ISLAMIC PRINCIPALITIES IN SOUTHEAST ETHIOPIA BETWEEN THE THIRTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES (PART I)

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Throughout the period of the Aksumite Empire in Ethiopia (first-seventh century A.D.), which was orientated politically, economically, and culturally to the Hellenistic Mediterranean world, no records of peoples and states adjoining its territory in the south were transmitted. The rise of Islam and its penetration into Africa happened to be simultaneous with the decline of Aksum and created a dualism between the Christian Ethiopian Empire, Aksum's political heir, and a range of Muslim sultanates which gradually emerged along the northeast African coast. Because the directions of their expansionary policies seemed to have been contrary to one another--the Christian Empire trying to gain access to the sea and the Islamic states aiming their efforts at infiltration westward into the highlands beyond their desert coastal plains--a struggle for priority between them was indicated from the very beginning.

Ethiopia's first contacts with the newly created Muslim world religion in the seventh century were peripheral (Trimingham 1965, p. 44f.). At the end of the Zagwé period (A.D. 1137-1269) in the Christian Empire, Eastern Shawa was the seat of an Islamic principality under a dynasty called Makẖzumi, which had been founded in A.H. 283 (A.D. 896/7), and thenceforth--that is, from about A.D. 900--a continuous and increasing conflict existed, manifesting its effects up to the present time. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the documents reveal the sultanates as a politically important factor in the history of southeast Ethiopia. Three hundred years later most of them had vanished into historical anonymity, and hardly anything, at the first glimpse, seemed to have been left to indicate their previous existence. Up to now studies of them have commonly not exceeded explanatory footnotes in editions of Ethiopic or Arabic original source materials, as for instance the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* or the Christian royal chronicles from the Middle Ages.

PRECONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the availability of information sources, which is relatively high when compared with the norm in African history, the period between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries can be reconstructed only fragmentarily. This is partly because during these 300 years the principalities of southeast Ethiopia did not always exist simultaneously but sometimes overlapped in time or, in certain cases, replaced one another in historical sequence. The complexity of political and ethnic denominations and the contradictions,

which can frequently be observed in the literature, considerably complicate the study of their localization and development.

Linguistic-etymological analyses are by no means sufficient to procure reliable data, when there are no additional relevant proofs to support the reconstruction of the past. Consequently, we need to strive for a valid historical base beyond etymological comparisons. The important records relating to this period consist of three different types: (1) Ethiopic chronicles, (2) the reports of Arabic historiographers, and (3) the references of European travelers (see Braukämper 1973, p. 33).

The Oromo (Galla) migration in the second half of the sixteenth century abruptly discontinued the indigenous historiography concerning southern Ethiopia in both Arabic and Ethiopic. Moreover, the expansion of this people was the main reason why the Islamic principalities were completely extinguished, and their memory is only kept in the oral traditions. Frequently, however, the old names survived in locality and clan denominations, which can be surveyed in the field.

The systematic comparison and correlation of data derived from partly contradictory information sources, that is, the historical records and the oral traditions, present a great number of methodological problems.[1] In numerous cases it remains doubtful as to how far contemporary ethnic and topographical names can be correlated or identified with those of old documents. Partly because of the various types of transcription, there are sometimes divergent forms of the same name. Last, the migrations of the peoples in question have been considerable, and it has been their custom to transfer the old denominations of localities, where they came from, to places which they occupied later.

Another complication for the reconstruction of the previous ethnic situation in southeast Ethiopia arises through the interpolation of Islamic value concepts. The native tradition of Islamized Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples concerning their ethnogenesis often relates that a Muslim saint of noble Arab ancestry became the founder of their groups. For instance, legends of the Somali claim that they originated from the connection of Oromo women and Arab men,[2] and because of the honorable descent of their male line, they consider themselves superior to other peoples of northeast Africa.

Despite these problems, inherent in the oral transmittance of information sources given by the contemporary generation about their people's past, it cannot be questioned that intensive field studies carried out among the Oromo, the Gurage, and the Hadiya/Sidama groups can still considerably enlarge our knowledge of the southeast Ethiopian history,[3] although the possibilities of collecting new oral data become more and more limited as time goes on.

