it. Among these *aw-Abadir*, Sultan Sabr ad-Din, Sultan Sa'd ad-Din, Amir Mahfouz, Garad Abogn, Imam Ahmed, Amir Nur, Amir Sadiq, Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur, Amir 'Abd al-Karim, Amir 'Abdallah are worth mentioning. *Aw-Abadir* is the great father of the Hararis who, in his religious knowledge, as well as, diplomatic skill, laid a sound foundation that enabled establishment of a strong Islamic Harari State and later Empire.

These early Sultans, in addition to their efforts of expanding Islamic learning and teaching processes of Harar to international level, spent most of their reigns in defending their people and religion against the Atse's aggression. Amir Mahfouz and Garad Abogn also followed the same pattern, except that the scope in which they practiced was smaller and they were mainly concerned with and preoccupied by, stabilizing internal conflict and bringing unity within their Empire.

Imam Ahmed and Amir Nur, more than any of the others, take the lion's share. These two leaders, besides taking care of the Islamic propagation within their surrounding peoples and pursuing international scholarly relations, they managed to penetrate into the hinterland of the Abyssinian Christian kingdom and

spread and teach Islam there. The Amirs of the 'Ali bin Dawud Dynasty took the rank of teaching and spreading Islam among the newly arrived and rapidly expanding Oromo. It is during this period that Harar happens to be one of the four *Ribats* (outposts) of the Islamic world. It was responsible to propagate Islam in east Africa. This is symbolized by the existence of different *Awachby* the same name Abadir: Badi Abadir in Hargeisa (Somali), Abadir ba-Yazid (Djibouti) and Sheikh Abadir (Gondar) as Islamic propagation centres. Similarly, Ribat (Morocco) for northern Africa; Timbuktu (Mali) for west and central Africa and Hadhramout-Tarim (Yamen) for Arab peninsula were the celebrated international outposts of Islam.

2.3. The Role of Harar in Propagating Islam

In recognition of Harar as the centre of learning' for Muslims in Horn of Africa, a number of places were allocated for her scholars. Al-Azhar University, Cairo, according to Camilla Gibb, Ibn Batuta witnessed, "*Riwaq* in the *Azhar* and in a section of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus... reserved for students from Zaila'." (Ya'qut as quoted by Hirsi Ali) The Yemenite personage in Ethiopia attests the cultural and political exchange between Zaila' Muslim countries and Arabia during the 13th and 14th centuries (Cerulli, E., 1971). In general, as Trimmingham puts it, "Harar has done more to spread Islam over Southern Ethiopia than any other agency." In similar perspective, the confirmation goes as "Harar has been the capital of Ethiopian Muslim state for centuries, and serve as such up to this very day." (Cerulli, E., 1971).

Historians in numerous writings have reported on coming of Islam to Harar ever since the seventh century and that since then, Harar had been involved in propagating the religion in the Horn of Africa. The

role of spreading Islam by Harari had its effects, in producing *Ulama*, and in establishing traditional education system wherever they reached. The Islamic learning and commerce; the twin event reached their peak during the Imam's campaigns as Islam spread farther. The "Important consequence of Ahmed bin Ibrahim's undertaking was having intensified the contacts of the state of Harar with the Muslim world"(Cerulli, E., 1971).

The expansions of Harari connection with the numerous regional destinations, eventually climaxed to the social historical, religious and cultural dimension, but with a strong in-depth impact on Wallo. Harari *Ulama* in Wallo confirmed Islamization in Ethiopia. Many people from Wallo, Arsi and Bale came to learn from Harar and went back to teach in their regions. This was due to the fact that "as the Imam reached a new area, he and his commanders left behind a number of preachers and teachers in various parts to propagate among the indigenous population." (Cerulli, E., 1



Photo 7:-Earlier photo of Grand Jamie' Mosque, Harar

Islamic education, as cultural relation of people to people, was very influential and strong as unforgettably evinced by the numerous *ziyaaras* (visits) that had attracted scholars in particular to the *awachin* Harar. Hussein Ahmed (1992) is explicit to bring out the Harar-Wallo nexus: at the popular level, Wallo Muslims invoke the name of a number of Harari holy-men; the most prominent of whom was Sheikh Abadir. Muslim's of Harar and Wallo were historically linked through different types of interacts that created a complex network of association, such as, ritual deeds, religious orders and visits to *awach*

Harar continued to spread Islam until the appearance of the Dergue in Ethiopia. The eastern Harargey towns did have Islamic schools with Harari teachers' (*ustaz*). Earlier, Islam was spread by merchants who were agents of Islamic propagation among the surrounding Oromo and others. Muhammad (1992) suggests this point in substantiation, "Harari merchants were traders, preachers and teachers among the Oromo. It was directly mentioned by Somali, Afar and Sidama speaking historians about their various political entities." (Elrich, H., 1977).

Between 1529 and 1543 Imam Ahmed's armies occupied the entire country. The Amirs sent propagators to the surrounding people who gradually acquired social and political influence. They were accepted as *Qa'ied al-Jaysh* [*leader of the army*] and were sometimes called Amirs. However, they did not try to be politically independent of Harar and remained loyal to the Amir in Harar ('Abdunnasir Idris, 1992).

2.4. Awach: The Holy Fathers and Mothers of

Harar

Awach (or Enayach) is a place /site established after the name of a great religious man or woman who in their life time contributed to the well-being of the society so that the community members would follow their exemplary deeds. These sites are centres of education, learning and other good deeds.

It was stated that places of belief had become places to learn modern (popular) Islam. The Harari *ada*(culture) and the Islamic faith are in synergy in many aspects. Harar is celebrated as the *Madinat al-Awliya*(city of holy-men). The *awachare* so located that they surrounded the city in defence against coming enemies and for religious propagation. As centres of learning, they disseminate Islamic faith in depth at the local level and, as such, they are an important part of Harari self-identification.

The complete image, the number of *awachach* or *awliych* comes from 'Abdulmuheymin 'Abdunnasir's information, *awach* of Harar are numerous. "One does not know the exact number, since nobody had ever fully counted them ..." Abdulmuheymin tells that, "in the city, there were as many holy-men as the number of days in a year," in an idea that correlates to the days and year. Camellia Gibb too has a total of 365 holy-men in, and around, Harar, one for each day of the year. Recent study by the Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau registered 438 *awachach*. It is commonly believed that once every seven days the *Awliya* congregate at the summit of Mt. Hakim, the mountain which overlooks the city, to discuss the welfare and well-being of the people (Gibb, C., 1996). In the register listing the holy-men of Harar, one counts at least fifteen (37 researched data) women (Enayach)

holy-women (Foucher, E., 1994). It is difficult to establish the definite number of *awach* in Harar; which are, scattered all over the city and beyond.” (Ahmed Z., 2001).

A study paper, by Ayub Abdullahi Jamie highlights thorough and comprehensive tabular information that offers the weekly schedules of these sacred places, on six events, including Qur’an reading and teaching. The paper is entitled ‘*Awachach Min-nat KutwaQiyas*’ (2012). The importance of the work lies in its detail deliberation of the *awach* strength and limitations in appropriate perspective. For Ayub, *awach* render sacred services in addition to ‘*hirgi wa mirgi*’ (place of consultation). The schedule of the work of each *awach* sets unique functions and services they offer in administration and as places of tranquillity for pensioners (Ayub A., 2012).

To sum up, this paper assures that all *awachach* have been registered and their number identified to be 438 in the region; of which 259 are in the Jugal and their functions among others are teaching Holy Qur’an, Iilm (Islamic education), making *zikh*, Du’a for those in need, and prescribe traditional medicine to heal patients, and more importantly, they provide aid and sustenance to pensioners and old people who have no one to support them.

According to Ahmed Zakaria’s writing, some remarks on the *awach* of Harar, the role of the *awach* that surround the city with five concentric circles which are used as defence against incoming enemies. These defence centres developed as Qur’an schools and also as *awach* that served in spreading basic concepts of Islam.

Ahmed Z. (1982) approaches the issue and condenses the core reason in categories. The first, *awachach* are

focal points for spiritual and social concerns; platforms for old traditional beliefpracticed with new Islamic influences. They are forums, to observe syncretic rituals, as well as, links to numerous people to maintain local pilgrimage. The second, they make and enhance institutional centre for learning, in addition; *awachach* contribute to the propagation of Islam.

Awach are chains to link the past with present, “The continuity of the *Awliya* and the power they manifest serve as pillars for the strength of the community.” To add, as Ahmed Zakaria has emphatically described, the *awachas* “important centre of spiritual and social concern”, so does Camilla Gibb who states: “When social, economic and political circumstances have changed, the religious and spiritual virtue of holy-men overrides any value attached to conduct in earthly affairs.” (Gibb, C., 1996).

The *awach* transcend the Harari city extending to the wider Harar plateau, to the coastal territories of Zaila' and Somalia. They do share themes of their people. The shared value in faith is reflected in symbolism. “The connection of Harar with Western Ethiopia is shown by the veneration given to Sheikh Abadir of Harar by people of Limmu and Innararia” (Gibb, C., 1996).

Regardless of the numerous *awachachin* the walled city connections are established to wider coverage. Thus, *awachachare* spatial in the levels of prevalence, locally, Sherif Nur 'Ali in the city; regionally Omar 'Ali (Belbelyti), Charchar, Haja Fej Chalanqoaw-Negus (in Kombolcha), 'Abdul Malik (in Chinakson). The plateau could extend far beyond 'Abd al-Qadir Jeylan having the main mosque in Harar, yet celebrated in numerous places.

2.5. The Traditional Islamic Education

The merit from Islam established Harar as centre for learning in the Horn of Africa, to benefit the Harar plateau, produced excellent Ulama 'as, it locally shaped the Harari educational system of Qur'an gey, Kabeer gar, and Madrasa. A few notes are given herein on this topic. The traditional learning institutions played an indispensable role in '*Qur'an-gey* (primary level), to '*Kabeer gar*' which few writers consider it as Harari traditional "university education" (Burton, R., 1956).



Photo: 8: Quran Gey Students

2.5.1. Qur'an Gey

Harar has its traditional educational system based on Islamic religion. The system enshrines with defined traditional curriculum the syllabus, text books and duration with graduation. The traditional learning begins in "Qur'an-gey", and further goes on and rises to "*Kabeer-gar/Asheer-gar*" and later, advances to madrasa.



Photo 9:-Harari Girls with Traditional Dress on *Kafhaya*&/or *Abaqara matabaq*. Source: *web-site*

Although different hypotheses are put as to when Qur'an-gey started, yet no one dares to deny that it came with Islam. However, the type of 'Qur'an-gey' that prevailed had been established by aw-Sofi Yahyasome 1,000 years ago. A local holy-man *aw-Sofi Yahya* began with *Abadir's* encouragement, to teach children at a place still known as *Qur'an-gey*, at today's *aw-Sofi Awach*. Qur'an-gey shape and nurture the Hararis identity in their childhood(*Faisal A. Husien., 2013*).

2.5.2. Kabeer-Gar (Asheer Gar)

Harar extended the 'informal' education from 'Qur'an-gey' to *kabeer-gar* which is an institute where mature students attend the advanced learning in Islamic doctrine at specific places, after *subhi* at dawn, *asri* afternoon and *Maghreb* evening prayers.

The distinct centres of learning in customization endeavour to internalize ideas and concept as well as

extract the wisdom privileged in 'gey *sinan*' Harari language, an optimum language that allows developing knowledge from *Hadis*, '*Tawheed*', Tajweed and Islamic laws. A member of the students read the daily lesson in Arabic, and the *kabeer* both translates and narrate the details of the verses into Harari language, which in conjunction with his imperative and commentary makes the text relevant to Harari experience of Islam ('Abdunnasir Idris, 1992).

In a study paper, 'Abdunnasir Idris, Traditional Islamic Centres of Learning in Harar, has the synopsis to instructional method. "When a student comes to the *kabeer-gar*, he attends the *kabeer's* lecture. In the evening shift, almost all of students bring their own texts to read. Nonetheless, it is possible that one text could be read by one or two or three students. Besides, "Tafseer, interpretation of the meaning of Holy Qur'an, carried out in Ramadan, only two or three students read while others listen holding the text which is being read and explained." ('Abdunnasir Idris, 1992).

The available venue for traditional learning was just public mosque in addition to many private *kabeer-garachandawach*. The extraordinary school was inclusive in attendance; women were not prohibited, though they were rare. The interesting platform was substantial where principles were realized in classroom, in which students ask and clear any philosophical ideas. The education through the *kabeer-gar*, says Gibb; however, "generally more inclusive, and students may attend at any point in their lives and for any length of time" (Gibb, C., 1996). In this learning idea, morality, judgment on the basis of the faith, and values were so elevated and synthesized. 'Kabeer gar' offer enrolments, as higher learning yet in informal education (Faisal A. Husien., 2013).

Gey Madrasa

Around 1919 (1920) concern for modern education was addressed by 'Firmach' (*Jama'at al-Kheyrat al-Harari*). A transitional effort succeeded by opening a school in a rented one storey house located near *Arab Masjid* for modern education from the information by Badri Qalo and 'Abdullahi Addus. (It was learnt that the rented house was the property of Ahmed Abogn). The land-mark for modern learning began in earnest there and then. The interim house transformed into school proper to *Gey madrasa*. Hararis in Harar, Dire Dawa, Addis Ababa and elsewhere contributed to their extent of their ability towards building the school which opened in 1922. According to informant 'Abdullahi Addus, Madrasa was built entirely by the Hararis who carried stones on their shoulder in *ham-abbew, yekh-abbew*' pro-active cooperation. It is also understood the school had provided education in three levels. The school had extra-curricular activities, such as drama club. As soon as, the school opened a few Oromo boys from rural areas were given scholarships to learn in the school and reside in Harari houses (Ayub A., 2012).

In related information from Sheikh Ahmed'Abdullahi who was educated in Madrasa and became an instructor, Madrasa commenced and closed after a while due to the Italian invasion. It was re-opened in 1941 GC. *The Gey-Madersa*, Harari learning institution, apart from formal education, contributed substantially to political awareness. It was the first modern Islamic school in Harar which taught academic subjects other than Qur'an and 'Arabic' (Ayub A., 2012). The teaching medium of instruction for subjects other than Qur'an was also Arabic. In retrospect, to recall two documents on observed experience are noted below.

There were no establishments for learning. No

endowments as generally in the East and apparently no encouragements to students, books also are rare and costly. None but religious education is cultivated. Further from Richard Burton, “Harar is proud of her leaning sanctity. The professors teach Muslim literature through the medium of Harari.... Kabeer Khalil, Kabeer Yonis and Sheikh Jami the two former scarcely ever quit their houses devoting all their time to study and tuitions” (Burton, R., 1956).

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE SOCIALLY HONOURED AND CELEBRATED HARARI HOLY DAYS

Most of the Harari holidays are basically extensions of Islamic culture; some others are typically rooted in ‘Harari Ada’ (the Harari Culture).

Hararis celebrate nationwide holidays, such as victory days, national commemorative days, etc. with the rest of Ethiopians.

The celebrations range from mere attending public gathering, or mass rally, or street demonstration, particularly, in such cases as anniversaries. The other mode of honouring is the passionate participation in traditional dancing, such as, *dabal* with *zikh*. Similarly for Nabi Mawlid, Second Mawlid, Jama’at al-Berkhadle, the Khatimet day, Haywan Hay, and, of course, Eid and Arafa are formally celebrated. Of all the holidays practiced throughout the country, the Hararis emphasis is on Ashura, Mawlid, and Shawwal Eid, Badri and Khatimet.

3.1. Ashura Event

The tenth day of the month of Muherram, in the Islamic New Year, is venerated in Harar by the elderly members of the community fasting the day; and similarly in Najashi (Tigray). Ashuraday is celebrated in Muslim countries, in general, and with intensive ceremonial practices in some countries. During this time there is a co-incident public event in Harar the *wirshato*, which consists of gourd-smashing and ceremonial porridge feeding of hyenas.



Photo 10:-Men while Porridge Eating Ceremony on Ashura Day



Photo 11:- Hyenas Partaking on Ceremonial Porridge on Ashura Day

Traditionally and more emphatically, elderly Hararis commemorate the day with fasting. Popularly, however, Ashura in Harar involves fascinating festivity rendered in three interesting activities: the first is 'Wirshato', roaming and singing in the city,

and breaking gourds. Second, offering of porridge to one's own neighbours, and people in the vicinity and third in spectacular hyena porridge feeding in numerous Awach. It is noteworthy that the Ashura is expressive of the inherent characteristic of Hararis of interacting with people and communities even with predators in joint partaking of food and sharing happiness at the beginning of every New Year. Wirshato' is gourd breaking of the youngsters, who roam house to house in the village, singing from street to street, break gourds.[See photo on page 256] The event kindles attentions and communicates loud and clear message. The content of the poem of "Wirshato" is thematic perse, articulating as follows:

Harari	Direct Translation into English
<i>Wirshato wirish yasaber</i>	Let bad habits be broken
<i>Wirshato gali yasaber</i>	Let pots be broken
<i>Eher amat Ashurakhom bisharakhom yabordakhu</i>	May next year's Ashura be blessed for you
<i>Allow amat amatum Mubarak yushlakh</i>	May Allah make every year blessed for you
<i>Ehitzignam taleqlakhu</i>	May our younger sister grow up for you and serve you
<i>Abbaye hasan zita husen zita liji yastash</i>	My elder sisister, may he give you good and blessed boy
<i>Ummow din Baraka</i>	Grand Mam, the blessing of the faith
<i>Ummow kudow zi eman raga</i>	Dear Grand Mam, the blessing of your old age
<i>Bartizignaw dalagewa</i>	Even our sticks are tired
<i>Dera daf-daf wizi chif-chif</i>	Rummage through the storage room for us to look for gourd and we are sweating
<i>Khairi bay yansar</i>	Glory for supporters of righteousness
<i>Shari bay yasaber Angatzom yatgamam</i>	Down with the supporters of evil And beheaded

This practice believed to be started after the deposition of Amir Usman al Habashi in mid 16th century, reflecting popular opposition for his despotic character.

Second, Hararis on the particular day prepare quality porridge “shur” food to serve people. At least people from neighborhood or vicinity are offered. The invited feed properly, consumes to sufficiency unhesitatingly without fear and to the proper amount. It is assumed that he who is not satisfied of the proper consumption on this Ashura day, it is believed that, he never be satisfied for the whole year.

Third, spectacular and amazing of Ashura is the glazing and dramatic hyena porridge feeding. It happens in well prepared and well served porridge ‘Shure’ is offered for hyenas at known Awach of Aw Hakem, Aw Abokar or any others.

The hyenas in bunch approaches during evening to consume the porridge. There is a legend of Harari once upon a time that Hararis and hyenas were on dispute and used to attack each other, for long, then one of elders came up with the dream which gives solution to settle the dispute with the beast, that to feed hyenas with porridge which is prepared with different cereal, and this advice was fully implemented, since then peace prevailed. Hence yearly, during Ashura day the porridge is prepared for the hyena every year.

The fascinating dramatic moment takes place just from the bunch of hyena’s arrival; the leader of hyenas approaches the dish to supervise the porridge in quality and sufficiency. The retreat of the hyena’s leader, presumed unsatisfactory, the host certainly improves the content instantly ‘with butter poured like water’. Then appear the whole bunch of hyenas. Again, the second drama attracts attentions of viewer, especially elderly people of the Awach. The total consumption or total rejection implies unfavorable anticipations, that the Awach leaders pass the whole night praying.

3.2. Safer Fatah

The second month of the Islamic New Year, Safar, is

given special attention among Hararis. The month is celebrated with care and devotion by elders of the communities.