Chronology and localization are, of course, only partial items for the historical research of those areas. They are basic prerequisites which provide a framework of information for the wide context of what we call culture history. Respecting this general aim, the relevant questions arise: who were the ethnic representatives of the old principalities between the Somali coast and the central Ethiopian highlands, what languages did they speak, and to what extent was there an ethnic continuity or change? Those

questions cannot be answered with satisfactory completeness, nor can altogether sufficient data be obtained concerning the principalities' socioeconomic status and their inhabitants' cultural background. Consequently, we cannot determine if they were at the same organizatory level, whether chiefdoms, kingdoms, or states with a more democratic organization. Since the inherent problems of definition and sociopolitical classification are of secondary importance in the context of this study, the Islamic states shall be referred to under the general term "principality."

It is a matter of course that we should be aware of the striking differences in their size and historical relevance. There are examples, like Mora, Arababni, Dära, and so forth, which are scarcely mentioned in the literature, and others, like Yifat, Hadiya, Däwaro, and Bali, which are documented as important states with long continuous histories; and there is, finally, the empire-like state of Adal, which at the climax of its power comprised various dependencies. Because of their different periods of existence and because of occasional problems of localization, a strict geographical order cannot be kept, but the sequence in the descriptions of the principalities below is primarily assigned by their historical connections. Before we start the analysis of the different political entities, we must consider the ethnic situation on the eve of Islamic expansion.[4]

HYPOTHESES CONCERNING THE OLD ETHNIC STRATUM ON THE EVE OF ISLAMIC EXPANSION

It can safely be assumed that southeast Ethiopia, the area between the Omo River and the coast of the Indian Ocean, was occupied in the thirteenth century by groups of the Ethiopic race who partly spoke Cushitic or Semitic languages. The question of an ancient Negroid population (Azaïs and Chambard 1931, p. 213) shall not be discussed here, because the contemporary race situation, including the one of the despised potters' castes about whom much has been speculated, and the historical traditions give but vague explanations in this field. The Adoné, a Negroid Somali-speaking population on the banks of the Wabi Shabällé, are obviously the offspring of Bantu slaves who settled and expanded there since the last century (Paulitschke 1893, p. 29; Bottego 1895, p. 85; Swayne 1895, p. 137; Smith 1897, p. 153; Vannutelli and Citerni 1899, p. 39). Various authors argue that there was a "proto-Hamitic" stratum in large areas of northeast Africa from which a group of peoples commonly called Sidama (Sidamo) are believed to be descended (Cole 1954, pp. 275, 278; Clark 1954, p. 232 passim; Honea 1958, p. 98). Hypotheses of this type are hardly useful for the dimension of our specific study. This is also true for Plazikowksy's stressing the fact that the Aksumite emperor Ezana (A.D. 325-50) possessed among his various titles the one of a "King of the Siyamo."[5] Except for the similarity of names, which can simply be accidental, we cannot discover any further conclusive argument to indicate a connection with the identifiable Sidama of later times.

It is probable, however, that large areas of Ethiopia stretching as far as Bägémdir and Wälo were formerly occupied by Cushitic-speaking peoples (Conti Rossini 1914/15, p. 153ff., 412, and 1928, p. 285f., Cohen 1931, p. 45; Simoni 1939, p. 17ff.). The Semitization (Amharization) of the Central

Cushitic Agäw, whose language is said to show obvious lexical affinities with certain "Sidama" languages of southern Ethiopia,[6] is a process which is still continuing at present. Linguistic evidence also proves that "Sidama" is a substratum language which influenced the Semitic idioms of the Harari and the Gurage (Cohen 1931, p. 45; Leslau 1952, p. 63ff., and 1959, p. 290).

The ethnic interpretation of what is Sidama involves a series of ethnolinguistic problems which cannot be discussed intensively in this context. Until recently the term was used to cover most of the Cushitic-speaking peoples in south Ethiopia, who are not at all homogeneous in language, culture, and historical descendence, excluding the Somali, the Afar, and the Oromo.[7] The Oromo were probably the first to transfer the name "Sidama" in a generalized sense to all peoples different from their own ethnic stock with whom they came into contact during their huge expansion since the second half of the sixteenth century. Consequently, it also applied to the Christian Amhara and to the Somali.[8] Today it must seriously be doubted whether it is reasonable to maintain it as a denomination for a number of remarkably heterogeneous ethnic groups scattered from the shores of the Ganale river to the western highland escarpments of Illubabor. It is indeed preferable to avoid strictly using the term "Sidama" in the case of the so-called Omotic-speaking peoples like the Wälamo and others.

An additional source of confusion arises through the fact that "Sidama" also refers to a precise ethnic group, who are also known under the version "Sidamo." Together with the Hadiya, Käbena, Alaba, Kambata, Timbaro, Darassa, and Burji, they compose a language cluster,[9] the so-called Hadiya/Sidama, who are also genealogically and historically interrelated. For the analysis of the ethnic situation of the early principalities, these Hadiya/Sidama are of central interest. Their role as an ancient substratum in large parts of southeast Ethiopia will be discussed below.

In principle, the same is true for the Harärla, a formerly existing population on the northern escarpment of the Chärchär and Harär mountains. But beyond folk tales which survived about them, it is difficult to obtain reliable information about their historical fate. As far as we know, the Harärla are documented for the first time in the chronicle of the Ethiopian emperor 'Amdä-Ṣiyon I (1314-44). Their king had joined the combined forces of the Muslim leader Ṣaliḥ and was beaten by the Amharic troops near Däwaro (Huntingford 1965, p. 74; Cerulli 1957, p. 114). There is hardly any further notice of them until the sixteenth century when the famous Arabic chronicle *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* mentioned them as followers of the Adal warleader Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, nicknamed Graṉ (the left-handed), in his "holy war" *jihād* against the Christian Empire.[10] The last written reference testifying to their existence as an ethnic entity seems to be for A.D. 1585 (Cerulli 1931, p. 76); thereafter they suffered the same fate as all the ancient states of southeast Ethiopia and disappeared into historical anonymity. Folk traditions report that the Oromo destroyed the Harärla race (Cerulli 1931, p. 76; Azaïs and Chambard 1925, p. 133), but it can definitely be verified that it was not a complete physical extermination.

According to another version, widespread among the Itta and Karayu,

this destruction did not occur through war. Rather the Ḥarär̈a, as a wealthy and mighty people and frequently even imagined as giants, were wiped out by natural catastrophes and hunger sent by God as punishment for their inordinate pride. The remainders were adopted by the Oromo and Somali, and their descendants are sometimes still discernible by their genealogies and Muslim survivals. The Karayu, for instance, formerly made a clear distinction between the true Oromo and the assimilated autochthons of Ḥarär̈a stock, whom they called Hawāsu after their dwelling areas on the Awash River. The cultural criteria for the ethnic differentiation are the more obvious because most of the assimilating societies are only peripherally and recently Islamized. In the region of Harär a tradition exists that Abādir, the legendary ancestor of the Ḥarär̈i, who is said to have come from Arabia in the tenth or eleventh century A.D., was acknowledged as new leader by the autochthonous Ḥarär̈a because he managed the crisis in a situation of famine. The similarity of the two ethnic names Ḥarär̈a and Harär̈i may be mentioned in passing.

The present inhabitants ascribe all archaeological sites or ruins of stone-built necropoles, store pits, houses, and mosques, remarkably frequent in northern Harärgé, to the Ḥarär̈a (Azaïs and Chambard 1931, p. 33; Cerv́iček and Braukämper 1975, p. 49). Azaïs and Chambard (1931, p. 35) and also Huntingford (1965, p. 31) suggest that the builders of these sometimes gigantic ruins were a kind of proto-Somali. But it is somewhat doubtful that a predominantly nomadic population without a distinct tradition of stone architecture--as far as the Ethiopian Somali are concerned--would have been able to accomplish such work. There is no evidence to indicate a far-reaching cultural change during the last 400 years, and the *Futuḥ al-Ḥabasha* explicitly ascribes a non-Somali ethnic origin to the Ḥarär̈a.[11] Modern traditions, however, connect the Ḥarär̈a with Ismā'īl Jabarti and Darōd, ancestors of the Ogaden Somali, and their ethnic denomination is still existent among a Somali-speaking group south of Harär (Cerulli 1957, p. 114) and among the western Issa (Paulitschke 1888a, p. 19). But in the total context these facts do not provide sufficient evidence to support a hypothesis of Somali descent. Neither is there a reliable base to prove them as offspring of the Afar people.