The formal reverence and celebration takes place in what is popularly known as *Safer Fatah*, a ritual where the *Zikr* is conducted. Participants proceed to the '*Enayach Ziyara*' (pious- mothers *ziyara*) of course, with *gabatti* (gift) of perfume and incense for use through the Awach ritual of *Zikr*. There are about 37 '*Enayach*' in Harar. The celebration is extremely intensive and passionate in the popular *Ayach--Ay Abida*.

In its totality, the celebration is, an honoured occasion to pray for peace in the month, with the motto of *Safer as-Salama*.

The rationale behind the ceremony is connected with the pre Islamic era of the dreaded outburst of tribal violence and conflict in the month of *Safar* as it comes chronologically immediately after the three consecutive months of mandatory peace, i.e. *Zul-Qi'dah*, *Zul-Hijjah* and *Muherram*. Thus, it signifies the hope that peace will continue to prevail.

3.3. Mawlid-al-Nabi (Birth Day of Prophet Mohammad PBUH)

The Birth Day of the Prophet (PBUH) is celebrated by all Muslims, worldwide, on the 12th day of the month of *Rabi'al Awwal*. The celebrations commence at dawn, reading Mould and *Zikr* with clapping plate (*kabal*) and drums. The *Zikr* is a ritual poem by Harari poets in Arabic and Harari. Hararis go to Sheriff Khalid a few kilometres from Harar to celebrate Mawlid. In the Walled City the Third Mawlid takes place in grand affair at *aw-Abadir Shrine*. (After all, Harar is *Madinat al-Awliya* - city of holy-men that

celebrates Mawlid glamorously). And no less, Hararis are Zakreens! Both of these elements add fascinating colour to Mawlid festivities.

3.4. Shewal Eid

On conclusion of the fasting month of Ramadan, the first day of Shewal is celebrated as Eid al-Fitr, to be followed by a six-day fasting period, and the 8th day of the month of Shewal is the Shewal Eid, which is special Harari cultural festival. Hararis celebrate it in a traditional manner, which is almost unique in pattern, and in *Zikr* rituals. It is actually referred to as ‘*Shewal Eid Karabu*’ performed at *aw-Aqbara* and *aw-Shulum* Ahmed in *Assum-bari* and *Argobari* respectively.

Shuwal Eid’ is one of the unique cultural ceremonies, i.e., celebrated on the 8th day of Shuwal month that comes after Ramadan in Islamic calendar. The Eid al Fiter celebration for a woman would mean incomplete until compensating her 6 days break. Therefore Shuwal Eid, among the Harari is celebrated on the sense of providing chances for women to celebrate their Eid with the entire community as the cultural feat.

The celebration proceeds on time, and the *Shewal Zikr* starts at these popular venues for threenights, and for 24 hour none stop celebrity on the last day. People *en masse* attend in colourful costumes. Actually, Hararis from every corner and neighbourhood come and participate mostly as spectators.

The platform is assumed conducive venue where couples throw eyes to each other, for marriage, perhaps the secular virtue bestows on Shuwal Eid astonishingly. The Harari teenagers adore Shuwal Eid more than any other holyday.

Here in Harar the youngsters consume the holy day for the best interest of search for partner.

The young in extraordinary costume of the season, not less in top flying garment of the time appear at each of the venue pass the whole day socialization perhaps, the couples who are attracted to each other vow to marriage.

Shuwal Eid is such a unique holiday among the Hararis, so much so that Harari residents in other cities Dire Dawa, Addis Abeba etc., encouraging at least as coming together, either come Harar to attend it or celebrate it the next week end and it is in these cities are celebrated in attractive festivities, in their own schedule.

3.5. The Badri and Khatimat Yam

The Badri day ‘day of triumph’ and the penultimate days of Ramadan (Khatimat), the 17th and the 27th Ramadan, respectively, are holidays, well celebrated in specific and appropriate manners. *Badri Ayam* (holy day) is in memory of the victory of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his companions over their enemies. The Khatimat day is celebration in gratification, for peaceful completion of both reading of the Holy Qur’an and the fasting month of Ramadan.

In the Badr day celebration, youngsters contest in militaristic style of confrontation with religious manifestation. The Harari youth used to fight “*berti-berti*” and “*agri-agri*” with sticks and shields. The Badr day contests take place at *aw-Barsor*, outskirts of *Badro Bari*.

The significance of the *agri-agri* (spear and shield) and *berti-berti* (fight with heavy long stick), in those early days for the community was to inculcate

stamina, selflessness and strength for military service. In general, Hararis early training in self-defence and skill of fighting armed with spear and shield that could help them attain fighting capabilities through agri-agri.

Khatimat is celebrated mainly in two traditions; these are the alms giving to the poor and visits of their deceased parents' or relatives' cemeteries by both men and women.

3.6. Haywan Hay Day of Purification and Preparation for Ramadan

The middle of Sha'aban, i.e., the month immediately preceding Ramadan is considered as an important day for Harari people. It signifies the commencement of self-cleansing for the grand Ramadan fast.

The rationale behind the celebration is the spiritual *purification*. It is also, hygienic cleaning day, to do away with dirt and cumulative garbage by burning refuse in the various sections and areas in the city.



Photo12:- Wirshato:-Gourd Smashing

CHAPTER FOUR

4. HERITAGES OF HARARIS AND HARAR

4.1. The Distinctive Harari Tangible Heritage

The tangible heritage is the material production and everything produced for communal life including handcraft, paintings, etc. as historical monuments in this context, (Shbean, AT., 1997). The British visitor of Harar in 1855, had noted facts about few delicate Harari handcraft. He ascertains, “The tobés and sashes of Harar are considered equal to the celebrated cloths of Shewa, hand woven; they far surpass, in beauty and durability, the vapid produce of European manufactory, as the perfect hand of man excels the finest machinery (Burton, R., 1956). The Harari tobés were qualitatively superior as further understood from Burton’s specific lines. The *tobés* are made of the fine long staple cotton, which grows plentiful up on these hills, soft as silk whilst their warmth admirably adapts them in winter wear. The thread is spun by women with two wooden pins; the loom is worked by both sexes (Burton, R., 1956).

Further, the manner and mode of producing tangible products such as scribing, manuscripts and book-binding will be discussed in detail later in the current chapter. These tangible products or articles of Harari economic production established proofs of Harari identity. The discussion commences with an overview of the walled city and will proceed to shed light on such material issues as Harari houses, the great wall, architecture etc.

4.1.1. The Walled-City: An Overview

The general endeavours of Hararis in history have produced numerous tangible testimonies to their workmanship, disclosed the unique efforts of its people through time. One of these heritages is the 'Walled City' itself. In the centre of a very beautiful and rich region of the Hararplateau, the principal city Harar still commands great economic importance, while its own history gives it a political value of the first order in Eastern Ethiopia. Few of these economic and professional works elsewhere had manifested the cultural level to emulate Hararis level of civilization (Cerulli, E., 1971).



Photo 13:- Old Argo Bari, the Eastern Gate



Photo 14:-Old Assum Bari, the Northern Gate

The City, other than the numerous archaeological sites found in the Harar plateau, in the wider dimension, and the *Jugal* itself has numerous archaeological sites defined and situated in Geographical Position System(GPS). Jugal is an old historical heritage, with a surface area of 48 hectares and encircled by a rampart of 6666 cubits 3442 metres in circumference. Among its other qualities, its rich architectural skill of its builders is reflected by the contour of the rampart's resemblance of a person in a prostration. It has five portals (gates), symbolically unique in associative style. One could just imagine, artistically, the picture of the walled city of Jugal, resembling a praying person, who steps left foot on *Badro Bari*, the right foot on *Suqtat Bari*, the left hand on *Asmaddin Bari* and the right on *Argo Bari*, and the forehead certainly on *Assum Bari* for *qiblah* [direction to Mecca] (Van vo, D., and Guled, M., 2007)[see the names of five gates in different

languages, in *Annex-6*].

In addition Burton describes:-

“The walled city, Harar, where everything happens that is of importance to the dominant group of the town of Harar is divided into five quarters, each, near one of the five classical gates.” (Burton, R., 1956) The city to the westward are gardens and orchards on a terraced slope; northward it is hilly covered with tombs, and to the east the City drops into a valley or ravines. It is about one mile long by half that breadth, the streets and alleys are like mountain roads and the abodes built of sand stones and granite cemented with reddish colour (Burton, R., 1956).



Photo 15:-A Section of Jugal Wall on the side of Badro Bari



Photo 16:-one of the gates of the walled city called Badro Bari



Photo 16:-one of the gates of the walled city called Suqtat Bari



Photo 18: One of the gates of the walled city called Asmaddin Bari

The formidable defensive shield that Nur built has durably protected the Harari identity. It has also reduced it to a mainly urban phenomenon. “He [Amir Nur] adopted the pragmatic policy of building a dependable wall and trenches around Harar, which contributed to the safety of Harar” (Hecht, E. D., 1982). Amir Nur built the wall, which had a traditional sewerage system that drains outside the city wall. They have base outlets or circular opening ‘*waraba nudulach*’ (hyena outlets) to facilitate discharge of effluents and refuse by storm drainage, as well as passage for scavenging hyenas through the night.

Harar had and still has several market areas. Initially there were five markets in five gates. *Gideer Magala* (grand market) is located at the centre of the city. From the latter market just a few steps away one finds himself in *makina girgir*, the City’s central and proper focal point, which is called *gey-hamburti*, the

original name of *makina girgir*. This navel and the rock planted in the grounds of the Masjid are considered to be the epicentre of Harar, blocked from view from the street, only by the high walls of the *abat* that bears its name *gey-hamburti-abat*.

More than 82 mosques are found in the City. The City has so many sacred *Awach*. In addition, one can see particular residential houses in three different architectural styles: the typical Harari house; Hindi and mixed style houses. Interestingly, an attractive herbal odour emanates from the City's residential houses, redolent from *kusar*, *talatam*, *rahan*, *kammun* and *tosignetc.*, herbs grown in almost every house large or small lending an inner beauty to the environment, according to visitors of this noble City.

4.1.2. Gey-Gar (Derbi-Gar) Residential Houses in the Jugal

From a large perspective, one notices the houses that are flat-roofed with holes for windows and coarse wooden shutters; most of them have large courtyards and separate apartments for each group of the family. This description of the houses 1000 years ago happens to be consistent to this period. However, currently, visitor Hisham Mortada (2010), an engineer by profession, expresses, it in virtual reality.

“Houses form the bulk of the architecture of Harar which is considered the historic-city symbol.” (Muhammad I. Suleiman, 1997). The Harari residence *derbi-gar* an abode is unequivocally unique and distinct. On first sight of this living house, the visitor is met by a scene of painted and carpeted area, walls covered with Harari artefacts and antiquity, revealing a remarkable Harari identity. Muhammad I. Suleiman too, describes, the Harari *derbi-gar* building as cool in Ethiopian summer and warm in

winter – a feature bestowing to the city a comfortable, optimum temperature of an all-weather city (Muhammad I. Suleiman, 1997) to the type of the materials used and the rich skill and system applied. “The Harari house reveals a sense of proportion and a mastery of building technology, perfected over centuries, that is both warm and inviting. Inside the house, on the walls of the living room, one is overwhelmed by the balance and colour composition of the display of basket” (Henze, P. 1997).

As to the internal structure of the house, it consists of five *nadabas*, and different niches. As one gets closer to walls, eyes are attracted to *nadabas* and niches. *Nadabas* have higher level from the floor and are for sitting, whereas, niche is a small recess in the wall inside the house, and set in different sizes, shapes and purposes. Regarding the *Nadabas* the *sutri-nadaba*, just below *marbaraba* is meant for the owner of the house, *Gideer-nadaba* is for elderly intellectuals and *Ulama* i.e. *Sheikhs*, and spiritual fathers, *Amir-nadaba* is for the Amir or respected *Alim*; and the *Nadaba* behind the entrance door is *gabti-eher-nadaba* for illitrates, and *Tit nadaba* the lower one in front of the house for students. As far as numbers of niches in Harari residential houses are concerned, they are many and are used for storing books, special artefacts and household objects for specific purposes.



Photo 19:-Illustrative of Decorated Typical Harari House

The other element is that houses show masterly woodwork, craft on the door (*gambari*) which is entirely made of wood. For Burton, doors are simple planks made of one side of wood are, highly valued. Not only the door frames but also the panel which has decorative motifs such as palm lets, rosettes, flowers, vases, and others... The door frame is adorned with carved ornaments; simple geometrical patterns and rosettes (Henze, P., 1997).

These houses are the typical and unique productions, achieved with domestic architectural skill of the Hararis and have been in use for more than a millennium.

The second type is called Indian house, built almost a century ago, at the highest point of the City, The third type, the combined or mixed type, which brings together elements from the other two, was introduced to Harar since early 19th century.

Harar is primarily history; then it is the wall too, and it is the wall that holds the residential houses, it is also an embodiment of Awach, Mosques, in an overwhelming configuration, colour and composition of psychological and material inheritance of Hararis. Consequently, the Walled City has been duly cherished by the International Institution of UNSECO as a World Heritage City and awarded the UNESCO world peace prize.

4.1.3. The “Walled-City” a World Heritage City

“Their architectural and ornamental qualities are now part of the Harari cultural heritage. The city is very well preserved” (Document from African Executive UNESCO, Harar Jugal Ethiopia No. 1189). Harar, unique in diverse cultural aspects, rich in music and dances, admirably effective in urban and public administration through a millennium and a century of history, succeeded in passing formidable international tests to attain the status of ‘World Heritage City’.



Figure 23:-UNESCO World Heritage Inscription Certificate

The four important tests, relevant to the decision regarding the Harar Jugol are: Criterion (ii), (iii), (iv) and criterion (v). Each test stands distinct in diversity and yet unified to depict a sharp and whole image of the walled city. Criterion (ii), was met as, the historic town Jugol exhibits an important interchange of values of original Islamic culture expressed in the social and cultural development of the City enclosed within the otherwise Christian region. Criterion (iii) confirms Jugol and renders exceptional testimony to cultural and traditional relations to Islamic and African roots. By the same token, criterion (iv) defines Jugol as an out-standing example of a type of architectural and urban resemblance, which illustrates the impact of African and Islamic traditions on the development of specific building types. The last of the tests, of course, Criterion (v) as anticipated, poses Harar Jugol with its surrounding landscape, an outstanding example of a traditional human

settlement representative of cultural interaction with the environment.

4.1.4. Basketry: Hararis Commercial Article of Antiquity

The subtle design of fascinating materials aggregated in a particular article embodying Harari cultural and social reflection in one of the areas of economic development is the Harari basket. The material elements, although from grass, reveal artistic attributes of the indigenous Harari women. E. D. Hecht appreciated the beautiful baskets that the city women have produced for centuries (Hecht, E. D., 1994). Emily Foucher, too, expresses that baskets are tourist attraction for long time now. "The basket tradition has its unique dimension and not all traditions share equal weight in the realm of art appreciation." (Focher, E., 1984). "It is a sign of identity loaded with social and cultural meaning; its role in Harari society is three-fold utilitarian, decorative and symbolic." (Ahmed Z., 1993).

Harari basket might be described within both physical and symbolic contexts to a certain refinement in colour composition, alternation of patterns within the basket, and delicate placing on the wall were always up to the expected norm, to add, basketry depicts Harari identity as well as women's sphere of life. The decorative and delicate taste blended to luxury and so demonstrated in visual fascination that "The beauty to the excellence is achieved in manipulating colour, which are produced by dyeing" (Waldron, S.R., 1974).



Figure 24:-Sample of Typical Meticulously Prepared Harari Basket

The presumed notion behind the production is, in fact, economy. Basket work is refined art that it has to be valued as an art proper is by up to now, recognized as African art-making overseas. Furthermore, Harari basketry is craft, art, culture and above all it is an

income. “One very important industry among the Harari women is the basket weaving. In fact Harar has become famous for its elaborate basket” (Hecht, ED., 1994). In general, items, specifications, and productions in about 37design; dense and sophisticated baskets are distinct.

4.1.5. Harari Manuscript and Book-Binding Skills

Manuscript, scribing and binding are interrelated in a long tradition of Hararis recognized in the Horn of Africa and widely in the Arab world. The skills attained from 14th century, onwards and developed in an Islamic centre of learning had evolved through to the 19th century. Indeed, the skill and the tradition manifest cultural heritage of Hararis. The beautiful manuscripts, as historians and experts in the field agree, were taken-up by the people of Wallo, Arsi and other regions.

First, scribing to make manuscripts, developed to book-binding, not all manuscripts were bound in so far as the scribe’s subject, indeed, matters. The tools, materials utilized as well as the ink, paper and the page-making in final production of manuscripts were professionally recognized. Professionalism worked as an impetus behind the scribing and its quality.

The ancient Arabic and Harari manuscripts were art work and the cover pages were particularly attractive. The beauty, rather than the substance of these manuscripts impressed traders who encouraged their suppliers to offer them as commercial articles in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern markets.



Figure 25:- Arabic Sample Calligraphy Qur'an Text
Source: - SHCM

A number of manuscripts, are dedicated to the memory of the renowned intellectual Ahmed Shami, who devoted, the scripts of: History Book of Amirs from Amir Haboba (896) to Amir 'Abdullahi ibn Muhammad bin 'Abd ash-Shakur (1885-1887); *Al-Islam Fil Habashah*, Yahya Nasrallah's; *Fat'h Madinat al-Harar*, as well as 'Jadwal ash-Shash wa ash-Shami', two or three to mention manuscripts were gathered and collated in multifaceted formats that include letters, correspondence and books.

Muhammed Mukhtar, the Egyptian officer too,

describes them as the binding was strong and durable.

The British writer on Ethiopian history has specific details to appreciate, the Harari book binding. “The two covers [back and front] and few books have attached flap cover are tucked under the front, thereby protecting the pages, free from dust” (Burton, R., 1956).

The flap binders are greatest contribution, to the book making craft. The scribes left margin pages are punctured at three places and knotted with string. Ready as it is for cover page binding, goat or sheep skins, polished properly, cut in designed page size to cover the book. The book binding as documented by Richard Burton’s observation read as follows: “Books at Harar are mostly antiques, copying belong excellently rare, and square massive character is more like Kufic diacritical points, than the graceful modern *Naqshi*. I could not, however, but admire the bindings; no eastern country save Persia surpasses them in strength and appearance.”(Burton, R., 1956). E. M. Waber has the following additional remarks. “As here it exists the profession of book binding which is more elegance is added to its workmanship, it would perfectly match its strength”(Emran M. Waber, 2009).

Another high remark of recognition vividly touches on the quality. The Harar manuscript binding had not been only artistic in the page-making in particular colours for text, but also extensive use was made of metal stamps, embodying a wide variety of ornamental designs.

Further, on central design, the central motif of Harar manuscript binding, which is generally the most interesting part of their decoration, is almost invariably either oval or round. “The four corner

pieces on Harar bindings are always identical to each other, for they are probably stamped from a single dye” (Burton, R., 1956). The border designs and flaps consist and vary in one, or more often, two or three tooled lines. Besides, they are matrixes of knowledge, and, in addition, show change and continuity; the manuscripts’ unique binding added to stylish calligraphy. Third, manuscripts advanced artistically to appeal to commercial long distance trade products of different professionals as revealed by cover designs in flower or sun images.

4.1.6. Carpentry as Material Culture in Wood Carving

Yusuf Ahmed’s material, Household Economy of Amirs of Harar (1825-1875) report in translation and analysis from an Arabic document of an Egyptian Muhammed Mukhtar who wrote on the economic situation of Harar, of course stands as an indispensable reference in this area. Mukhtar states that the woodwork of Harar was well developed to be provided to the surrounding people. He added carpentry was a job and a means to earn living. Harar had already wood carving tradition with its pertinent skill and art, depicted in fixture, furniture, educational and musical products. Particularly, the skill of wood jointing was distinct.

In the application, in the residential houses, *gambari* (doors) ‘*nadabadera*’ traditionally built-in cupboard openings and other grooved wooden materials, existed through time and sustained continuous development. The educational material, *inter alialouh* (plate), *kitabkursi* (bookseat) *mustaralouh* (line drawing-cliché), ‘*kitabmoreja*’ (book case) and ‘*dibetmoreja*’ (ink holder) were well developed wooden products. The book binding with its drying clamp ‘*kitab madraqa*’(device with ventilated holes)

could be included in the list as depicting integration of wood to binding books. Furniture and fixture elaborate, *wanbar* (seat), *dufan* (bed) properly disposed in Harari residence.

Further, Harari '*karabu*' (drum) in various sizes and for different purposes consist of: *karabu* (the drum), *deenzerkarabu*, and *hayzer*; *sheqlen*, *qandeel* and *afocha-karabu*. The list of wood working may go on to include *kabal*(wooden clap), *derbuja* and *daf* (tambourine) all musical items. The frames of *Nadabadera* designs on its doors and the partitions resembling mahogany in colour, glazed and varnished are common even today.

The artefact in shoes *qaraeifis* embodiment of labour and time incurred in creativity. *Qaraeif* is a pair of shoes for men and women for indoor use.

4.1.7. Harari Traditional Dressing

Among few extraordinary elements that portray the self-identification of Hararis, and undoubtedly radiate from the cultural dresses vibrant in colour and intricate designs, are magnificent. The Harari garment dresses for girls, married women and the elderly appear identical yet they are distinct.



Photo 20:-Traditional Women's Dresses (below) and Decorated Trouser Legs (above) Source: - SHCM



Photo 21:Harari Women Dressed culturally for Occasions

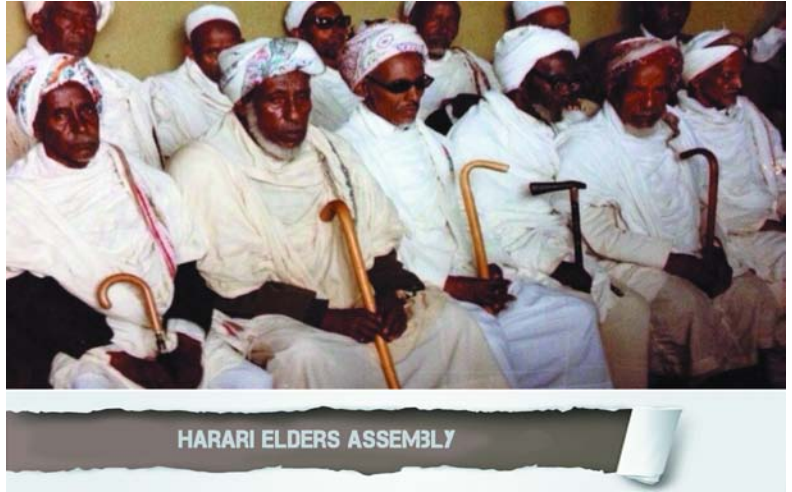


Photo 22: Harasri Elderly Usual Cultural Wear.

Richard Burton (1956) interestingly described the ‘*teyiraz*’ [The black shirt] a long wide cotton shirt indigo-dyed or chocolate coloured, and ornamented with a triangle of scarlet before and behind the base on the shoulder and the apex at the waist round the middle with a sash of white cotton crimson edged.

The ‘*atlas*’ and bright coloured ‘*jawwi*’ have the same decorated in *gar-wari* [house-door] design. These two dresses and costumes are worn by married women. The elderly mothers wear the other category, ‘*shieshti-shilal*’ in black colour.

4.1.8. The Agrarian Black Smith and Gold/Silver Smith

Yusuf Ahmed from Muhammed Mukhtar gives a glimpse of a particular quality of ornaments of the then Harar. The city’s people were engaged mainly in

trade, agriculture and other less important activities. In addition, goldsmith and silver work, black smith are some of the activities in the area (Burton, R., 1956). Yusuf in his writing, "Black smithing and pollen-making, well-practiced only by a special class of people known as 'Sayyaq', they dug out ores and smelted iron from which various agricultural tools were made"(Yusuf Ahmed, 1961).The Harari blacksmith's sickle (*mancha*), plough (*mahrasa*), spear (*warem*) sword (*seef*) and allied implements and armaments are labour intensive and their work involves smelting.

One must mention, the ornaments fashioned and worked out in gold, silver, and other types of Harari jewellery, the '*murayet*', necklace of hollow blades, beaten silver (rare gold) decorated with granulation work, and alternative coral beads. Besides, horn-based ornaments and precious beads, pearls and other stones are used as adornment for the Harari girl. The big crescent shaped pendants, roughly decorated with granulation work and the cylindrical containers, are worn in Harar by brides. Burto in his book wrote:- "A type of silver jewellery which I had seen in Harar, a pendant, is of a rectangular shape decorated with appliqué work, and has bells on tiny chains at the bottom" (Burton, 1956). The following graphic table and the accompanying photographs are more telling.




		
Siyasa or Zergef — girls decorate their forehead on	Waqri — Cylindrical Shaped Traditional pendant used for both ornament and Coin Holder	Tafiye — bangles worn by elderly women

Figure 26:-Ornaments and where they are worn by ladies
Source: - SHCM

Few Ornaments and where they are worn on the body			
Head / forehead	Neck	Ear	Hands/ fingers
Qerma	Lazim	Bilbila	Gey tum-tum
Zargef	Murriya	Teet bilbila	Tafiat
Siyasa	Masadiq	Chilal-mot	Ambar (bracelet)
Wasfi-shulum	Waqri	Shamsia	Summalfar Shankhet

4.2. Intangible Harari Heritages

“Heritage is essentially memory of a nation and includes its events which have been historically affected by economic, social, cultural, spatial and construction that forms the cultural elements of man

and civilization including changes” (Hisham Mortada, 2010). Thus, we have tangible and intangible materials. The Intangible embodies abstract ideas, beliefs and thoughts expressed directly or delivered in any of the following forms. These include: the social folklore and folk literature which consist, among others, of fables, folk song, folk poetry; tales, nursery rhymes, riddles; and proverbs and so on. Harari has its own terms for these categories and elements.

Generally, one can assert that the Harari oral literature is expressions of the cultural and psychological makeup as well as the artistic sensitivity of Harar collectively. Currently Harari *makhmakha*, *proverb*, *irioweri*, folktale *dabba-dabba*, riddle *weej metfeqer* rhymes etc... appear in publications.

The grand duty and task that falls under the jurisdiction of the *afochais* nothing like two events deem to portray the Hararis, and the surrounding people too unequivocally assimilated them with full consent and free will are *balachuand amouta*. The discussion takes the *balachuand* then the *amoutain* Harari context. Here it has to be in succinct otherwise; the issue with its terminology can consume a huge book.

4.2.1. Balachu (Harari Wedding)

Birth, marriage and death are realities to everybody universally, although their actualization differs in every respect to establish culture collectively and socially. Accordingly, in Harari context, *afochadischarges* responsibility of the wedding ceremony in myriad episodes and the noteworthy details, yet; this discussion is determined to major events highlighted to the public exposure.

Wedding events comprise; *kusha-chat* (the proposal chat), *zegen* (engagement and dowry), *selit*, (mothers

honey ball seed) *ayachkarabu* (mothers ritual day), *anqermahtab* (the grand Saturday dancing), Mawlud (fathers Zikr in praise of the prophet), *arouzmegba'* (the proper wedding), *arouzmewta'* (emerge from honey moon) go upto and including *guftamogud*. Categorically, however, fall under two headings, i.e., pre-wedding and post-wedding.



Photo 23:- Bride & bridegroom



Figure 27:-A Bride rides on a decorated mule Horse on Her Way to Her Bridal House.Painting by Tibebe Terfa, Source Abdushakur Badri

Participants in the varying phases of the marriage festivities are:*ahli, gelach, merignach, afocha and mugad* all discharging their respective duties.Mohammed 'Abdurahmannarrates“At the request of the boy’s (bridegroom) to be family, the girl’s family (prospective bride) appoint the date for the presentation of zegen (engagement). On the eve of the appointed day, the boy’s family accompanied by relatives and outstanding men of the neighbourhood, solemnly proceed to the girl’s house, where they are cordially welcomed” (Mohammed Abdurahman, 1953).

On the zegen day procedurally the first activity that takes place is the official request by the bride groom’s group the hand in marriage of the other party’s daughter, mentioning the name, as a bride for their

son, again mentioning his name. After the consent is reached by the two parties, the engagement of the brides from the two families would be announced by the Qadi. Then a representative of the bride groom's group would forward the gifts(*chat, ring, clothes, money and sweets*).

The sooner the date approaches both families send invitation to kith and kin by the process of *arouzmawalal* (bridal tour).

Ayach karabu on Saturday morning, *zegenkarabu* in the afternoon and when the darkness fall down the *Anqer mahtab* will take place by the mothers and youngsters respectively.

The other activity, that takes place on the Saturday night called *tunsus*, which heralds the commencement of the ceremony. Thus, the invited young men *come in group playing both modern* and traditional songs mainly praising the bride and bride groom as well as their parents and relatives plus friends.

On Sunday morning, the main *afocha* (men's) discharges its duties separately. The guild [afocha] members and other men pass the day in reading aloud the [Mawlud] biography of the prophet. Drum beaten with *Zikr* and *dabal* throughout the morning session to terminate at lunch. Then after, lunch will be served both for invited guests as well as the poor.

In the afternoon, right after the bride groom comes with his friends behind the elders to collect accompany the bride. The elders of two sides sit in line face to face to be followed by blessing and witnessing the legality of the marriage. The ceremony concludes as the bride accompanies the waiting bride groom and departs with her to their new home, along with basic furnishing materials: Pillows, basketry

carpets etc. This is called *arouz magba'*.

In the olden days the situation was different. The bridegroom would stay at home and his friends will go to the bride house with decorated mule and put the bride on the back of mule. She would be accompanied on the right by her brother shading her with umbrella. The bride's friends at the back singing *aw-qahatey* (Oh the daughter of honoured father) and the bridegroom's friends in front dancing named *dabal*, lead to the bridalhouse (*arouz-gar*) to hand her over to the bride groom who was anxiously waiting for her. "The married couple spend their day swarmed by their friends, and occasionally, are paid visit by bride's girl-friends" (Muhammed Abdurahman, 1953).

On the next morning her close friends (*Hinna-gelach*) visit her in order to congratulate her new life by bringing her cosmetics and suitable clothes. The occasion is known as *baqal-mouz*.

Mohammed'Abdurrahman in the same article deliberates the last events following the wedding day. The bridegroom's friends take a calf to bride's house and make it bray that declares that their daughter is virgin and raised with modesty and cultured. *Inaay-gabata* the plate to the mothers, two big black wooden plates filled to the brims with thin wheat bread steeped in liquid butter and sprinkled with sauces called *Waqalim* hail the second morning from bride's family. The '*Inaay gebeta*' partially goes to boy's family and respected guests and neighbours enjoy the '*Inaay gebeta*' in traditional service in anticipation. On Wednesday bridegrooms relative's daughters bring sweets and the bride's side boys bring halva in a trough which both called *abba-matora*.



Figure 28:-Waqalim/spicy
dried meat

Buntur/candy

Thursday is the *arouz mawta'* day (end of bridal days) and among the events that follow, the *gufta mogad* ceremony is unique to the Hararis. A bride surrounded by her friends and parents, the maid sits on stool and bends to hair dresser in *arouz gars* ceremony. As soon as the operation starts, the chorus begins in songs in accordance with the actions, when the dresser divides the bride's hair along the centre of the head. Then combing and so tying the hair with string, signifying and instructing the bride on her forthcoming life. *Accompanied by music and songs* in '*memsas* and *melhad'*, the bride is oriented to the new objective reality in family responsibility.

To sum up "The Harari *balechu* from the *zegenkarabu* up to the *arouz mawta'* takes place for a maximum of eight days (Thursday to Thursday) and if in moderation, four days (from Saturday up to Tuesday)

4.2.2. Amouta /the Mourning/ of Harari

As soon as death is announced, neighbours, relatives, and intimate friends arrive. The *afocha* is formally informed by the announcing member. A part of the *afocha* member joined by others, recite the Holy Qur'an in the house of the deceased, while a larger group goes to prepare the burial grave yard. On

the other hand, women *afocha* members, as soon as the news of the deceased is declared they carry bundles of fire wood (*kafara inchi*), so as not to use property of the deceased, in order to prepare *sirri* (*traditional bread*) to be distributed at the grave among the poor, as alms-giving on behalf of the deceased.

In Amouta, the burial ceremony begins with the washing of the dead body, a complex process, including the stuffing of the body orifices; the use of different ointment, for embalming and straightening the limbs. This is the task of specialized person: they perform it behind the curtain: (*Muhammed Abdurahman, 1953*). By the time the washing and wrapping is done, and reciting full chapters of the Holy Qur'an is concluded, men from the grave readying party along with others arrive to fetch the body, with a wooden-leather bed and commit the blessed body to the grave in full adherence to the religious dicta.

The women gathered in the house of the deceased disperse on the return of the burial party and the formal conclusion of the ceremony is done with the formal blessing *duwa*. The closest blood relatives abandon their homes and reside with the family of the deceased, usually for three days, during which period they share the grief of the chief mourner.

All men stay in one room and the women in another; women and men will not mix during themourning. Their main concern is to receive the sympathizers who come by scores every morning. Among the Hararis, much of the burial ceremony is simplified, often to essentials, by request of the deceased, which are meticulously observed.

Actually during the three days, mother *afocha* prepare

Qur'an-gebeta, and the male *afocha* read Qur'an for three evenings between *Maghreb* and *Isha'e*. They complete the mourning activity on the fourth day. The male *afocha* completes its duty of *qebri-oun* by laying the rectangular stone on the grave for the purpose of identifications.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CULTURAL REFORM/REVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Apart of social traditional voluntary association that acted and reacted for centuries as permanent means to survive, people did undergo through their own experience of reform temporarily.

From time to time Hararis in their history registered changes or transformed in order to cope with the situations that confront their identity as well as their culture, as expressed by the saying:

Harari	Direct Translation into English
<i>Zeman le tamchachu</i>	<i>'go along with time</i>
<i>Fankazo be letu</i>	<i>That deserves change</i>
<i>Zeman yitmichachulozon Yikhashalwa</i>	<i>Time requests to adjust oneself accordingly</i>

Therefore, in this Chapter we shall look into the major changes, which had taken place in the history of Hararis.

Hararis had enriched their social culture from pious men: Sheikh Hashim, Aw-Abadir; from the religious leaders: Imam, in addition, to Harari leaders: such as Amir Nur, Amir 'Abd ash Shakur and Amir 'Abdullahi. All these and other pious men, leaders and individuals had something to contribute.

The institutionalized, social groups Firmach, Watani, Kulub-Hannolato, Amashna and Ada-gar had history as historical movements that had challenged the Haile

Sillasie I regime on rights and identity of Hararis. In the seventeen years of military regime everything was already out-of-hand and in turmoil, but Hararis remained and prevailed with *Ada-gar* (cultural house). All contributed to the foundation of steadfastness. Sheikh Abadir Father of all Hararis comes first.

5.1. Abadir (1001-1020), and 1065

From a book 'Torene' by Welene Sheikh Umar Sheikh Beshir (1860-1923), one learns the extent and influence of Abadir. With the arrival of Abadir Umar ar-Ridha, Harar became Great Islamic centre in East Africa (Sheikh Umer T., 1998).

Abadir unified the Harla people, in the then, Federalism and encouraged them to become competent leaders; oriented them to conflict resolution in reconciliation. The Sheikh had facilitated the favourable condition and realistic situation for development and aspiration to attain advanced civilizations.

Actually, the pious holy-man, Abadir is known by numerous names that describe and reflect his character and competence. A few of his identifying names are: Sheikh al-Balad (Sheikh of county), Imam al-Muemineen (Head of believers), Waliyu Allahi Mukarram (the respected holy man) etc. He was a great Islamic humanitarian worth, to be elected as Amir by his followers. As an accomplished leader, Sheikh 'Umar Sheikh Bashir, the Walene's Sheikh, still tells that people come from near and far with gifts, cattle, edible materials, incense and perfumes; however, these gifts were just passed over to the poor and the miserable. He always favoured the poor and the impoverished.

The great leader, Abadir, geographically divided the sultanate into five parts and each part was provided with Qur'anic schools and Harari culture learning centres. Yahya Nesorullah in his book, '*Fat'h Medina Harar*', states Abadir assigned leaders for nationalities and strengthened the relation with Harari neighbouring people economically, to ensure that the rural sectors produced the necessity for the city, in the pledge known as '*Abadir Rubut*'.

Abadir had been a respected administrator of Harar. As a considerate leader of the era, Abadir gathered the surrounding people of Harari (Harla), Somali and Argoba and proposed to them the golden opportunity, to elect their leaders by assigning quotas to form their parliament. Subsequently this parliament elected Abadir to be their Amir. It was through integrating the local tribes, to bring them together under common share of influence that Harar began to develop as a city. For this and other reasons the first entitlement and respect as a holy-man has been given to him. Accordingly, the first Awach, in Harar has been established in his name, though some claims there are a few before him. Here Islamic education was given, as well as, propagated; the poor were supported. Also politically and socially, the Murid (head) of the Awach bore the authority of approving the newly declared Amir, in the process called */Taj matalal* (coronation), as well as, the responsibility of assigning Murids to other Awach.

Aw-Abadir could be characterized, as a leader, Holy-man and precious asset of the country. Although; the arrival of Sheikh Abadir from Hijaz, which was mainly intended to support and save Harar from the conquering force of Portuguese, he undeniably did much in the way of consolidating practice in the area and strengthened its historical role amongst the people (Arabic manuscript).

He did numerous social accomplishments, and so left legacy for Hararis in particular and the neighbouring people far and beyond in general. Yusuf ibn Sharif Mohammed Sufian, in his book '*Kitab Fat'hulManaqibal-Imam*' states, Sheikh Abadirascertained undeniably and irrefutably to Umer that the Sheikh was beyond Hararis and their area. He was recognized in the whole of Abyssinia.

Furthermore, Abadir insisted on the people to consider growth and development and to agree to participate in the market economy and that they should provide their production and yield in exchange. The town of Harar should be a market centre for raw materials milk, *chat*, barley and coffee. Ever since the era of Abadir, the popularity of Hararis' fruit to become synonymous and associate him with: '*Abadir Tom Ayasadir*' in Amharic, implying Abadir does not let you pass a night without a meal.

To the contemporary viewer or explorer, the historical city, Harar, bears two designated locations for him i.e. where Abadir resided and where he was buried '*La'ay Abadir* (upper Abadir) and '*Tahay Abadir*' (lower Abadir) respectively. In addition to his *Maqam*, there is still small hut, where he was believed to be in bliss. His burial place, in addition holds the graves of other Sheikhs as well as the resting place to the late Amir 'Abdullahi.

Finally, the pious Abadir is attributed for the development of Harar. He disseminated the Islamic faith to the extent that foreigners label Harar, the Fourth Holy city, next to the known three cities: namely, Mekkah, Medina and Beital Meqdas/Jerusalem; this labelling is consistent with the narration of 16th century, 1559 about the place adjacent to the city of Harar named "The land of our

lord (Hisham Mortada 2010) and so did he remain with legacy in the mind of people everywhere.