It becomes apparent, on the other hand, that there are some striking similarities in the technological standards and even in structural details between the ruined "Ḥarär̈a" sites and the contemporary architecture of Harär city. Although the linguistic proof is lacking, the data suggest that a Semitic-speaking Harär̈i-type people once occupied a large strip of land between the Chärchär mountains and the middle Awash and the eastern escarpment in the region of Jijigga.[12] According to the folk traditions, the district of Metähärä was one of the centers of the Ḥarär̈a civilization, and a place called Ḥarär̈a is also to be found between Harär and Dire Dawa. As in the case of the Hadiya/Sidama, the Oromo expansion also split the Semitic block to small sports in Guragéland, the islands of Lake Zway, and the town of Harär. Sometimes Ḥarär̈a was also mentioned as a political entity (Paulitschke 1888b, p. 220; Cerulli 1943a, p. 278; Huntingford 1965, p. 74), but in general it seems to have referred to an ethnic denomination.

It would only be speculative as to when which part of the Ḥarär̈a/Harär̈i stock were spread to the east into the region of today's northern

Somalia and who were the builders of the numerous ancient towns, Islamic sanctuaries, and necropoles northwest of Härgeisa (see, for instance, Curle 1937, p. 315ff.). The contemporary Somali can throw no light on their origin. However, the thesis of various scholars that the ancient population of those areas towards the Somali coast was Oromo (Paulitschke 1888b, p. 67, and 1893, p. 22; Robecchi-Bricchetti 1890, p. 380; Swayne 1895, p. 25ff.; Cerulli 1931, p. 154, and 1957, p. 58; Huntingord 1969, p. 19; Lewis 1960, p. 220ff.) is more than doubtful. The Oromo, like the Somali, were predominantly a nomadic people who possessed no tradition of stone architecture, Islam, and state organization. Their eastward movement in the Harär area, which occasioned the final crisis for the Islamic principalities, did not occur before the end of the sixteenth century. Shortly after that time the Somali expansion from the coast towards the interior started and forced the Oromo into a steady retreat. According to the traditions of the Baräntu, their grazing areas stretched as far as Härgeisa until the middle of the last century. Today their ethnic boundary with the Somali runs a short distance east of Dire Dawa, and the Issa subgroup even pushed their way into the Oromo and Afar territories westward as far as Afdem (Braukämper 1975, p. 90ff.; Lewis 1960, p. 220ff.; Huntingford 1969, p. 19). The Somali followed the widespread custom of ascribing all monuments they found in their conquered land indiscriminately to the people who occupied the area before themselves, in this case to the Oromo. The appearance of (probably pre-Islamic) Christian relics in eastern Hararge and northern Somalia (Azaïs and Chambard 1931, p. 35, passim; Paulitschke 1888a, p. 67) is beyond the scope of this paper.

In general, we can assume the following situation concerning the old ethnic stratum on the eve of Islamic state expansion: on the one hand, there was a Cushitic-speaking cluster, which we refer to in the following as Hadiya/Sidama, and on the other hand, there was a Semitic-speaking cluster of the Harärla/Harari.

SHÄWA

After the Islamic civilization had gained a foothold on the northeast African coast, it not only sporadically infiltrated the hinterland over the course of centuries but relatively early it also established a politically organized outpost on the eastern escarpment of the Ethiopian highlands, Shäwa. The etymological origin of the name, which is found in the versions Shoa, Shawa, Xaoâ, Xoa, Chua, Sawa, and the like, remains unclear. During the Zagwe dynasty Sawi or Sêwi is indicated as the language of Sêwâ, which Perruchon equates with the historical Shäwa (Perruchon 1897, p. 280).