Photo 23:-Aw Abadir Awach /Shrine/ Harar

5.2. Imam Ahmed al-Ghazi

The Imam had already been discussed at length in the political part this section will touch briefly on the significant socio-economic legacy left by the Imam for the benefit of the peoples of the Horn of Africa, tolerance and living together, good governance and justice, commitment, devotion and determination His efforts to enhancement education.

The Imam as unifier was effectual leader as observed and witnessed by many historians. He united Bale, Arsi, Sidamo, Gojjam, Tigrayand beyond. Donald N. Levin states, the development and spread of Christianity and Islam had left legacy for united Ethiopia. The measures he had takendid away with injustice, by controlling bandits and predators

including war lords. '*Fat'h al-Habashah*' stated that Imam controlled, governed and challenged evil and corrupt men the spoiled men in cooperation with Sultan and brought a culture of citizen's universal human behaviour, ensured stability for intellectuals and Sheikhs. In words of the Donald Levin, Imam did contribute for greater Ethiopia of multi ethnic development(Levin D.N., 1972).

Further, the intricate and complex trade route that criss-cross the sub-continent and extended from North to South and within the wars and skirmishes and facilitated the flow of trade thanks to Imam's broad view of international affairs.

The people, in his controlled area, who want in their belief, ordered black thread called *Matab* meaning un-repented on their neck so that they would be protected as a citizen. (Informants)

Second, Imam had produced sense of tolerance among the people of the three major beliefs namely Muslims, Christians and Jews. Despite the conflicts, which were not always for belief, but rather for political power, the Imam had instructed and tolerated the Christians. The tolerance extended long after Imam. In letter to the Egyptian Pasha Muhammed Saied, an Ethiopian Patriarch was glad that he had impartially, governed Islam and the Christianity.

Imam was a considerate leader with concern for marginalized people such as Falashas, by allowing them to live in dignity in his regime. These people used to hide themselves under the rule of Christian Kingdom. Good governance had been one of the major achievements of Imam. As understood from *Fat'h al-Habashah*, justice, Islamic rule of law, rationally divided territories for convenient

administration, there were few manifestations. The Imam also authorises, such as, wazir, which was occupied by many Harari wazirs, such as Wazir Mujahid could be mentioned (Abdukarim A. Yusuf, 1995).

The Imam had been man of determination, to implement his ultimate goals. History had recorded in favour of him, that he initially sold the ornaments of his wife to purchase military weapon for his defensive war. Besides, whenever his army was fortunate to booty prey, even when his army wanted to dedicate the booty as gift to his wife Dil Wanbera, yet; both rejected and were assigned to buy weapons. From war too, some of this booty of gold was seen in Zaila' ports sent for purchase weapons from Arab worlds (Cerulli, E., 1978).

Imam was a leader for education. In his time respected *Ulma*, for Islamic enlightenment. Education was expanded; in addition Qur'an was encouraged as necessity. As success of Islamic education, Sharia law, Arabic, literature, History as well poetry became culturalassets. Poetry flourished under his rule. Imam Ahmedal-Gazi left a great deal for Ethiopia.

5.3. Bati Dil Wanbera

The Imam and his endeavours were supported by his wife Bati Dil Wanbera, the daughter of Amir Mahfouz, Bati Dil Wanbera, was a courageous housewife, warrior, negotiator and family supporter, "symbolic in her participation to show the road to winning appreciate equality she had been by her husband's side to the last. In his annotation onFat'h al-Habashah, Richard Pankhurst states, "The Imam's wife, Bati or equivalent of Lady, Dil Wanbera, literally 'victory in her seat' was a woman of major

importance in her own right.” No less, Teshome Berhanu Kemal describes her extraordinary, patriotic zeal as a history-maker of Imam’s persons, who consistently stayed in the entire campaign unwaveringly (Tashome Bahiru Kamal, 2005).

Pertinent and sharp enough to offer advice, she revealed her competence as an alert military woman physically and courageously. “She was determined not to stay home, unlike Amirs wives, went after, through the battle, marched on the back of pack animals and joined the war”(Shihab addin, 2003). Dil Wanbera was with the army, heroic image in personality. So invariably prepared her husband’s meals herself (Historians tell that her son, Muhammed was killed, poisoned by inner circle).

Further, she shaped the image of diligent woman. In the events of a necessity for physical relief, due to demands of nature as conditions of pregnancy, ‘The powerful Dil Wanbera could not stay in Harar at home to give birth, but chose to march with the army. She gave birth at Zifah and consequently stayed there with her sister-in-law’(Shihab addin, 2003).

In another event and crucial moment of death of Imam, she recovered his body from enemy area, buried him soon enough, and collected all his properties and went back to Harar to the very first capital city of Imam Ahmed.

Her character depicted the delicacy and far sightedness in diplomatic negotiation and compromising, apparent from two events. First, when Amir Nur Mujahid proposed to her, she forwarded pre-condition, that she will be his wife, if and only if, the Amir brought her the head of her arch enemy, Gelawdewos who killed her husband.

Secondly, the woman [Inaay Dil Wanbera according

to contemporary Harari generation reference] had been a negotiator tactically to achieve immediate goal of something in an endeavour to get back her son, lost and captured, during the war with Libne Dingle. Her son Muhammed and Minas of Libne Dingle were captured on Imam and LibneDingle's side respectively. Dil Wanbera had succeeded to exchange Minas for her son Muhammed(Shihab addin, 2003).

Finally, Richard Burton states explicitly, when the Imam fell in action, his wife Dil Wanbera, the heroic daughter of Mahfouz, to prevent the destruction and dispersion of the host of Islam, buried the corpse privately.

5.4. Amir Nur: Fortifier of Walled City

Amir Nur Mujahid was the protector of the walled city. Documented history and Hararis in oral tradition totally respect and honour Amir Nur Mujahid. He built the present day wall, defeating and repulsing the adversaries. Back from his victory over Gelawdewos, Nur built the five wall Gates with 24 watching towers for border control. The names of the five gates are: *AssumBari*, *AsmaddinBari*, *BadroBari*, *SuqtatBari* and *ArgoBari*.

As usual and in traditional respect for pious men and leaders the grave of Amir Nur bin Mujahid is found in the hilly sector of Harar, in the middle of *AssumBaricity* quarter. The date of the anniversary of the pious Nur's death, falls on the Muslim month of *Rabi'al-Awwal*.

5.5. Sheikh Hashim ibn 'Abdul-Aziz

The *ArgoBarishrines*, glazes in memory of the pious Sheikh Hashim bin 'Abdul-Aziz. The Sheikh was born inside the Jugal. He was revered, as a man of moral, spiritual and cultural strength by most Harari and beyond in southern Ethiopia. Hararis remember

him through the *Awach* and mosque built indedication ofteaching of Islamic *Zikr* (Mawlud and others). He has written Islamic religion books in Arabic and indigenous Harari languages. Hararis and *Zikr* interested other people to know him well for his works: Fat'h al-Rahman, Mustafa, Manaqib as Seera, Tuhfaetc...

The *Awach* of Sheikh Hashim is alive inside, in proactive rituals, through its *Jema'ah*; the Sheikh's *Zikr* ritual is delivered on Monday and Wednesday evenings. The Sheikh Hashim *Jema'ah* is so closely related and attached in reverence to the shrine that men and women *Jema'ah* are organized according to Harari culture, and attend the *Awach* for Qur'an reading, deliveryof *Zikr* and discussion of its substantive content.

The pious Sheikh Hashim is popular far and wide. A known Walene Sheikh Umar describes, 'Haji Hashim' al-Kabir' had been serious in personality ever since his childhood. As one transcending his age peers, he used to appreciate nature. He had been a man of miracle too that he appeared and disappeared any time and any place(Shihab addin, 2003). In brief, Sheikh Hashim was a great man who spread Qadiriyyah in and around Harar. He conducted numerous miracles (Mu'igizat) and more importantly, he spread the *Ilm* (knowledge). He has numerous writings left for Harar. He was a pioneer of Harari prose, which most Harari writers follow his style of writing poem.

5.6. Amir 'Abd ash-Shakurbin Yusuf

The eleventh Amir of the Dawudi Dynasty of Harar, Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur, is known for his concertedcontribution: ornamental designs, calligraphy, library and, above all, his gold coin of transactions. The prior event furnished and facilitated

for Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur to prosper Harar and enrich his country. 'Abd ash-Shakur was a man of reform.

The calligraphic writing of the 30 Juz Qur'an stands in memory and dedication to each of his family and designated the family names just on the textual margins of his own copy. 'Abd ash-Shakur built a library which contained classical interpretation of Holy Qur'an; collection of the Hadith, jurisprudence and Arabic historical texts. Ayub 'Abdullahi (2004) writes in Harari language about the educational system and the historical beginning (Shihab addin, 2003).

In Harari oral tradition, 'Abd ash-Shakur had been one of great leaders according to Ahmed Shami. He was known for the mosques he built in Bale, SarAmba, and 'Aliyu Amba. He was ruler of all these regions with religious influence to the surrounding people. He was ruler known for convincing and no less for coercion.

Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur was business committed and much concerned of Harari economy; he managed to guarantee the safety of the Harari trade routes employing diplomatically in times of peace and militarily when things went wrong.

Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur's period, is known for most of Harari coins, manufactured after 1783, these coins, in fact, stand indicates modes of transaction of that era. Coins, particularly of the era, tell of devaluation, denominations and equivalencies in value. Few of these coins substantially are gold and bronze, few others are just metals, and still others are pieces of iron and later on Harar used carbon iron to make coins *Mahallaqas* the smallest *Ashrafi* bear higher values. In time value of the then transaction three *Ashrafi* had been equivalent to a Dollar. There had been later on,

around 1842, time when one the copper was equivalent to twenty two mahallaq.

The Harar coins are discovered in Mogadishu as well as 67 of them near to Chalanqo-Sureqebanawa area. Historians explicitly state Amir 'Abd ash-Shakur utilized golden coin (Krutdon) the coins were well inscribed on both sides, 'La ilaha illa Allah' on one side and the name of the governor Amir on the other. The ascriptions calligraphically are close to 19th century coins. Harar is the first to issue coins even Menelik's coins were produced in Harar in 1885.

5.7. Firmach: Pan-Afocha

Firmach were 'assemblies, to be called in order to alleviate threats to the social order or to protect the inner realm of Harari society.' They were those who signed a petition in the "Pan-Afocha" or '*Afochas of Five Gates*'. The *Firmach*, were events of meeting within period of 1928 to 1970. "These Pan-Afocha assemblies called under condition which, demanded immediate decision making, constituted efforts to transcend the limitation of some exaggerated activities within the society which cause societal adverse impact. The reasons are always pertinent to traditional *afocha* affairs. As historical event Pan-Afocha assemblies were announced from Jami mosque, the main mosque in Harar, after the prayer of Friday prayer, when a majority of city men all convened". (Yusuf A. Waber, 1961), Wolf Leslau, defined and stated the purposes of the then event. "When people wanted to abolish the type of *tunsus* wherein young men and women indulge in socially unacceptable activities, the 'Afocha of Five Gates' took council and decided to expel from *afocha* anyone who violated this particular regulation"(Abdukarim A. Yusuf, 1995).

The inter-afocha assembly declared the banning of

the tunsus as well as the extravagant expenditures in weddings, but it did not long last.

Economic changes around *afocha*, such as expenditures to discharge wedding requirements as well as mourning rituals manifested as such to indulge in expensive display while unable to afford were realistically hard to accept; became paradoxical, no less the mourning ceremonies were in need of finance to slaughter oxen for 'bor'.

Consequently, about 60 *afocha* in 1960 (Yusuf Ahmed) and 91 *afocha* in 1967 were called to a meeting. There were five such meetings within 1940 and 1974 (Waldron). Just two Pan-*Afocha* meetings were relevant historically, 'afocha of Five Quarters' of (1957) and (1970).

In terms of structure, for its formation the first *Firmach*, picked two members from each *afocha* and met, but the second meeting was different in which, "five or six elderly '*ragach*', elders chosen by the *afocha* representatives, were organizers of meeting. These elderly Hararis were activists referred to as brave spokes men. (There were *Firmach*, during the Italian occupation, the elders of the city had held a Pan *Afocha* meeting which resulted in issues of the demands subrogated to the Italians). The third, the initiator organizers consulted, discussed with *afocha* general assembly and brought the *Firmach* to a resolution that 'a proclamation of the 'Hammisti Bari *Afocha*' was declared in 1957.

"The *Firmach* presented a document to the community to reform Harari culture"... an important example of the ability of inter-community association, to police the behaviour of their own people and address social and cultural issues" (Waldron, S., 1979). The substantial resolution

'*HammistiBari Afocha*' focused on *zegen, zegen qahwa, zegen balechu, abba matora, mutabbaq, tunsus, and henna ukhat*; those were actually very expensive and gradually became a huge burden to the extent they drove organizers of the ceremony into borrowing and to loans, and so the *Firmach* put degrees of limitation to some of the extravagant expenses.

They brought issues to the general meeting to be endorsed and implemented. However; disputes arose and split of the general *afocha* became reality. In the words of Harari writer, the *Firmach* in the 1957 limited the amount of money to be offered as dowry ... They limited number of pillows... etc. that no poor bride's family should be subjected to economic embarrassment.

The significance of the *Firmach* is that: First, it created highly conscious personalities, rightly considered as, 'brave speakers and core organizers. Second, although some resistance was obvious, especially on some youth groups, the *Firmach* implemented the regulation consistently. *Firmach* was an education movement in its modernity, it initiated new educational curriculums. *Firmach* was also politically influential movement. It developed and metamorphosed into the *Jam'iya Wataniya*, allied to Kulub in 1940. It laid the ground for the eventual establishment of Amashna.

5.8. Amashna Harar/ Uprising: From Education to Political Revolt

Initially *Amashna* was Hararis' search for self-identity and a desire for education which later developed to social movement *per se*. As 1950 EC. extension from the upheaval of Kulub they were socially concerned and determined Hararis, who had the proper issue of

education on the table, to start with, and transformed it to the main issue of politics.

The *Amashna*, pragmatically real action commenced through 15 interested individuals, to accomplish goals in overt and covert tasks. The established body, the committee, was ad-hoc institution with sub-committees of education, festivity, speech delivery and above all fund raising (the donation) committee. It was broad based, inclusive to cover areas and towns where Hararis reside Dire Dawa, Addis Ababa, Haromaya, Gursum, Jigjiga etc.

The Amashna (the night school) was established solely for women to emancipate them from illiteracy. Further girls who never had the opportunity to go to school, benefitted and on graduation from Amashna; many continued their education in government schools.

The seriousness of the *ad-hoc Amashna* was reflected from the nature of secrecy and was served under oath. The committed member secretly strengthened themselves established the 'Unified Brothers' and went on recruiting of committed Hararis to sacrifice for cause so it prepared leaflet and distributed them on certain International platforms. The movement extended to hold other people Oromo and Somali structurally, as understood from documents.

This can be asserted by their songs during annual celebration day, which is held on the graduation day that was adjusted to be on the Mawlud (birthday of the prophet Muhammad PBUH), of course, it is a big gathering. The song they used to sing was mainly based on encouraging people to learn by saying or chanting. The event created closeness with other nationalities and animosity with the government.

One of the Set of Words Sung in Different Languages During Amashna

In Harari Language	Direct Translation into English
-Malmad Madlagin Halbana (#3) -Baadzina Etopiyale Hoji !	-We have to learn, Work (#3) -For our Country, Ethiopia Today !

Same Set of Words in Amharic Language	Same Set of words in Oromo Language
-Mammar Masrat Yigabbanal (#3) -Le Hagaraachin, Etopia Zare!	- Baranee Hojjechuu Qabna (#3) -Biyateenya, Itoobiyaaf Har'a !

Same Set of Words in Somali Language
-Waxbarasho, Shaqo Waa in aan fulino (#3)
-Dalkeena Itoobiya Maantaa !

Further, the connection to foreign people abroad, Cairo and Germany were helpful, they obtained scholarship for many batch and each with more than eight enrolments. The *Amashna* politically were strong to demand their own mayor for the city of principality and objected to tax levied not intended primarily for Hararis development.

5.9. Ada-Gar {cultural centre} Movement

Several years after the Dergue deposed Emperor Haile Sillase from his throne and set up its suppressive regime, Hararis managed to take advantage of an extremely rare opportunity to

promote their culture with the establishment of the institution of 'Ada-gar' (Harari Cultural Centre) in 1980. The effort was, perhaps an extension of 'Firmach or Amashna'. (Firmach attempted the development of cultural practices and had passed resolutions). Similarly Ada-gar also passed a resolution regarding reduction of extravagant expenses during wedding and mourning ceremonies. Ada-gar facilitated, certain cultural festivities, such as 'Ada def-defti Mugad' (Team to research the culture) 'Tarikh Mebsel Mugad' (Team to study history) and artistic groups of mothers and the youth.

In addition, there were attempts, through limited source of fund, to collect Harar cultural antiquities such as baskets, costumes (gey-iraz); educational wood-tablets (*Qur'an* gey *lauh*) and original manuscripts. Publications such as 'Mijja' (progress) appeared in Harar. The Dire Dawa branch published two important issues of *Anier* (Develop) in 1981 and 1982. These publications by themselves had played important roles in organizing and gathering people thus providing platforms to discuss and enhance culture.

The publications, no doubt, favoured the Harari language and literature; important articles and poems appeared. Cultural antiquities and artefacts were in pictorial presentation to orient the new generation. Writings and efforts in poetry, history and culture, including polemics (Yahya Abdullahi, 1990) was promoted as literary culture. Some of these publications were, in their substance, initial sources for researchers on Harari issues and particularly Harari culture.

The significant eventual Ada-gar movements were pivotal leverage to sustain and consolidate Hararis. The endeavours and eventual growth of these

establishments achieved magnificent tasks in those days. There were annual platforms jointly arranged with all the branches, in Harar during celebrations on holidays.

Five committed members were elected from Harar, Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa and later on started political work that became ground for anticipated events. The Ada-gar was well established to the extent that Harar has four well-organized Museums and cultural Centres (Ada-gar) in addition to numerous publications, antiquities, manuscripts and costumes in overall collection. Above all, the awareness of heritage in its multi-faceted features, became shared value since the public discussed it everywhere, that Ada(culture) and Quras(heritage) are fully rooted in Harari consciousness today.

CHAPTER SIX

6. HARARI LANGUAGE

The current chapter aims to reflect few features of Harari language; and to survey the role of oral tradition manifest in the society and depicted in oral literature. Further it unfolds Harari literature from its '*Kutub sinet*' in terms of poetry '*wiqir*' and prose. Finally, the section highlights the performing art of Harari music, and further attempts, to visualize the traditional Harari dances *halas*, *meslah*, *dabaland* others.

6.1. Harari Language (Gey sinan)

Harari Language '*Gey sinan*' is classified as Semitic Ethiopic language. Harari language is spoken by the natives and founders of Harar. The language is known in two historical stages developmentally: old Harari in poetic and prose texts written since the 16th century and the modern Harari spoken today in Harar and its surrounding, and in other parts of Ethiopia and by the Harari Diasporas (Waldron, S., 1979).

Emran Waber emphasizes on the strength and tenacity of Hararis a Semitic language which survived amid the surrounding Cushitic groups. Leslau too, states that the then-Harari history is fairly well documented language.

The following enumeration is limited and just touches on a few points of language, confined to '*gey sinan*' in recent indigenous writing by such authors as, 'Abdurrahman M. Qoram, who has '*Chuqti-Kitab*' (dictionary), '*Makhmakha*'; (proverbs) and Harari '*Sinan Asas*' I, and II (Grammar). The last two are, in fact, orientations to Harari Grammar.