As already mentioned, the dynasty called Makhzūmi, originated from a famous Makkan clan, established the Shäwan sultanate in A.H. 283 (A.D. 896/7), which from then on had a continuous existence for nearly 500 years. A document edited by Cerulli (1941, p. 5ff., passim; cf. Trimingham 1965, p. 58) shows this principality in the last stages of decay, torn by internal strife, and weakened by struggles with neighboring Muslim dependencies which were seeking to throw off their allegiance. There were ten rulers of this state, one of them female, between 896 and 1285, when the adjacent sultanate Yïfāt gained control of it under 'Umar Walashma. This meant the end of

Shäwa's existence as an independent principality. For the Arabic chronicler Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, who wrote about 1342-1349, Shäwa was one of Yifat's "mother cities" together with Biqulzär, Simé, and Adal (Cerulli 1941, p. 8ff.). During the rule of Emperor Amdä-Ṣiyon I, when the first important southward expansion of Christian settlement took place, Shäwa was among the Muslim territories ravaged by the Ethiopians (Dillmann 1884, p. 8; Perruchon 1889, pp. 13, 121). In the second half of the fourteenth century a Shäwa at least partially dominated by Muslims still existed. This inference can be drawn from Maqrīzī's report that Ḥaqq ad-Dīn, ruler of Yifat who began his reign about A.D. 1363/64, after he had won a triumphant victory against the combined forces of his Muslim rivals and the Christian army, "withdrew with his troops from Awfat town the inhabitants of which he removed, and migrated to the land of Shäwa, where he built the town of Wahla and made it his capital, giving it to the citizens of Awfat as an habitation."[13]

During the fifteenth century territorial and cultural changes took place, but we do not know about their processes. A historical connection between the *chawa chewa, chava*--contingents of troops ("men-at-arms") who were under the direct command of the emperor and occasionally mentioned as military colonists in southern Ethiopia (Perruchon 1893, p. 31; Conti Rossini 1955, p. 187; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 412)--and the geographical region Shäwa cannot at all be proved.

The Shäwa of the European travelers--for instance, Alvares--in the beginning of the sixteenth century can clearly be defined as a part of Ethiopia, which was predominantly inhabited by Christians (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 454). When soon after the Muslims under their leader Aḥmad Gragn waged their wars of conquest against the empire, Shäwa was indicated as an area around the Awash spring, where rich treasures were concentrated in Christian churches (*Futūḥ*, p. 243f.). It is explicitly mentioned in the *Futūḥ* that a contingent of Muslim Shäwan troops were put under the command of the *wāzir* Nūr b. Ibrahim (*Futūḥ*, pp. 87, 173).

After the end of the Muslim irruption, the name Shäwa in connection with an Islamic territory finally disappeared. It was conserved for some decades more as denomination for an ethnic group in western Chärchär, but it did not survive the Oromo invasion of the late sixteenth century.