There are peculiarities in grammatical parts: connector prepositions and post positioned as understood from Leslau's *'Gleaning in Harari'*. Similarly, certain elements inside the Harari grammar are summarized by Edwald Wagner. "The normal word order is subject-object-verb, Adjectives, possessives and relative clauses preceding the qualified substantive clauses and the main clause." In a condensed paragraph, Edwald Wagner adds, "Conjunction is placed at the end of the subordinate clause. Some of them originate from substantives preceded by relative clause" (Wagner, E., 1973).

Leslau has synopsis in the *Gleaning Grammar*, "The most complete study of Harari was published by Enrico Cerulli also edited a Harari manuscript in Arabic script and worked out the morphology and the vocabulary of what may be termed ancient Harari" (Wolf, L., 1965).

In addition Brangbose wrote, "Language is a nation's most obvious and most important attribute. There is no such thing as nation without linguistic basis", the social implication more importantly, that language is a "convenient means of communication but also as a unifying force (Brangbose, A., 1991). The justification again prevails explicitly that, without language culture and civilizations would be impossible, language is capable of being a vehicle for complicated human interrelation and complex thought and can be the basics for well-developed culture and civilization (Nugbane, B.S., 1997). This is why the historian Teshale Tibebe emphatically states, 'Harar had an advanced culture in par excellence' and that is disclosed in its culture comprehensively (Teshale Tibebe., 1995).

6.2. Harari Secret Script

In Ahmed Zakaria's contribution to *Encyclopaedia Ethiopia*, under the entry, *Harari Literature* and as sub-title offers the brief history of the secret script that was obtained from his source of oral tradition. "Harari texts and manuscripts have existed which were written in an ornamental secret script. Very few of these texts have been preserved" (Ahmed Zakaria, 1992). Accordingly, "Tradition suggests that it had been used as secret writing system among local Harari scholars and students" (Von Rosen, 1940). Also E. Wagner mentions further these same scripts as Harari Secret writing –system (E. Wagner 2003).

The table below shows there were 15 types of alphabets that had been used for secret script. Except number one i.e. Harari alphabet in the list, the rest are registered according to their sequential order.

No	Name of Alphabet	No of Alphabet	Remark
1.	Harari/Harla/ alphabet	24	Found in 1091
2.	Kirasiyah	29	
3.	Manna	47	
3.	Qalamul Almajar	29	
4.	Qalamul Zaj	23	BC
5.	Qalamul Saghaliyah	27	
6.	Qalamul Aljinni	29	Engraving BC
7.	Qalamul Qibti	29	BC
8.	Qalamul Kibrhum	29	
9.	Qalamul Alqatfaryi	26	
10.	Qalamul Akharu	29	
11.	Qalamul Al qamariyi	29	
12.	Qalamul Al farisi	28	
13.	Qalamul Al hazamah	29	
14.	Qalamul Al afranjiyi	46	

15.	Qalamul Al hazamoh	29	Archeological finding
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The sample script including a list of character with their meaning was published in 1940 by Von Rosen, disclosed Ahmed. Harar could have similar secret writing system whose origins are not studied, concludes Ahmed. This should invite linguist scholars and other Academics to further study the richness of Harari Literature and various other scripts that are not yet surfaced to the world.

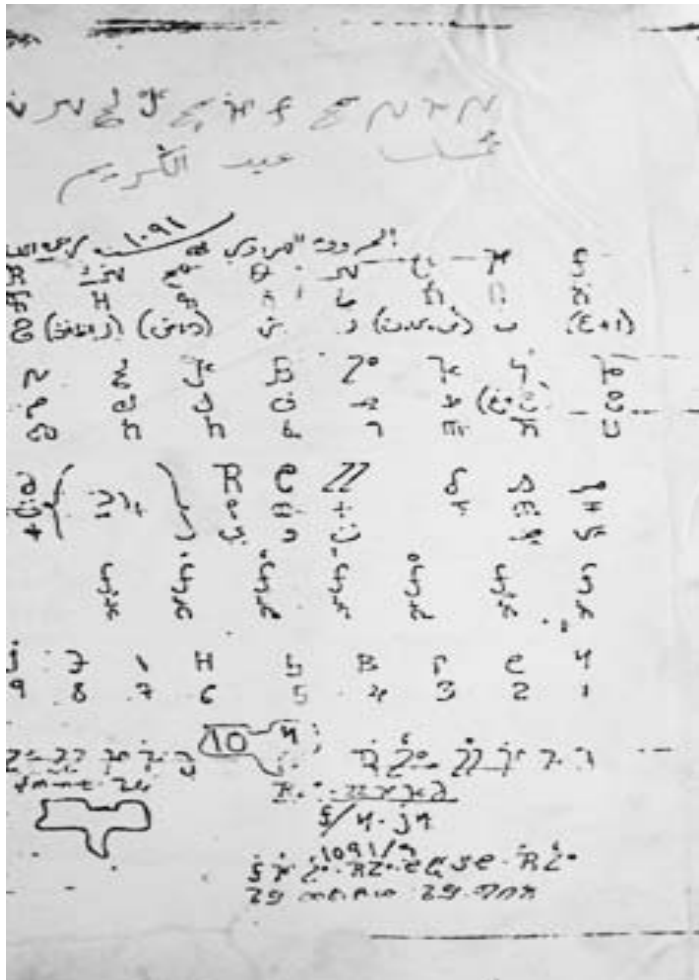


Figure 29:- Ancient Harari scripts; source: Muhammed Abdulkarim

6.3. Harari Literature

Until recent times, Harar had been a centre of learning for Islamic doctrine. During these gone

periods, the *Talibun allim* (the knowledge seekers) flocked to Harar and Harari travelled far and wide to teach. As a result, Harari writing and literature flourished. One of the significant influences of the time was the introduction of Arabic language. In fact, Harari language commonly used Arabic script referred to as 'Ajami.

In addition, Arabic was used as Harari administrative language in '*qadi-court*.' The archives of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (Addis Ababa) and Museums of Harar display the development of Harari literature of the time. Furthermore, many of the instructions and guidelines for translating and interpreting Arabic texts were written in Harari. The 'Shahada' and *TahniedFaraeid* texts can be taken as typical examples.

Arabic words were amply and frequently used in the early Harari writings. The archive documents show that, as a rule phrases in Arabic, are intermingled with Harari phrases, particularly, at the beginning or conclusion of the texts. Some manuscripts, which are noteworthy as literature of the period for instance those of Sheikh 'Abdul Malik, the Harari who wrote *Zikr* (poems), rhyming in the same letter still remain with the traits of the two languages (Banti, G., 2003).

The Hararis, with their capital Harar, "the major city centre of Islamic learning in the Horn of Africa; have produced a considerable body of writing literature in Arabic and in their own language (Banti, G., 2003).

Some critical writers did illustrate the dichotomy of the ancient and the modern Harari writings. George Banti, a researcher mentions as example the "Old Harari Literary Manuscripts in Europe, Doctrinal and moral texts in prose, by scholar Hamid ibn Sediq in 1756." Banti further enumerates, 'Fat'h ar-Rahman'

by Sheikh Hashim, 'Fat'h al-Habashah' by Arab Faqih, 'Fat'h Medinatal-Harar' by Yahya Nasrallah's (discussing events from 1216-1301). These last examples are in prose in contra-distinction of the literature *vis-a-vis* poetry.

Hararis had *Mustafa*, *Kitabal-Qadir*, and the classic *Faraeid* which is in two parts. "Mustafa, attributed to Sheikh Hashim of 16th century, is recited on specific occasions by Hararis. A replica version of this early text has been published in Addis Ababa recently and in general use among the community" (Banti, G., 2003).

Cerulli translated by E.M Waber, expresses the situation of Harari literature. "There was in Harar a local literature, in Harari language but in Arabic character with a didactic in dogmas and Islamic jurisprudence. The book of duets *Kitab al-Faraeid* is a part of this literature" (Cerulli, E., 1978).

George Banti has further revealed the precise event, within Harari history, concerning the function of writing i.e., "One should mention genealogies of Amirs or holy-men as a genuine dossier that lies somehow between written and oral literature in so far as it consists of written lists that were often used as support for oral recitation or narration of events from their lives" (Banti, G., 2003).

Although second to prose writings, poems were not strange to Hararis. To mention some well-known books: Ibn Malik's '*Alfia*', ibn Hagar's '*Tuhfa*', Bussairi's '*Burda and Hamzia*' Ghazali's '*Dalailul-Khayrat*' as well as *Warraq'Al-Qasida* and '*al-Witriya*'. Hararis had *Zikrin* Harari and Arabic, distinctly identified from their grammatical usage, in works such as *askum gir* (thousand times) and *Tesbih*. The very few writings, in Harari language are: Sheikh

'Abdul Malik's '*Zikr*' which initiated and encouraged *Zikr* poems is a pioneer work; while '*Burda*, *al-Qesida*, *al-Witriya*, and *Qasida* were classical in their time and more importantly, due to values they promoted. *Zikr* poem of 'Abdul Malik is claimed to be contemporary of Abadir 'Umar ar-Ridha of the 11th century. 'Edward Wagner had six versions of the text and some additional materials at his disposal.'

6.4. The Classical Prose Writing: Kitab al-Faraeid

As already mentioned, one of the classical writings in Harari literature is Kitab al-Faraeid. Cerulli published the text, which was in Arabic script and in Harari language. Faraeid is a classical piece of writing from three paradigms separately or in combination. The text is: (a) first class or outstanding, (b) ancient (c) typical qualities of order, harmony, and proportional balance and discipline.

Emran M. Waber introduces Faraeid and why it was written: The writing down of this highly literary book was due to the order given by Amir Ahmed ibn Aboubaker who ruled from 1755-1782, Attayeb 'Ali Wanagal-Sadri. It used to be recited verbally during the nights of the holy month of Ramadan (Emran M. Waber, 2009). Despite Cerulli's consideration of the text as religious, it contains various themes comprehensively.

Faraeid's contents are ideas in the highest level of philosophy, morality, and Islamic faith. These elements by themselves are assumed to be in higher standard due to delicacy and abstractions. Waber states that the noteworthy part of Faraeid is, in its morality. Mahdi Gedid, the historian ascertained, that the text was written when the Harari language had reached to the highest level to take its apex (Mahdi

Gedid: 1990). These facts of Waber and Gedid confirm that Faraeid is an outstanding material.

The second element to probe from a written material to classical quality is, whether a piece of writing stands in an ancient period in origination. This could be tested by checking its ingredients. The values that make Faraeid a classical quality in the substance are: the words, word groups, the collocations, sentence patterns significantly reflecting the original Harari writing. The text manifests its qualities in delivery order, harmony, proportion, and balance in discipline of intellectualism qualities to elevate it to higher level. The briefness and compactness are additional features that drives to label them classical writing.

When it comes to establish the authority, as to who wrote Faraeid, the historian Mahdi Gedid wrote: (Mahdi Gedid: 1990), in direct translation, *Kitab al-Faraeid* was partially written by a man called Faqih Attayib Ali Wanagal Saddri and the remaining part by *aw*-'Abdurrahman Alharashi, both known teachers in Harari. Mahdi is conclusive of the era that Faraeid was written in point of time when Harari language had reached its highest level and took its apex. Waber writes on, Faraeid pertains to a booklet in old Harari in which the verity of the faith is expounded, according to Muslim conviction. It is very ably compiled because of a noteworthy part of morality has been dealt within a popular manner, coherent with proverbs (Emran M. Waber, 2009).

Herebelow stated sample of Faraeid from 'Abdallah Sharif's collection with their plain translation:

Harari	Plain Translation
<i>Har'at zelela, zihar'at ta'am eila Har'at zala ziharatta'am hala</i>	He who has not four, misses four tastes He who has four has four taste

<i>Satal qam afet zala</i>	He who has full health
<i>Zihayumzidus ta'am hala</i>	Has tastes milk and honey
<i>Ma'ena iqotzala</i>	He who has meaning and
<i>Ziilmi tima hala</i>	knowledge
<i>Ziqelbihayat zala</i>	Has tastes the wisdom
<i>Zi-Nabi Zikrtima hala</i>	He who has consciousness
<i>Ridha zala</i>	Has tastes the praise of
<i>sout jannat hala</i>	prophet
	He who has (Allah's) blessing
	Has eight paradise

6.4.1. Masnoy

One more *genrepiece* of classical writing of Hararis, a poem written in earlier times is the popular *Qamaria* Shash otherwise known as Masnoy. The beauty and artistic verse led numerous writers to deliberate on a portion or few lines from the text (script); inspired singers condensed and adapted the ideas into a song. Masnoy is a poem in 169 stanzas descriptive of Harari social culture and tradition of its time - a highly classical writing.

Muhammad I. Suleiman, a writer in his book describes Masnoy in Harari, in the following statement he gives as the role of the poem in Harari literature, in that, the writer of Masnoy endeavoured, what had not been attempted, in a sense; he depicted how the lover, as character in the poem, communicates with his beloved girl (Muhammad I. Suleiman, 2005).

Furthermore, he is appreciative, that Masnoy maintains balance, correlates on one side, the theme of love and the theme of property on the other side; he holds that the poem prioritizes and is so expressive, that love over-rides property,. Hence, to Muhammed Ibrahim Suleiman, *Masnoy's* uniqueness is in its powerful message unfolded in artistic poem

of grand composition.

Masnoy is a romantic poem; in narration dominantly an infatuated lover tells his feeling to (*Qamaria* Shash). The other quality it portrays that love to the girl is blended with the love to 'Walled City' words and expression in parallel with two elements of love and the 'Walled City' - Harar.

Additional qualities of *Masnoyinter alia* are devices to establish imagery, diction in alliteration, repetition with emphasis as well as point view may be mentioned. The apparent and understandable conversational dialogue in point of view: when the narrator is talking to *Qamero* in the *Masnoy* speaks allegorically to his country as a person.

The writer sufficiently manipulates device of word usage in alliteration to echo on the ear of the reader, for effectual impact to kindle the concentration in Masnoy. Masnoy is classical, grand and historical artistic Harari poem in Harari literature. Readers can appreciate three stanzas from *Masnoy* and the translation by E. M. Waber.

Harari	Direct Translation into English
<i>Mankhowukh nelekhu kotachowYitmaselzachow ahad ay waldachow</i>	Whom to praise, whom to ignore, Twins, much alike, you are, Sibling, so close, you are;
<i>Qeh qehachow qeh ziqeh mahalaqachow Ajabintekhu kotachow</i>	Fair and rare, both you are, As rare as golden coins you are Engaging and fabulous you are;

<p><i>Tey teyachow tey agam bissiyachow</i> <i>Ajabintekhu kotachow</i></p>	<p>Black , beautiful, you are, As black as bilberry you are Dishy and marvellous you are,</p>
<p><i>Wahachachow Wehachile muluhachow</i> <i>Zebib bissiachow</i> <i>Harargeyyle rumman bisiyachuw</i></p>	<p>Damsel, you, best among damsel, You are our delicious raisins And pomegranates of Harargey, not less</p>

6.5. Harari Oral Tradition and the Folklore

6.5.1. Harari Folklore

Any tale from any social group and any oral narration is Folktale. Oral tradition denotes unwritten stories, beliefs and customs of a culture. The Harari social folklore and the folk literature are expressed in different forms, vis. *Weej-metfeqer* (nursery game), *irioweri* (tales), *dabba-dabba* (riddle), 'makh-makha' (proverb) etc. Folklore is of culture, indeed of humanity, gives an inside out view of society, and a mirror of culture a living of society (Dunde, A., 2007). The significance of oral literature is its manifestation of society, its embodiment of artistic composition in originality and, more significantly, its convenience to deliver themes through improvisation for various levels of audience.

Harari oral literature unfolds folklore. Its function and tasks have substantial societal impact.

From the perspective of tradition and its embodiment of oral literature at plays the role for overall social development. Thus, the functions of the Harari folklore are *inter alia*:

- Giving moral lessons,
- Condoling victims,
- Praising,

- Inducing individual/community initiatives, and
- Recreation and entertainment.

In this context, George Banti discloses. “The oral Harari literature is still much alive among the Hararis, both in their town and in the Diasporas. It includes songs that are performed on different occasions such as wedding festivals” (Banti, G., 2003). The tales of events and symbols reveal Harari life, history, culture, and specially, they sustain Harari morality, as well as, the norm.

Harari folklore, proverbs and idioms are astatically beautiful and deep in their thematic meaning. One can learn history, and establish certain criteria from their style that would enable to distinguish the era they were written about. The writing shows custom, tradition, interaction with neighbouring people. They transmit the required message in a simple and attractive way. The literary developments indicate the progress of Harari language in correlation with Islam. “It is certainly possible to surmise that the last thousand years were time that Harar had progressed in its literature” (Ahmad Zakaria, 1994).

The Harari language has idioms ‘*hal-sinan*’ or ‘*balotach*’ otherwise, ‘*wareg-sinan*’, is one of the genres in folklore. Certain publications have appeared too, like any other language, Harari has a certain number of idioms that give insight into the culture of the country.

The reflection to the Harari idioms was substantiated provisionally by 'Abdi Khalil's ‘*Harari Balotach*’, and Amir 'Ali 'Aqil's ‘*Hal Sinan*’. The latter treated them, providing meanings and explaining their usage in his two books ‘*Hal Sinan*’. Amir 'Ali's collection of idioms are better organized, sorted out in alphabetical order with two or three meanings; as well as, application in simple sentence- the first of its

kind as an input in Harari language. The Harari nursery rhyme or '*weej metfeqer*' are said to be deep and wide in wisdom. In M. I. Suleiman's statement, *weejmetfeqer* categorically in *pari-materia* are religion, environment to be awarded of loss of culture and discipline orientations and all stand emphatic in season (Muhammed I. Suleiman, 2005).

6.5.2. Harari Irioweri/the Folktale/

Irioweri also contributes a lot to the Harari folklore. The genre, folktale *Irioweri*, depicts the substance in the rational and emotional issues. In addition, to its stated features, it delivers a complete story, with beginning, middle and end, vividly portrayed. Moreover, the folktales show, time, setting, events and thematically articulate something for the supposed target.

Emran Waber (2009), has about thirteen Harari (folktales) all translated into English. Zinet 'Abd al-Rashid, graduation research gives more than 40 folk tales, recorded in audio-tapes and translated into Amharic language. Zinet identified seven categories, of *irioweri*, namely: wisdom, truth, marriage, folly, laziness, lethargy and revenge. Her paper though originally designed to delineate the characteristic traits of tales, tends to be thematic description (Girma Zenebe, 2007).

There are two important attributes worth mentioning: first, folklores in their transmission from time to time can adapt themselves to prevailing conditions. This quality reflects their dynamism. The themes are in objective reality of the society (Zinet Abdurashid, 2000). Second, the folktales embody episode, characters, language usage etc... in general, they describe the society that produced them. Harari *irioweri* folktales condense issues of morality, justice, equality and, above all, they disclose social

interaction. The deeper meanings relay in totality wisdom from the past generation to posterity.

6.6. Harari 'Dabba-Dabba' (the Riddles)

Riddles structurally appear in question-and-answer formats and, in terms of category they stand as folklore. The riddles in their frame are characterized as compact utilization of words, phrases, and rarely in complete sentences. As W. Leslau put it, understandably riddles describe ideas through grammatical elements such as relative clause, present tense (auxiliary), main verb, and the past tense (perfect) verbs. Readers notice contrast words in riddle statements in a variety of instances, such as pronouns (in person), possessive, as well as variation pronouns. The subtle Wolf Leslau (1982-1983) collected about 291 Harari riddles and analysed the diverse structures of the riddles. The compound sentence elements, main clause and connector, the main clauses in gerund and imperative statements embodied in the few riddles, collected some of the structures among the items analysed by Wolf Leslau.

“Leslau Riddles of various types included are classified in 16 different thematic categories and as often is the case with most of his researches, he has dealt with formal aspects of these riddles” (Girma Zenebe, 2007).