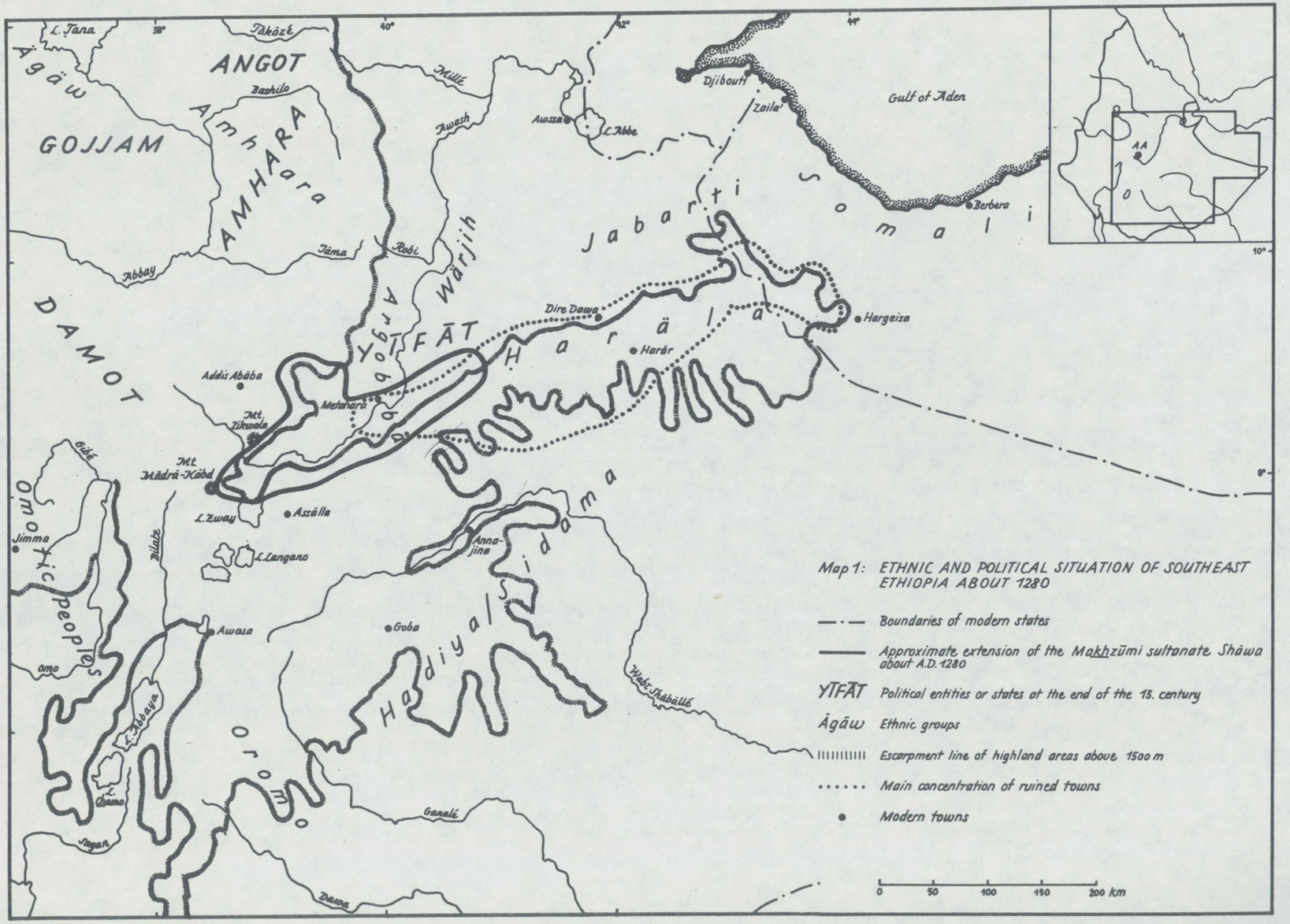
The difficulty of locating Shäwa is that a Muslim sultanate and a Christian province of this name existed simultaneously during a certain period. A mere sequence of these two political entities can therefore definitely be excluded, and the question arises whether they had by accident identical names or whether there was a traceable connection both geographically and historically.

The Muslim principality of Shäwa must be sought in the lowland areas east of the Ethiopian plateau since there seems to be no tangible evidence to show that it ever comprised districts in the highland area west of the escarpment. All the identifiable place names in Cerulli's document were still Islamic in Amdä-Ṣiyon's reign (Cerulli 1941, pp. 25-32), whereas the high plateau was securely under the political domination of the Christians by that time. Käbäd, for instance, may be (Mädrä-)Käbd, the land between Lake Zway and the Gurage Mountains, which evidently marked the western extension of the Shäwan sultanate. The contingents of Shäwan troops who