6.7. Performing Art in Harari Culture

6.7.1. Harari 'Wiqir' / Poems and Poetry

“In the City State of Harar, an Eastern Ethiopia traditional lyric (song poetry) indeed represents one of the most significant expressions of knowledge and intangible cultural heritage”(Haria & Abdulmuheymin, 2010). Bricchetti Robecchi (1896), Cohen (1931), Leslau (1947), Jenken (1947), Mohamed

'Abdurrahman (1953) and DurriMuhammed (1955), whose poems focus on wedding and friendship(*mugad*) had been known as pioneers in the history of Harari poetry. These writers described the Harari wedding songs (poems) with theme of love, religion and social life.

Poetry, in Harari reflects duality of spiritual and secular values of the people, as the art is elevated in form and content. Besides the classical *masnoy* and '*Kitab al-Feqer*', Abdul Hafiz Khalifa's '*Nibarot Minta*' -what is life '*Wai Hidag*' – 'Don't Woo' added in the recent seventies establish the variety of literatures. Recently 'Abd al-Hafiz's book '*NiberlignAye*' (Live for me ma!), actually was composed in 1963 EC but published in 2012. '*Orit Aye Neberlign*' - 'Live for Me My Good Mother' holds few long and short poems.

Post-1991 could be likely, the golden era of magazine. Concurrently, two 'poem texts' appeared by Abd al-Fattah 'Abd al-Qadir '*Hirfat* and Harari Sinan Wiqir Sinet' (1999) and another book of poem was published jointly by Ayub 'Abdullahi Jami and 'Abdullahi'Ali Sherif 1999 etc. The book '*Tihaywan Mugad Zitarikh Alef*', holds 100 song poems, well organized, holding relevant data in text, tabular information, and handy and convenient analysis; attributes to data gathering of Ayub and 'Abdullahi who were members of *HaywanMugad* at the time.

'Abdulmuheymin in collaborative research on the Songs of the City and '*HarargeyFeqer*' are based on the compiled traditional poems in their representation. The first point from the study is, the categorical sorting, of the traditional Harari songs. The Inter-disciplinary approach unfolds, "To elaborate study holds as linguistic philological, literary, historical and anthropological musicology study" (Sortoi &

Abdulmuheymin, 2010).

The second, Abdulmuheymin and Haria S. persist on, poems in multifaceted layers in spectrum furnish, the needy reader to pick few beams illustratively within the dimension of literary concepts perhaps delicate apparently. The study yet more focused and realistic as such the endemic local “cannot be removed or detach itself from the positive relationship with the community and cooperative interaction with local and international researchers and intellectuals.”(Sortoi & Abdulmuheymin, 2010).

In fact literally, the traditional poetry of Hararis is noteworthy for it ‘represents one of the most significant expressions of knowledge and intangible cultural heritage’. Further, poetry encloses an extensive portrayal of multifaceted character of Harari culture. The Harari textual poems, spiritual *Zikr* and secular dances hold different, as well as, shared traits. Of course, Abdulmuheymin Abdunasir has the extraordinary ‘*Harar gey Feqer - ti-MasnoyHigang*’. The Harar poems show unique and diverse strength in duality. The songs of the city represent Harari cultural identity; concurrently songs disclose the main aspects of local musical, political and knowledge as well as the subsequent adjustment through history and socio political circumstance. The embodied qualities pertained to prevail and establish the reason to attract people from at home and abroad.

Thus, Harar poetic song in text, fixed or improvised includes semantic themes, religion, patriotism, friendship, love and marriage with the competence of poetical creation and texts (Haria Sortoi., 2010). Harari persists on the tradition in sense of development without depriving it the substantial and compromises its delivery in modernity. It is also worth mentioning that the introduction of tambourine [*duf*] into the

Harari songs brought drastic change in the development of song.

As an important rendition of the gender participation, it befits to quote “men are like the river that flows, women are like a pool that gathers and beautifies the water of flowing river. If Harari mothers were not to sing according to our father’s tradition, Harari people would have disappeared centuries ago” (Sortoi & Abdulmuheymin, 2010).

6.7.2. Artin Harari Traditional Music

Harari poem in traditional, spiritual and modern songs are substantial and cover a wide range from *halas*, *meslah* to the hot rhythmic dramatic music. *Dabal* assumes a separate category in the integrated Harari performing art within the *Ada feqer* chanted by individuals and in group further solves the issue of gender in public appearance. The performing art in music is often conducted in wedding houses; the ‘*tunsus-gar*’ in ‘*anqer-mahtab*’, not less in ‘*arouz-gar*’, in addition to the Eid and Arafa celebrations *Zegen-karabuas* well as *qalam-masbar*. These are ideal events of the traditional dances.

The participants in wedding festivities are from both sexes. On the other hand, Harari mothers (*ayach*) and fathers (*awach*) perform the *Mawlud* separately. As general norm, girls and boys with *gelach* and *merignach*, respectively ‘act separately’.

Guttihalas an integrated dramatic music informally takes place in Arafa celebration and *tunsus-gar* (wedding houses). In the *halas* actual performance, a circle of *muqads* is established and *ahalas* girl is requested to sit at the centre of the circle. As soon as the girl (*halas ziweredti*) in the middle, the poet

singer commences in *saley-mesta* as instructed by one of the friends *Tali* (begin). He artistically praises in solology. Interestingly, he commences with lines for *halasitto* join willingly.

“In fact *salley* songs are performed in solo” clarifies AbdulmuheyminAbdunnasir“Whatever song a single person performs is then called *salley*. The solo may be performed for entertainment or as an accompaniment to specific activities or peculiar emotional conditions.” (Sortoi & Abdulmuheymin, 2010).

Hararis of the generation realize that the *salley*, activities performed in sort of soliloquy or could be in two parts singing of *menses and melhad*, where the first initiates the lines and the second catches accordingly. Harari songs functionally:*miras-feqer*(inheritance song), *mihra-feqer*(labour song), as well as *yada-feqer*(grief song) are deliberated in *menses* and *malhad* or otherwise referred to as *Ko’otan-ko’ot*. The significance of *salley Mestais* to deliver the poem in an orderly manner, both at the request to *waregit*, the girl to be praised, to appear in the circle as well to see her back to her seat.

“The request to the girl (*halasturdizatuw*) is the request to younger sister, never in duress, in any cohesion as such.” Abdul Hafiz persists about the event inside wedding houses. “In the tunsus there had been enjoyable and fascinating *maslah, dabal, halas and masnoy*.

Second, other than the poetic praise, *halasit’s* arrival and her departure too are duly praised in traditionally established poetic lines *halas mefales*. The refusal for the girl to be in the centre too has the condemnation lines in *gosa-metfeqer*.

In maslah, two boys face a girl in classical dance and is rarely performed in wedding houses and Arafa song unique dance. Maslah is accompanied with musical *kabal*, wood plate, *duf* tambourine on the audience side, and three persons, two men and lady, who dance in a slow motion. The lady faces the two lads maintaining sufficient buffer zone. The dressing is fascinating ablaze in proper colourful girl's costume. The lads too wear *kuta*, and jointly occupy the whole floor with the girl.

The *dabal*, the drum music, spiritual, in the performance of *Mawlud Zikr* in which male adults dance mostly in wedding festivities is rendered emotionally. In some cases women from outdoor kitchen informally, follow the rhythm and dance, in time. The *afocha* excel in such duties.

The traditional *dabalis* represented by *gidaya shamuna*. *Dabalis* performed often at times of *fanqer-mahlab*, *ayach-karabuas* well as *inarouz-gar* often and recurringly carried out by one male (vocalist) a few audience with *kabal*, (wooden plates) large *karabu* (drum) and *duf* (tambourine) and clapping audience. Four persons jump in centre rotating, allowing others to replace, in intensive and exhausting dance.

According to Nuria Abdullahi Jami, Yahya Abdullahi and Abdulmuheymin, it is always preceded by *mikfach* (starting) or *darsi*. In Yahya Abdullahi's reference in *Anier*, adult's cultural songs youngsters, girls and adult women's (*Ayach-Karabu*) are certainly conducted almost always preceded by *mikfach* or *darsi*. Thus, as in all other socially unfolded few features, song style correlate with cultural complexity. Reordiness and clearness of enunciation were found to be associated with cultural complexity; extends the Harari music texts embodied of faith, love,

culture, and history, as well as, social concerns. The *halas, maslah and dabal* are such in complexity and all are distinct.

The description of *dabal* brings to remind the historical ‘*Gidaya Shamuna*’ hot jumping dance. ‘*Gidaya Shamuna*’ the popularly known *dabal* music highlighted in few lines in *Encyclopaedia Ethiopica*, Ahmed Zakaria, offers the relevancy of the song (from “Mahdi Gedid) reports the oral tradition that alludes to a certain Amir, who was fondly remembered in Harar for extending a big wedding ceremony that depicted a peculiar wedding song associated with *Gidaya Shamuna*.

Harari	Direct Translation into English
<i>Gideya Shamuna, wa-wa Muna</i>	Muna of <i>Gidaya</i> and Muna of <i>Sham</i>
<i>Saraw wa aborede.</i>	What a wedding of <i>Sara</i> !
<i>Muna zisheleme Saraw zishilaleme</i>	How Muna is beautified, how <i>Sara</i> is beautified
<i>Wa wa muna</i>	Oh Muna! Waw Muna!

The event, perhaps alludes to and describes Harari mothers who love ceremonious and respectful marriage of beloved daughters, not less so the fathers too. The *raison d’etre ‘dilliqbe’* is to conduct shining and amazing ‘*balachu*’ and perhaps this is one of the reasons why mothers adore *afocha*. The *dabal* describes and manifests such feeling to the utmost.

6.7.3. The Zikr Ritual

One of the three secular dances *dabal* provides a performance to be shared in high value vital religious and spiritual dance in Harari *Zikr*. *Dabal* in *Zikr* is conducted in *Mawlud, Nabi-gar, and awachas* venue and occasionally performed privately in Harar in

sacred venues *aw-Aqbara and aw-Wariqa*. The unique Harari celebration takes place in *Shuwal* month; the eighth day on conclusion of Ramadan so named *Shuwal Eid*. The *Zikr* of *Mawludd* discloses the relation between tangible and intangible heritage of Muslims, in general, and the Harari people in particular. Second, the improvisation uttered in poems reflects reality and modernity. Third, *Zikr* distinctly weaves fabric Islamic devotional practice and cultural continuity for Harari people. Intrinsically the function of *Zikr* is to shape the behaviour of people, in general, and inculcate the frequent attendance in particular, in morality as can be seen from the *Zikr* and the plain translation.

Lines in Harari	Plain translation in English
<i>Bismila dogn zigna,</i>	Bismila our anthem
<i>Yasin hutur zigna</i>	Yassin our protection
<i>Nabiw bytiengale hal zigna</i>	Nabi, Oh! Prophet, is our tradition
<i>Hala amal zigna,</i>	Our character and behaviour

In *Zikr* rituals people articulate thoughts and internal feelings, aspire more to characterize and enter due judgment as from the following lines at times chanted publicly during occasions or whenever opportunities prevail. The following four lines are illustrative.

Lines in Harari	Plain Translation in English
<i>Yimaj nikhashana</i>	We deserve better!
<i>Yimaj nuqeina</i>	We know not the better!
<i>Yimaj youq Allow</i>	He [Allah] who knows the better!
<i>Yimaj firaday</i>	Render us the better!
These lines reveal the intent and desire	
<i>Zagnaleina mashleina</i>	Day breaks and night falls

	for us
<i>Ukkuzobet khana leina</i>	So happened as it is
<i>Yi kutzot khanalena:</i>	And so we accept it!
<i>Yamashala yazagnala;</i> <i>Allahu muttizo</i> <i>yiwarala</i>	He darkens (night) and brightens (day). He [Allah] alone sustains.

The above extracts depict dissatisfaction or discontent with the *status quo* and seek better *yimaj* and claim justice and better conditions in life, and could not help but preserve throughout.

The classical early poets of *Zikr*, Sheikh Abdul Malik, Ibn Malik, and Sheikh Hashim etc. initiated, and the contemporaries too followed their foot-steps and contributed *Zikr* for Harar. An explanation of *Zikr* and *Mawlud*: two ritual traditions in which local manifestation of Islam and holy-men veneration display unique features that help understand the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage in Harar(Taristani, S., 2008).

The public performance of *Zikr* enhances tolerance and intensifies the connection between the legacy of tradition and accompaniment artistically in poetic musical dance practices. *Zikr* manuscripts, linguistics and ethnic musicological analysis that recent publication of compiled *Zikr* envisioned by indigenous people. *Gey-sinan melmud yikhashizal Nabi-gar yahri*, - those interested to learn Harari language let them attend *Nabi-gar* indicates that one learns poem, poetry, (rhyme and rhythm) and the Harari *sinan*. The textual rendition of Harari *Zikr* depicts quality poem elevating poetry to super value. Elaboration offered by *Zikr* message fascinatingly depicts dictions, word choice, phrasing and structures so comprehending, articulated beautiful expressions. In wider dimension emotion that drives the devil of ambiguity and uncertainty (Muhammed I. Suleiman, 1997).

The absorbed culture of contemporary Hararis holds the principle and belief that ‘*igna Harariach zakireenachintena*’ - we Hararis are *zakireens*! It is credible and plausible in that Hararis compose *Zikr* to-date, ever since time of Sheikh Abdul Malik. Yes, of course, “They are numerous manuscripts of *Zikr* hymns more than 100 years old. It is understood that about 600 *Zikrs* are recorded” M. I. Suleiman adds, “all Hararis are accustomed to *Khulafaal-Rashidun* and *Salihinach*,”(Muhammed I. Suleiman, 1997) “*Zikr* rituals have permeated Harari life and the repertoires of songs has expanded beyond its origin of tetragonal hymn to becoming one of the facets of Harari identity” (Sortori & Abdulmuheymin, 2010). Amongst the oldest *Qasida* within Harar and performed as *Zikr* in religious rituals are several manuscripts of the *Qasida, MedaHabib* by Sheikh Abdul Malik writer in the 19th and 20th century. ‘Despite all the historical vicissitudes, Harari rituals are still practical---the daily life and especially in major festivities collective celebration becoming more than ever before, a major symbol of the culture identity of the community’ (Sortoi & Abdulmuheymin, 2010).

Zikr is a devotional activity, characterized by hymn praising Allah, the prophet and holy-men! The texts had been portrayed by excerpts from verses of the Holy Qur’an, recitals from *Zikr*. The specific *Zikr* rituals called *amouta-karabu* are often performed at funerals.

The *dabal* which is already explained in the secular dimension, shares the dance and beat in spiritual *Zikr*, as ritualized in cultural expression among other features, present sing responsorial regarding of writers text performed by groups that are coordinated spiritual leaders often with rhyme of percussion instruments clapping, that may in value emphatic gestures and

dancing. ‘*Nabi-gar*’ really is, then a place to learn history and language, in conducive atmosphere of silence to concentrate on, as explained by current interviewee, Abdulmuheymin Abdunnasir.

GLOSSARY

<i>'Ada</i>	Culture: custom(s), practice(s) etc. Ada-gar means cultural centre.
<i>Adare</i>	This word is derogatory expressing low opinion or criticism to Hararis by the invador Ahmaras and/or Oromos who coined the word itself. The aborigines call themselves Harari or Gey Usu’, never use the word Adare.
<i>Afocha</i>	Social, traditional self-help organization ever since the coming of Islam, to observe wedding (<i>balachu</i>) and (<i>amouta</i>) mourning as immediate tasks.
<i>Ahli</i>	Relative or member of family network in blood relation.
<i>Amir</i>	king, sovereign or leader.
<i>Asheer gar</i>	Night school for adults to learn Islamic education.
<i>Ashura</i>	The 10 th day of Muharrem-the starting month for Hijjiria Callendar. It is the day that Hararis commemorate it with voluntary fasting and having Wirshato (Gourd Smashing) and ceremonial porridge feeding for both human beings as well as hyenas.
<i>Awach</i>	Muslim holy grave of <i>awliyas</i>
<i>Awliya</i>	Muslim holy men/women.
<i>Badri Yam</i>	The 17 th day of the month of fasting – Ramadan.
<i>Balambaras</i>	Governor, title by Abyssinian monarchy.

Dergue	'Military Junta' referring to the Provisional Military Council latterly under the leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam (1975-1991).
Eid	Islamic Festival, as in ' <i>Eid al-Fitr</i> ': breaking of the fast at the end <i>Ramadan or Eid al-Adha (Arafa)</i> .
Faraeid	otherwise <i>kitabul Faraeid</i> , popular prose writing originally in Harari Ajami.
Fatiha	The opening verse of the HOLY Qur'an - <i>Surat al Fatiha</i> .
Galma	Sacred site/house or hall/ associated with a saint (or where a miracle was performed by a saint).
Gideer	Large, big as in <i>Gideer Magala</i> - big market.
Gufta	the hairstyle of a married woman - <i>Gey usu'</i> - the hair is wrapped into two balls behind the ears. It symbolizes the maid is married, no more female sole /single.
Haj	the pilgrimage to Mecca.
Haji/hajia	Terms of respect to address persons who have made pilgrimage to Mekka, male and female respectively.
Hamat	<i>Is mother-in-law especially bridegroom's mother in Harari.</i>
Hannolato	Somali word literally means. 'long live'; otherwise, <i>Gey usu'</i> independence movement in the 1940s. Latter the Amhara invaders were to use the word as derogatory to express humiliation and criticism to Hararis and their movements.
Innay	The word usually prefixed to a woman's name to mean respected Madam.. It rarely suffixed to common nouns such as: Haras Innay which means traditional midwife.
Iraz	Skirts or the traditional garments: <i>tey iraz, shinawi, jawwi...</i> etc. in numerous colours and designs.

<i>Jama'a</i>	Union for religious observances, Harari adult groupings.
<i>Kabeer</i>	An important religious instructor or learned man, in <i>Qur'an</i> gey and <i>Asheer gar</i> .
<i>Khatimat</i>	The 27 th day of the month of Ramadan, mostly conclusive day of reading of Qur'an in Ramadan.
<i>Louh</i>	Tablet or slate (here referring to that upon which students write verses of the Qur'an).
<i>Madrasa</i>	School where the Islamic education and sciences are studied.
<i>Maghrib</i>	Refers to the prayer at sunset.
<i>Mahallaq</i>	Harari currency related to <i>ashrafi</i> . Harar had gold, silver, bronze mint coins.
<i>Mahri</i>	An amount vowed by husband; agricultural land as <i>mahri</i> in Harar culture.
<i>Malaq</i>	Chief of a small area, in a town usually a quarter, traditional management for water and land.
<i>Maqam</i>	Sacred site usually associated with a holy man (or where a miracle was performed by a holy man), Abadir's meqam is in <i>Suqtat Bari</i> .
<i>Mawlid al-Nabi</i>	The birth day of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) – celebrated on the 12 th day of the month of Rabi' al awwal.
<i>Medinat al-Awlia</i>	city of holy men; applied locally to Harar, otherwise; Jabel al-Awliya /mountain of holy men.
<i>Moy-gar</i>	A house whereby girls learn and use as a work- shop for Harari traditional basket making.
<i>Mugad</i>	Harari youth grouping, known to promote Harari music, dance and poetry, the smallest unit in military structure, the mugad, now-a-days, is team for ad-hoc tasks.

<i>Nikah</i>	Islamic marriage process witnessed by fathers or male representatives of the bride and bridegroom at the presence of a <i>qadi</i> .
<i>Qadi</i>	Judge of Islamic law or <i>Shari'a</i> . <i>Harar had numerous qadis who served in Harar.</i>
<i>Qubbi</i>	Tomb (here, tombs of Muslim holy men/women) indicator of Islamic shrine, <i>Awach</i> .
<i>Quras</i>	Heritage in antiquities, artefacts both in tangible and intangible. Harar is World heritage by UNESCO.
<i>Subhi</i>	The early morning prayer at dawn.
<i>Sunnat al-Juma</i>	The righteous practice of Friday, activities associated with the most holy day of the week.
<i>Tabarak</i>	One of the most read Sura of the Qur'an amongst <i>Gey usu'</i> (Sura 67).
<i>'Taquet</i>	Niches/wall recess inside residential walls of Hararis such as <i>eqed'taquet, tilli'taquet...etc.</i>
<i>Tariqa</i>	literally 'path' in Sufism, the way or path of a particular spiritual order/leader.
<i>Wiqri</i>	Poem and poetry, such as <i>masnoy, Kitab al-Feger</i> .
<i>Ya-Sin</i>	Sura 36 of the Holy Qur'an, a frequently read Sura amongst <i>Gey usuat</i> graveyard, during burial.
<i>Zaribet al-Harar</i>	Coinage of Harar/ minted in Harar.
<i>Ziyara</i>	Visitation to Awach/shrine where one usually takes gift and receives a blessing, such as <i>safar ziara</i> .
<i>Zikri</i>	spiritual poem to remember, praise the Creator and the Prophet (PBUH).

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ANNEXES

Introduction

The following documents discuss the sacrifices the Harari people have paid in the course of the prolonged fight and conflict, the least of which was the confiscation of private property. Furthermore, data related to agricultural activities, such as ownership of land taxation system and other details are found. The collections in Sharif's museum are, mostly the same, though the diversity and the size of the collections are smaller. On the whole, the archives are assets in any effort to construct the history of Harari people and of Harar. In addition, the scanned documents that were obtained from the Harari Culture, Tourism and Heritage Bureau, overwhelmingly discuss the peripheral parts of Ethiopia during Haile Sillasje's imperial and Mengistu's military regimes.

Annex 1: Lists of Informants

List of Informants

S/R	Name	Place	Age	Remark
1	Abdella Kemal (Sheik)	Zuway	65	Silti culture and history, an opinion leader of the same community.
2	Abdella Sherif (Haji)	Harar	61	The museum in Harar that serves as a representation of cultures of different peoples in Ethiopia.
3	Abdi 'Ali (<i>aw</i> -Nigus Mureed),	Kombolcha	50	Chief of <i>aw</i> -Nigus mosque, long years of service in the mosque.
4	Abdullahi Mohammed Buh	Dire Dawa	60	Writer on Harari history in Amharic Language.
5	Abdullahi Addus	Diredawa	73	He has deep knowledge on Madrasa, Courses and Pedagogy.
6	Abdulatif (Dr)	Haromaya	54	Oromo genealogy and Oromo oral traditions.
7	Abdulmuheymin Abdunnassir (Kebir)	Harar	70	Well known scholar in Harar, knowledgeable person on Harari people, culture and history; is well informed in literature and poetry.
8	Abdunasir Idris	Harar	46	Historian and heritage specialist; wrote on Harari culture for his dissertation, presented papers on Harari historical matters. He has profound and analytical understanding of Harari history.

9	Abdurahman Shewad (Haji)	Dallocha	57	Informant and knowledgeable oral literature on Silti people, history and culture; a representative of Silte people in local political structure and still serving.
10	Abdusamad Idris	Harar	60	Well-known and knowledgeable personality in Harar, life-long experience in Harari political activities; two interview sessions:(1) narrates in detail the political developments from ancient times to recent period, (2) discusses on economic, environmental and cultural aspects of Harari people.
11	Aboubaker Saedy	Harar	72	Oral tradition among the Hararis and introduction of Islam.
12	Aboubaker Abdulhamid	Dire Dawa	75	The origin of oral tradition on Islam and Harar.
13	Afofar Dauwud (Ato)	Afambo	56	He discusses the economic, political and social developments in Afar.
14	Ahmed Abdullah (Sheikh)	Harar	78	Qur'an-gey, Madrasa in history, living witness.
15	Ahmed Fesih	Dire Dawa	84	Qur'an-gey and the co-curricular Harari traditional education berti-berti.
16	Ahmed Mohammed Al-Shawri (Ato)	Afambo	80	He discusses the economic, political and social developments in Afar. The first journalist in Afar language when the Ethiopian FDRE was established.

17	Ajbara Hulle (Ato)	Afambo	52	He narrates the history of the Afar, how Mohammed Ga'az established his dynasty; Kebeer Hamza; the economic activity, the economic, cultural and political relations of the Afar and Harari peoples as stated on 2.3.3 above.
18	Ali Addishr	Jarso	95	Harari informant discusses the settlement patterns of peoples in Jarso, relations of peoples of the area and ancient sites with historical significance.
19	Ayini Fatah	Harar	65	Knowledgeable person of the Islamic shrines and functions of Awach.
20	Ayub Abdullahi Jami	Harari	60	Knowledgeable personality in Harar, and in Harari political activities. He narrates in detail the political developments in Harar from ancient times to the very recent period; discusses economic, environmental and cultural aspects of Harari people. Professional by training on Heritage.
21	Bersebo (Haji)	Warabe	63	An oral historian on Silte people; he discusses the genealogy of the Silte people and their cultural practices.
22	Girma Minda	Bishoftu	54	Farmer on the field of Shimbira meda, nomenclature of Shimbira meda and Baharashehe as well as Shimbira Kure.

23	Hamza Kibo	Dire Dawa	84	Oral historian of Harari Youth Associations (Mugads) and Musical team called Dud Kumul; <i>ziker</i> writer.
24	Hussein Allo Hamza (Haji)	Dallocha	78	Oral informant on the history and culture of the Silte people; the origin of the Silte people, and the settlement patterns; he recounts the genealogy of the Silte people and how the Silte genealogically are related to the Harari people.
25	Ibrahim Ahmed (Sheik)	Ayssaita	72	Well known arbitrator in Afar clan conflict. He narrates the history of the Afar people and their relations with the Harari people.
26	Kedir Ibrahim (Sheik)	Halaba	50	A well-known oral historian who discusses the history and genealogy of the Halaba people, and how they are related with the Harari people through the line of Sheik Seidi. He also claims to belong to the Sheik Seidi clan lineage himself.
27	Khalid Hussien	Harar	43	De facto archaeologist collected a lot of materials on the subject and he has visited a number of sites in and around Harar. He narrates the settlement patterns of peoples in this region with accuracy, discusses the clan relations of different peoples in the western and Eastern parts of Harar.

28	Mohammad Ahmed H. Sharief	A. A.	83	Respected and honourable Harari elite, pragmatic in Harari region Administration's reinstatement during TGE. He served as the first representative of the Harari in the House of Peoples Representatives of FDRE. He has deep knowledge in Harari history and beyond, especially in the Horn of Africa and Middle East.
29	Mohammad Shash Galmo	Harar	58	Well-informed on overall Harari traditions and history; he was in rank on later stage Haile Selassie regime and the Dergue appointee with vivid memories.
30	Mohammed Ahmed	Al-Jeilani Mosque	55	Descendant of <i>aw</i> -Jeilan, Hadra room where the different drums are found, the madras rooms where Qur'anic education is provided for children, before its decline.
31	Mohammed Roba (Dr)	Dire Dawa	73	Best informant on the origin and advent of Islam in Harar.
32	Munira Ahmed Waber	Dire Dawa	58	She is a knowledgeable person on gender issues, baha & <i>afocha</i> in dev't in <i>status quo</i> of <i>afocha</i> .
33	Muktar Ali	Harar	42	Very cooperative and eager to see the balanced history of peoples as well as Harar's role in social integration and interaction of peoples. He discusses the settlement patterns of peoples in and around the Harar.

34	Mume Bukur	Dire Dawa	75	He has knowledge of the symbols: Niche <i>Eqed / TilliTaquet</i> .
35	Mustefa Adem	Suqul	63	Well known oral informant among the Oromo. He narrates traditions and genealogy of the Oromo. He also discusses the age-old Harari-Oromo relations.
36	Nassir (Haji)	Warabe	45	Well known oral informant in Werabe. The Silte Zone Culture and Tourism office classified its potential informants on the history of Silte people. He is one of the classified informants.
37	Nuria Abdullah Jami	Harar	60	She is knowledgeable person about Harari Cultural Objects, Music and Dance.
38	Remzi 'Ali (Ato)	Harar	40	He is <i>de facto</i> historical geographer. He discusses the settlement patterns in Harar and the surrounding. Often times his descriptions are accurate and indeed he had contributed a lot in this field research both as a guide and information source.
39	Towfiq Kurtu	Harar	65	He is well informed about oral tradition and history of Harar and Hararis.
40	Usman MengeshaTahir (Ato)	Chinakson	80	He is well informed oral historian on the settlement patterns around Chinakson. He also discusses the cultural mixes of the Oromo and Somali people in Jarso.

41	Zewge Ketema (Ato)	Zuway	45	He is a Zay by birth and multi-cultural person. His knowledge on the history and culture of Zay is detail.
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Annex 2

Some of the detainees' Properties Abused

Translation

Application

To his Excellency Mr. Aklile Dejen

According to your order to give you notification about the financial report of the property of Haji Mohamed Abubakar to whom I am the agent, I, Shash Garad Issa, hereby confirm by my signature that the goods/commodities which are sold and the income which is obtained from 1st June 1948 to 8th July 1948 are stated in the following table.

Commodity number	Type	Sales price		Total	
		Birr	Cents	Birr	Cents
13	First class Nezifa price	6	00	078	00
83	Medium class Nezifa	4	50	103	50
14	Used Nezifa	4	00	056	00
09	Medium class Nezifa	42	50	040	50
66	Used	14	50	165	00
04	First class folded kuta (traditional dress)	05	50	058	00
04	Used simple kuta (traditional dress)	4	50	022	00
28	Used single kuta	5	50	126	00
15	Used folded kuta	8	00	075	00
01	Medium class women dress	10	50	008	50
04	First class women dress	05	50	042	00
13	Used women dress	05	00	104	00
15	Used blanket	08	50	078	75
02	Women's traditional belt	09	00	017	00
07	Green Kaki coat	1	25	063	00
21	Abujedid	1	50	026	25
1 ^{1/2}	White cloth	1	75	002	25
4	Red jawwi cloth	2	00	007	00

32	Abujudid shirt	4	50	064	00
04	Black coat	1	75	018	00
02	Black vest	3	75	003	50
14	Traditionalmen's belt	3	50	052	50
		3	50	008	75

9. List of commodities which are obtained from the shop of Mohamed Abubakar

No	Type of commodities	Unit			Commodity price		Commodity price	Remark	
		In no	In metre	Sum	Birr	Cents			
1	First class nezifa house spun warp	63	-	-	-	5	50	4	
2	Medium class Nezifa house spun warp	23	-	-	-	4	-	4	
3	Used Nezifa house spun warp	41	-	-	-	3	50	4	
4	Medium class Nezifa house spun warp	9	-	-	-	4	-	2	
5	Used Nezifa house spun warp	78				21	-	14	
6	First class Kuta	5 ½	-	-	-	14	-	5	
7	Used single Kuta	17	-	-	-	5	-	4	
8	Used Kuta single	35	-	-	-	4	-	5	
9	Used Folded Kuta	16	-	-	-	4	50	8	
10	Medium class women dress	10	-	-	-	8	-	10	
11	First class women Dress	11				10	-	8	
12	Used women dress	31	-	-	-	7	50	5	

13	Used dress	16	-	-	-	5	-	8	
14	Women's traditional belt	21	-	-	-	8	-	9	
15	Green coat	19	-	-	-	8	50	3	
16	Green Short	1	-	-	-	8	-	1	
17	Abujedi	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	
18	White cloth	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	
19	Striped line shirt	1	-	-	-	3	-	2	
20	Striped line shirt	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	
21	Red Jawwi cloth	1	-	-	-	1	50	2	
22	Shirt made of abujedid	33	-	-	-	1	75	4	
23	Black coat	1				4	-	1	
24	Black vest	4	-	-	-	1	50	22	
25	Black night cloth	20	-	-	-	22	-	3	
26	Traditional men's belt	-	-	-	-	3	50	3	
27	Shirt	-	-	-	-	3	25		
28	Light cloth	-	-	-	-		50	4	
29	Mattress		-	-	-	3	15	3	
30			-	-	-	3	25		

1stMato Aleka Abera Sisay 2ndGirazmach Kedeselign Abiy 3rdBarambaras Ibrahim Abogn 4thAhmed Umar 5thYusuf Arab and 6thBirhane Gosa counted the warehouse of H/ Mahamed Abubakar Kennawaq as follows.

No	No of commodities	Type of commodities
1	2	Two spring bed with mattress
2	3	Three mat
3	1	One foam mat
4	2	Two big and small Italy made mat
5	1	One praying mat
6	63	Sixty three big and small handmade wares in kind

7		62	Sixty two remain big and small
8		9	Nine mat
9		1	One Debbeso heavy mat
10		2	Two coloured mat
11		1	One old kasim
12		1	One praying sigaja mat
13		1	One road light(Fanos)
14		1	One wall watch
15		1	One table watch
16		1	One wall mirror
17		3	Three big concaved metal dish
18		4	Four nickel metal dish
19		1	One Anafiya Bida
20		70	Seventy different books
21		1	One coffee grinder
22		1	One meat grinder
23		2	Two axe
24		2	Two axe
25		2	Two koda
26		1	One pincer
27		1	One
28		2	Two wosaficha
29			
30			
31			
32		2	Two sacks of janfal coffee
33		6	Six sack of groundnut
34		1	One sack red pepper
35		1	One none pealed skin
36		2	Two metal box

37		1	One medical tool
38		1	One thermos flask
39		1	One wood bed
40		3	Three glass
41		1	One cooler
42		1	One wood chair
43		1	One shra chair
44		2	Two small wood box
45		6	Six big wood box
46		1	One cloth muday
47		1	One wood cash box with separate sections
48		1	One nickel bather holder
49		4	Four electric bulbs
50		6	Six jaramo measurement
51		1	One small box contains car material
52		7	Seven knives with wooden handle
53		2	Two sickles
54		3	Three sickles without handle
55		1	One small dish
56		1	One pasta filter
57		1	One salen mat
58		6	Six flattened barrel sheets
59		2	Two pipe metal of ½ thick
60		1	One cloth washing barmel
61		1	One beer shelf
62		1	One full box abish

Sl no	Type of commodities	Amount of commodities				Bought		Sales		Total
		Length	No	Metre	total	birr	cents	birr	cents	
1.	Kalos silk yarn in tubba	241					45		50	
2.	Four jewelleries	3				1		1	50	
3.	Red mark thread	3					50		75	
4.	Bind silk	1				3		3	50	
5.	Land measuring tape 20 mts	1				4	50	5		
6.	White handcarchief	3					75	1		
7.	Metal metre	1				1	50	2		
8.	Kilo	3					50		75	
9.	Hand metal measure	1				1		1	50	
10.	Low quality				3	1	25	1	50	
11.	Secured lock	1				5		6		
12.	White Asmud	300				1	75	2		
13.	Singer model no. 6217119	1								
14.	Cloth cutter (scissors)	1								
15.	Small table	1								
16.	Empty jerkin	3								
17.	bench with no handle	4								
18.	Glass	2								
19.	Kabba	1								
20.	Marashok	1								
21.	White tear	2				1		1		
22.	Nail in small packets	8								
23.	Promus	1								
24.	Hinge	4								
25.	Green paint	1								

26.	Used umbrella	2								
27.	Handmade pillow	1								
28.	ETB	27								

Annex 3:

Minute to Breakdown the Harari Struggle

የመጠቀሚያ ምዕቅድ ስለሚሆን የሚገባው ስራ ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል።

እንዲሁም ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል።

6/ ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል።

7/ ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል።

8/ ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል። ስራው ለሁሉም ሰዎች ለማድረግ ይገባል።

ወይም ነገር በቀሪው ተከታይነት ለመጠገን ይቻላል። ~~የሌሎች~~ መታየት
ተኛ። ለህግ ጥያቄዎች ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ይ/ የጠር ወቅት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለመጠገን ይቻላል። ግን ይህ ያለው ወቅት ለገደብ ስርዓት
በስጦታ በስጦታ ስርዓት ይቻላል። ይህ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ለስጦታ
ያለው ይቻላል። ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

የ/ አካላት የሆኑት ይህ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ለገደብ
ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

በ/ ቀን ስርዓት የሆኑት ይህ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

የገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
በገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
በገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
በገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

የስራ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
በገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
በገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
በገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

ይ/ ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

የ/ የስራ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።
ለገደብ ስርዓት ለገደብ ስርዓት ለመጠገን ይቻላል።

ግድግዳ፡ ንዚገለግልቲ፡ ይልቅገዎ. ግድግዳ፡ ስህህ
ንዚህገዎ ልዑላዊ፡ እንደሌለቲ፡ ንዚህ ንዚህክርገዎ
ግድግዳ፡ እንቅራባ፡ የደርዶ. እኩዳግ፡ ሞጋ. ያህላ፡ እንደ
አላይ ያለፊ፡ ነገር

እኔም. ግድግዳ፡ የሚመጡት. ግድግዳ. የሚመጡት፡ ግድግዳ
እኔም. ነገር

ሁሉም፡ ግድግዳ፡ የሚመጡት. ግድግዳ. የሚመጡት፡ ግድግዳ
ግድግዳ. ነገር. ግድግዳ. የሚመጡት. ግድግዳ. የሚመጡት፡ ግድግዳ
ግድግዳ. ነገር

የግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ፡ ስለቀረበ፡ ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ
ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ

እንደሆነ፡ ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ
ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ
ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ

ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ. ግድግዳ

Translation

The Minutes of Meeting Chaired by the Governor General of Harar -

Prince Mekonnen Duke of Harar.

Transilation of the minute

23th January 1948

Minutes

Subject: Some advice on Adare Muslims who resides in Harar city and their intention not to be governed by the Ethiopian government.

The meeting is chaired by the governor general of Harar - Prince Mekonnen Duke of Harar.

Members:

1. Blata Ayel Gebre Governor (Enderase) of Harar Province
2. Fitawrari Alamayehu Derbe
3. Kegnazmach Wolde Amanuel the Director of Harar Province
4. Fitewrari Gangul Kolake
5. Aba Mezgebe Silase
6. Blata Asfaw Habtegiorgis
7. Kegnazmach Yohanis Bitewulign treasurer of Harar Province
8. L/Col. Wakjira Serda military head of Harar Province
9. Major Yimam Goshu police head of Harrar Province
10. Ato Tasew Ayele
11. Grazmach Ashagre Kurse
12. Aklile Degen

The Prince starts his speech by saying that all the participants of this meeting shall

exchange ideas and discuss and after that the assembly will deliver the necessary decision.

Issue: the Adare Muslims who live in walled city of Harar have determined not to be governed by the Ethiopian central government and they have established their own association for this purpose. As you know it well, I am not supposed to give detailed explanation on this issue.

It is heard that the elders had discussed and sent few individuals to Mogadishu. The necessary follow-up and surveillance is carried out in order to understand the source and the purpose and mission of the messengers. The Islamic community has assembled in Harar with the belief that Christians will not be within the walled city because of the Christian holy day on 21st January 1948. The security force has immediately arrived there. After long investigation writtendocuments were sequestered and arrested members of the association.

The Adares further assembled on January 22 and applied to Blata Ayele Gebrie for the release of the imprisoned individual, stating that all of them are part of the idea which was the cause of the arrest, without any fear. As they are co offenders they are made to stay in prison and we believe that you are informed of this.