joined Aḥmad Gragn are mentioned together with those of Hargaya and Gidaya, regions east of the Awash and Dawäro (Perruchon 1889, pp. 283, 318, 321; Perruchon 1893, p. 166; Guidi 1889, V, p. 63), and in a document concerning the sixteenth century, Shawa was listed among the other Adal districts of Sim, Nägab, Gidayä, and Dakar (Cerulli 1931, p. 57 and note 6). Maqrizi located Sa'd ad-Din's center of military activities at twelve days' journey from Bali (Rinck 1790, p. 25). We agree with Tamrat, who concludes from these facts that Wahal, the Shäwan capital, and consequently Shäwa itself, were located in northern Harärgé (Tamrat 1972, p. 148). But it is most probable that it also occupied some adjacent areas west of the Awash. In the thirteenth century the Christian frontier province Fatägar did not yet exist, and Wäj was still attached to Muslim Shäwa (Crawford 1958, p. 81f.). Whatever the precise boundary may have been, all these data indicate a localization of the sultanate between the escarpment of the high plateau and the western districts of Charchar.

When the Muslim principality of Shäwa lost its independence at the end of the thirteenth century, the territory of the Ethiopian empire cannot have extended south of the Jamma-Tarma Bar line, and it is in fact doubtful if it reached much beyond the headquarters of the Täkäzé with Angot as its southernmost province. By the time of Amdä-Ṣiyon I Ethiopian rule had reached the region of Tägulät, where a capital existed in a place called Märadi. As far as we know from the primary source materials, during his reign the regions of Indägäbṭan, Gäraya, Kätäta, Mädrä Zega, Mugär, Särmat, Tägulät, and Wägda constituted the Christian province of Shäwa (Huntingford 1974, p. 75ff.). Two hundred years later the Portuguese located it between the southeastern loop of the Abbay and the upper Awash and subdivided it into Xaca de Baixo (Low Shäwa) in the south and Xaoa di Cima (High Shäwa) in the north (Perruchon 1893, map according to M. de Almeida, A. Mendez, P. Paiz, J. Lobo; cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 19; *Afrique*...1667, p. 88; Cerulli 1943b, p. 285; Cohen 1931, p. 65). It is not impossible, although it cannot be explicitly proved from the documents, that this Low Shäwa, which seemed to have included some boundary districts of the old sultanate, adopted the name from it and later transferred it to the Christian province. The extension of place names to other areas has always been a widespread phenomenon in Ethiopia. In more recent times, it is well known that the geographical scope of the political entity Shäwa became more and more enlarged to the south.

The contemporary ethnic situation can give some additional hints as to the historical interpretation. A tradition of early Islamic presence, which seems to be very popular in Muslim southeast Ethiopia, relates to the Argobba people, whose name is said to be derived either from the version *Arab gabba* (or "Arabs came") or from *raḥmad gabba* (or "prosperity entered"). Today they occupy some parts of the Shäwan escarpment east of Ankober and some exclaves in nothern Arussi, Charchar, and the region of Bisidimo near Harär. They claim ancestorship from the Bani al-Ḥumaya, a Quraish clan, who were expelled by another group, the Bani al-'Abbas, from the Arabian Ḥidjaz in A.H. 132 (A.D. 754/5). A report by Maqrizi relates to a struggle between the two Arab clans of the Banu 'Umayya and Banu Hashim (Vos 1888), and the possible influence of this literary source on the tradition cannot be excluded.



The tendency toward claiming noble Arab ancestry has already been mentioned and constrains us from placing too great confidence in information of this kind. But in the case of the Argobba some additional proof from certain documents supports the orally transmitted data.[14] The traditions report that the refugees from Arabia crossed the Red Sea under their leader Mawan b. Yusuf and settled at first on the Eritrean coast, from whence they migrated along the escarpment to Walo and Shawa. In their Shawan domiciles, which are today known as Yifat, they adopted an Amharic dialect but preserved their Muslim faith throughout their history. Their first important migration to the east--most probably a steady influx over long periods--seems to have coincided with the initial southward expansion of the Christian Empire and the end of the Shawan sultanate. In their eastern colonies, which are said to have been established in c. 1300 A.D. (shortly before Abadir's arrival), they became subsequently Oromized after 1600. The Bisidimo Argobba, whose stone-built villages are reported to date back to the time when *amir* Nur b. Mujahid (1551-69) ordered the construction of the walls of Harar and they did not find enough room to settle in the outskirts of the town,[15] even maintained their ethnic identity and their Amharic dialect up to about three generations ago.