Therefore, though this is the time where all Ethiopians are required to cooperate as one family as the representative of the four greater nations are in Ethiopia to investigate the situation in Ethiopia;

these Adare are taking their own side for their own interest. Even as it was heard that they are making their evil motive known everywhere they are and though expected that it is unsuccessful idea, it is found necessary to carefully follow the case.

Therefore, Blata Ayele Gebrie must go to Addis Ababa and explain the situation in Harar to the Emperor. That is:-

Whether additional supportive military force is required for the peace and order of the city or the existing military force is enough?

Whether the court proceeding of the suspects are to be held in Addis Ababa or it will be held in Harar on arrival of the High Court judges.

Generally, the mode of future administration to be conducted in this province must be clearly discussed. Before Blata Ayele Gebrie goes to Addis Ababa, the letters must be read here.

We call you for this meeting in order to think over the issue and forward your recommendation as to what type of measures are to be taken against those individuals. You are also expected to forward the strategy to be used in the process of taking the measures.

Even though rumours are heard over the issue, there is no one who is willing to provide us with strong evidence. We investigate for what purpose the association is established. We have also taken the necessary follow up as to what

activities the association has carried out. It is stated that as Eritrea is made not to join with its mother state Ethiopia, the Kulub association has strong relationship with the union which is located in Mogadishu with the intension of unifying Somalia with Ethiopia. We do not take this explanation for granted. After following the source of their evil intention for a long and through patience, what we identified the one you heard from speech of Leul Getaye, Said Blata Ayele.

I tell you that first the Adere committee come to the office of the province of Harrer on January 21/opposing the imprisonment of their community members who were assembled for their evil motive based on strong evidence.

I have permitted for three elders to come and forward their ideas. I have told the elders to select a few elders to submit their written application in the afternoon.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon some elders came to me and they have stated that those imprisoned individuals should be pardoned and set them free. We have sent those individuals to Mogadishu; we did so in order that all the Harari Muslims are independent from the Ethiopian government administration. We have chosen those imprisoned individuals in order to convince the 4 greater nations concerning our state.

We have written our message to the delegates of 4 greater nations union

We have written a letter to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Britain

As the representative elders have explained what their thoughts were without any fear, I have required them to sign on their written application and accordingly they have signed on the document.

I have given an order to imprison the co offender elders. You have to consider carefully what is the elders have written.

The letter which is written by the group located in Mogadishu to the Islamic union in Harar is read to the assembly together with its annex.

The case was first examined by members of the meeting; each member provided opinion and the main issues among others are shortly stated herein under.

1stBlata Asfaw H/Giorgis

If his Excellency Blata Ayele Gebre goes to Addis Ababa, it will be interpreted in another spirit. Therefore he would better stay in Harar and carry out any required activities. It is better additional supportive security force to come to Harar.

The suspects are better imprisoned in another place instead of here in Harar.

If the court proceedings of the suspects are held in Harar, it will have deterrent effect to other individuals from engaging in same criminal offence.

2ndFitawrari Guangul Kosase

It is important if his Excellency Blata Ayele Gebrie goes to Addis Ababa and explains what is going on here in Harar to the emperor. As it is heard the Harari communities have hidden various military

weapons, it would be better to search the households by encircling Harar with security forces.

If additional supportive military forces come to Harrer, it is important for the peace and order of the city. However, as the soldiers complain against the administration, it would be better to provide them with their salary and bonus.

The court proceeding of the suspects must be held here in Harar.

3rdAba Mezgebe Sillasie

If H.H. the Prince remains in Harar, then it is better for Blata Ayele Gebre to go to Addis Ababa and explain what is going on in Harar to the emperor. There is no better messenger than his Excellency Blata Ayele Gebre.

If additional supportive military forces come to Harrer, it is important for the peace and order of the city. However as the soldiers complain against the administration, it would be better to provide them with their salary and bonus.

The court proceeding of the suspects must be held here in Harar.

4thKegn Azmach Yohanis Bitewulign

We cannot decide the venue of the court proceeding whether to be held in Harrer or Addis Ababa. This is because the issue is political one. The higher officers and authorities will determine and settle this issue.

We have to be careful about the prisoners. They may bribe the security forces with

money. Their network reaches Addis Ababa. Therefore, reliable security forces must be assigned for the prisoners.

It would be better if additional supportive military forces are added and take care and make ready ourselves. However, soldier's problem should be critically considered. Unless we solve this problem of soldiers first, it is impossible to have trust on their loyalty.

It is better for Blata Ayele Gebrie to go to Addis Ababa and explain what is going on in Harar to the emperor. There is no better messenger than his Excellency Blata Ayele Gebrie.

5thMr Tassew Ayele

As all Muslims have a desire to be free from the government of Ethiopia, it would be better the military at the highland to move to the low land area. The military will familiarize itself with the condition of the low land area. However, if we immediately mobilized the military to the low land area, it will face difficult with the new condition of the low land area.

It would be better to have supportive soldiers who come from another place. As the soldiers complain that they do not obtain their monthly salary, it would be better to pay their salary. If his Excellency Bilata Ayele Gebrie goes to Addis Ababa, it will not be interpreted in another spirit.

The court proceedings would be better to be held in this area. Until final judgment is provided against the suspects, the suspects

shall be imprisoned in well secured place within this province.

Many things would have been obtained if military weapons search had been conducted.

6thGrazmach Ashagre Kurse

If his Excellency Blata Ayele gebre goes to Addis Ababa and submits his oral reports, it will not be interpreted in another spirit.

It would be better for the judges of High Court to come here in order to conduct the court proceeding against the suspects instead of taking suspects to Addis Ababa.

It is important to bring additional military force to this province. However the government should consider the logistics for the additional military forces.

7thAto Aklile Dejen

The destructive idea of Harrarges is disclosed now. They planned for long period of time. They had been stumbling blocks for the activities of the government.

Therefore, it would be better for the court proceedings to pronounce their punitive judgement here in Harar.

Concerning the security, it is important to bring additional military force. However, as the military complains for the delay of the payment of its salary, it would be better to pay their salary as soon as possible.

The prisoners should be kept away from

contacting their relatives and elders of the community. The security forces should be carefully selected in order not to be bribed.

Therefore the necessary care should be taken in this regard. The salary and bonus should be paid to the members of the military.

It would be better for Excellency Blata Ayele to go to Addis Ababa to talk the emperor and ministers.

In order to conduct the military weapon search in every house hold, additional military force must come from Addis Ababa.

8thL/ Colonel Wakjira Serda

It would be better If His Excellency Blata Ayele Gebrie goes to the place and execute all the required activities, his going there will not be interpreted in other sprit.

The suspects shall be tried here rather than taking them to Addis Ababa.

There are only 6 brigades in Harrer and there are soldiers who have lost their lives and who have deserted the military. Therefore, additional military force is necessary. In addition we have to make the entire brigade to be equipped with logistics and other facilities.

As the soldiers do not obtain their monthly rations on time, they feel angry. Even, currently, they are not obtaining their monthly ration. He also stated that, the case of searching shall remain until Blata Ayele returns back.

9thShaleka Yimam Goshu

His Excellency Blata Ayele Gebrie may go there and submit his oral report. In order to send additional military weapon, the coming back of Blata Ayele and the realities of the time are important.

It would be better for the suspects to be imprisoned in the remote area like Debre Birhan where their branches do not exist than here and Addis Ababa. The judgment can also be executed there.

11thFitawrari Alemeyehu Derbie, it is important for his Excellency Blata Ayele Gebrie to go to Addis Ababa and submit his oral report to the emperor.

As the military force in Harrer is adequate, it is not important to demand for additional force from Addis Ababa. If the soldiers are paid their salary which they did not obtain previously, it will tone down their grievances.

If the army divisions are well equipped with the required logistic and cars, with their necessary spare parts, the enemy will not provoke us.

Had it been assumed that the military is not enough, we can mobilize the militia and civilians.

The judges of the High Court are better come to here in order to preside over the cases of the suspects on the place chosen by the province.

He also stated that until the court proceedings get finalized, the suspects shall be imprisoned in a well secured

place.

12thBlata Ayele Gebrie

He has stated that the military which exists in Harrer Province is that of six major are under Leutenal Colonel Wakjira and one major under Dechazmach Habtesilasie and totally there are seven majors within Harrar province. On top of this there are city police, national security solders and militaries which are established in Churchur.

Therefore, concerning that, every Major under the leadership of Luetenat Colonel Wakjira is not complete, it is important to think one Major shall be organized with 700 soldiers and equipped with the necessary logistics. Therefore, I do not think it is important to add other supportive military.

We have to make our soldiers not to expect anything from the merciless people. We have to avoid the problems of our soldiers in order to make them loyal. We have to fulfill the required weapons, adequate benzene or oil and spare parts for the military cars. If we perform all these activities, I have no doubt of any tension.

However, when we request you to sent additional military force you have to send promptly.

Until the required decision is delivered, the police of the city are not enough to secure the peace and order of the city. Therefore, it is important that the military and security solders to be ready and stand at the strategic places of the city.

Concerning the judgment; it is better and important if the judgment is heard and the proceeding is conducted in this case where the suspects have perpetrated their destructive offense. Had the suspects been taken to Addis Ababa as there may be individuals who share the idea of the suspects in Addis Ababa, the judges there in Addis Ababa may let the suspects free by giving arbitrary decision.

Therefore, it is important to select and notify the judges who preside over this case. The place of their imprisonment and their security shall be decided by the authority rather than the council. Concerning the idea for search of military weapons, it is recommended that the idea is delayed for some period of time in the future. The council has unanimously agreed on the above stated ideas.

There is illegible Signature

Annex 5: Sendeq Alamachin-Newspaper



Translation

Mercy and Pardon

After few Harrari Muslims are imprisoned for few days for the desertion they commit against the government His Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie has given them absolute pardon and mercy to the prisoners who are pardoned by the merciful emperor on the precious month of May, the following are the statement mattered by the pardoned prisoners by saying that they will be absolutely loyal to the central government.

YourMajesty,

We, the individuals who are pardoned by the merciful Emperor, understand that we are offenders and the offence which we have committed is not subjected to mercy and pardoned. Our creator who liberates us from slavery and from the subjugation in the hands of our merciless enemy is not satisfied without act. However our mercifully creator excuses our acts.

With the help of his majesty Emperor Haile Selassie mitigates the capital punishment which we would have been serving to prison.

After we serve the prison for few days, the merciful emperor has pardoned us and we are let free.

YourMajesty,

We never forget all time your merciful pardoned you have given to us and it will be sealed in our heart forever. You will receive two wise blessing from the creator for your merciful

deed. We are committed that we will serve our country Ethiopia loyally and diligently. We will never be engaged in similar offensive acts.

We hereby extend our heart full gratitude to your majesty for your merciful pardoned you has given to us. The following are the individuals who are

1	Abdellah Abubakar Sherif	41	Haji Ibrahim Ali
2	Abdellah Umer Ali	42	Haji Ibrahim Suleiman
3	Abdosh Addus	43	Haji Idris Abdibor
4	Abdosh Ali Yahya	44	Haji Ismael Ibrahim
5	Abdulhamid Ahmed Zeidi	45	Haji Mohammed Abdulgheni
6	Abdulkadir Ahmed	46	Haji Mohammed Abuboker Kenewaqa
7	Abdullahi Ibrahim Khatib	47	Haji Mohammed Ahmed Adish
8	Abdullahi Surur Mohammed	48	Haji Mohammed Omardin
9	Abdulmalik Abdullahi	49	Haji Mohammed Qumash
10	Abdulmalik Abdurahman	50	Haji Mohammed Yusuf
11	Abdulmenan Mohammed	51	Haji Mohammed Yusuf Wazir
12	Abdulwahab Mohammed	52	Haji Mohammed Ziyad
13	Abdulwahab Sherif	53	Haji Shasha Bokere

14	Abdulwahid Sherif	54	Haji Umer Abdellah Shadir
15	Abdurahman Sherif	55	Haji Yonis Ahmed Addus
16	Abubakar Yusuf Yonis	56	Haji Yusuf Khalifa
17	Abubaker Mohammed Adish	57	Idris Ahmed Abogne
18	Ahmed Khalil	58	Idris Ahmed Mohammed
19	Ahmed Yonis	59	Idris Ibrahim Abdellah
20	Ali Abubakar	60	Ismael Ibrahim
21	Ali Haji Yonis	61	Kebir Ahmed Lazim
22	Haji Abbas Abogn	62	Kebir Yusuf Yonis Sheikh
23	Haji Abdellah Yonis	63	Mohammed Addus Sherif
24	Haji Abdi Yonis	64	Mohammed Addus Sherif
25	Haji Abdosh Yusuf	65	Mohammed Ahmed Dedere
26	Haji Abdullahi Adem	66	Mohammed Ahmed Qalo
27	Haji Abdullahi Ahmed	67	Mohammed Omar Bore
28	Haji Abdullahi Bahar Sharif	68	Mohammed Yusuf Kebir
29	Haji Abdullahi Mohammed Abdurhaman	69	Mohammed Yusuf Wazir
30	Haji Abdullahi Salih	70	Mume Addus Ibrahim
31	Haji Abdurhaman Sheikh	71	Sheikh Abdurashid Haji Ibrahim
32	Haji Abubakar Abogn	72	Sheikh Abdureshid Haji Ibrahim
33	Haji Abubakar Ahmed	73	Sheikh Ahmed Gidaya
34	Haji Ahmed Yonis	74	Sheikh Umer Mohammed Addus
35	Haji Ali Abdullahi	75	Tawfiq Abubakar Fendish
36	Haji Ali Abdurahman Weber	76	Umar Abdullatif

37	Haji Basha Mohammed Allam	77	Umar Ahmed
38	Haji Durri Abubakar	78	Umer Nure
39	Haji Ibrahim Adem Lapis	79	Yusuf Abdi Faqi
40	Haji Ibrahim Ahmed Abulghes	80	Yusuf Abdulkadir
		81	Yusuf Abdullahi Nasir

The following are the statements which are uttered by Muslim elders of Harrar city who are satisfied by the merciful acts of the emperor.

Light of Ethiopia

His Majesty

We, our names are stated here in below, the elders of Harrar city; hereby state the following statement to His Majesty in our names and in the name of the Adere Muslims.

Your Majesty,

While we are ashamed and annoyed with the criminals act few members of our community, his Majesty who is merciful by nature has pardoned the individuals. Accordingly, we hereby extend our heart full gratitude to His Majesty for his merciful deed kneeling before the Emperor.

Your Majesty,

We cannot see His Majesty in our full eyes due to destructive act of our fellow brothers. We hereby sincerely stated that, the pardoned not only concerns the offenders but also it concerns to all Muslims who resides in Harrar.

Your Majesty,

It is normal for a child who commits a fault to ask his father for pardon. Therefore, we sincerely request your majesty who is the father of your people to give us absolute pardon even though the offense is serious.

Muslim Elders who live in Harar city :

Haji Ahmed Allasat, Haji Abdi Dia, Mohammed Ahmed Sherif, Haji Ibrahim Kebir, Haji Abdullahi Husen, Haji Mohammed Beraso, Haji Ahmed Wazir, Ahmed Haji Mohammed, Kebir Bukur Ahmed, Haji Ibrahim Sheikh, Haji Ahmed Qumash, Haji Ahmed Sherif*.

Annex –6: Name of 5 gates in different languages

Harari name	Amharic name	Arabic name	Oromo name
Argob bari	Erer ber	Bab al- <i>Rahmah</i>	Kara Erer
Assum bari	Fallana ber	Bab al- Fat'h	Kara Falana
Asmaddinbari	Shewa ber	Bab al-Nasr	Kara Hamaresa
Badro bari	Buda ber	Bab al-Hakim	Kara Budawa
Suqtat bari	Sanga ber	Bab al-Salam	Kara Sofi

Annex 7: The main reviewers and attendants in the workshops were:

1. Gessi Mukhtar Ahmad Allam	A.A.
2. Dr Abdurrahman Qoram	A.A.
3. Gessi Mohammed Abdurashid	A.A.
4. Gessi Mahdi Shumburo	A.A.
5. Gessi Abdullahi Idris	A.A.
6. Dr. Muhammed Ibrahim Roba	Dire Dawa
7. Gessi Abubakar Abdulhamid	Dire Dawa
8. Haji Abdulwahab Yonis	Dire Dawa
9. Gessi Abdullahi Addus	Dire Dawa
10. Gessi Ali Naji	Dire Dawa
11. Gessi Abraham Abdurhman sheriff	Harar
12. Gessi Ramzi Ali	Harar
13. Gessi Mukhtar Ali	Harar
14. Gessi Mohammed Shash	Harar
15. Gessi Abdullahi Ali Sheriff	Harar
16. Gessi Khalid Hussien	Harar
17. Gessi Abdi Ali Kheiro	Harar
18. Gisti Shukria Ahmed	Harar
19. Gessi Towfiq Kurtu	Harar
Attendants in the public workshop	
20. Gessi Amir Yonis	Harar
21. Gessi Bahar Abdurahman	Harar
22. Gessi Awad Abdulhadi	Harar
23. Gisti Sitra Idris	Harar
24. Gessi Abdulhafiz Mohammed	Harar
25. Gisti Anisa Adem	Harar
26. Gisti Najaha Usmael	Harar
27. Gisti Yasmin Zakariya	Harar
28. Gessi Zuber Abdi	Harar
29. Gessi Abdulhakim Abdulmalik	Harar
30. Gessi Abdulsalam Mohammed	Harar
31. Gisti Qismet Mohammed	Harar
32. Gisti Summeya Mohammed	Harar
33. Gisti Fariha Abdurahman	Harar
34. Gisti Muna Umar Sheriff	Harar

35. Gisti Rawda Mohammed	Harar
36. Gisti Sa'ada Abdurahim	Harar
37. Gisti Hanim Abdurahim	Harar
38. Gisti Maftuha	Harar
39. Gisti Hanim Ahmed	Harar
40. Gessi Husien Ali Bule	Harar
41. Gessi Hafiz Abdosh	Harar
42. Gisti Huda Moti	Harar
43. Gisti Orit Mohammed	Harar
44. Gisti Mawardi Gatur	Harar
45. Gisti Yasmin Ali	Harar
46. Gisti Najaha Abdullahi	Harar
47. Shiekh Ezadin Abubaker	Harar
48. Gisti Fatuma Haji Ahmed	Harar
49. Gisti fathiya Yusuf	Harar
50. Gisti Hudhuda Gatur	Harar
51. Gisti Hindiya Kamil	Harar
52. Gisti Tawaduda Ali Abdella	Harar
53. Gisti Fathiya Mohammed	Harar
54. Gisti Safo Garad	Harar
55. Gisti Sureya Abdurahman	Harar
56. Gisti Amira Mohammed	Harar
57. Gisti Zahra Yusuf	Harar
58. Gisti Nuriya Anis	Harar
59. Gisti Alfiya Usmael	Harar
60. Gisti Firdowsa Zakeriya	Harar
61. Gisti Rawda Aw Ali	Harar
62. Gisti Munira Suker	Harar

Annex -8: stamp seal hujjahs & dry sealed marriage certificate



ANNEX 10: Stamped Seal Marriage Certificate



Dry seal marriage certificate



UNITED NATIONS
EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND
CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

THE UNESCO CITIES FOR PEACE PRIZE
2002-2003
FOR AFRICA

HAS BEEN AWARDED SOLELY TO

The City of Harar
(Ethiopia)

IN RECOGNITION OF
ITS OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION
TO THE PROMOTION OF THE VALUES OF
PEACE, TOLERANCE AND SOLIDARITY
IN EVERYDAY LIFE

KOICHIRO MATSUURA

BARCELONA, 2 SEPTEMBER 2003

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

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