The northern Arussi in the region of the Arba Gugu preserved the tradition that before their arrival the land was occupied by Orgobba (Argobba), to whom they also ascribe the tumuli-like piles of stones and other archaeological remains in that area. The neighboring Oromo tribes of the Karayu and Ittu occasionally report that the ruined terraces on the middle Awash are also works of the Argobba. Here, the tradition concerning this people is obviously not only amalgamated with the one of the Walashma dynasty but also confounded with the Harala story, and it seems indeed possible that an ethnic interdependency between these groups once existed. Even today certain cultural features like stone architecture and the construction of field terraces, well-known techniques on the Arabian peninsula but rarely practiced in ancient Ethiopia, clearly differentiate the Argobba settlements in Yifat and Hararge from those of their neighbors.

The population of the old Shawan sultanate was certainly not homogeneous, either ethnically or culturally. The vast semidesert lowlands between the escarpment of central Ethiopia and the Awash valley was occupied by pastoral nomads called Warjih and Gabal. The Amhara, we are told in a document, led an unsuccessful expedition against them in 1128 (Cerulli 1941, p. 18; Perruchon 1889, pp. 282, 284). In the Amda-Siyon chronicle they were once again mentioned as keepers of cattle and camels (Cerulli 1941, p. 13). The names of those peoples, who lived in an area today occupied by the Afar, then disappeared from the historical scene.

The history of Muslim Shawa, which we must accept as the oldest political foothold of Islam in southeast Ethiopia, is still an unsolved problem of research. It differed from principalities established later in that it did not start its inland push from the Somali coast but from the north and then seems to have undergone a gradual dislocation to the east.

YIFAT

Shawa, to the extent that it did not become part of the Christian

Empire, was replaced by the Muslim state of Yīfāt. In A.D. 1277 the sultan of a rival state began to attack Shäwa and finally deposed its Makhzumite ruler in 1285.[16] The conqueror, whose name was 'Umar Walashma, became the founder of a new dynasty which traced its origin from the Arabian Quraish or Hashamites (Rinck 1790, p. 17; Cerulli 1931, p. 43) and played an important role in Ethiopian history. The new state was called Yīfāt(Īfāt) by the Christians and Wafāt or Awfāt by Muslim writers. That 'Umar Walashma owed his rise to power to the Christian emperor is clearly stated in a literary document: "This man administered for a long time and with great power the government of Awfāt and the country subject to it which he had received from the Ḥaṭī...."[17]

Another early account referring to Yīfāt is that of Ibn Sa'īd (A.D. 1214-87), contained in Abu'l-Fidā's geographical opus *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (1321) (Reinaud 1848, p. 229). He reports that the region was also called Jabara or Jabarta--which means, according to an explanation given later by Maqrīzī, "burning country" (Rinck 1790, p. 11)--because it is one of the hottest countries in the world. Yīfāt was an autonomous kingdom with a mixed Muslim population. Its capital was situated upon an elevation above a river valley. The country was fertile and well watered because of a sufficient rainfall, and its inhabitants cultivated bananas and sugar cane, typical lowland plants. Ibn Sa'īd calculated that according to the Arabic computation the astronomical position of the capital was 8° lat. (N) and 57° long. (E).

Data concerning the first half of the fourteenth century were also transmitted through the historiography of the Ethiopian Christians. The soldiers' songs in honor of Amdä-Ṣiyon I listed Yīfāt (Efāt) among the conquered areas of the empire (Guidi 1889, VIII, p. 15, Huntingford 1965, p. 129). The Amharic troops ravaged it in 1329, after its sultan Ṣabr ad-Dīn had afforded refuge to Amano, the rebel Hadiya prophet (Dillmann 1884, p. 8; Huntingford 1965, p. 59).

Additional information about the early days of the Yīfāt sultanate is provided by the famous historian Ibn Khaldun (A.D. 1332-82), who also derived most of his materials from Ibn Sa'īd, but a reference to the then current ruler brings his report up to his own time (de Slane 1927, p. 107f.). Ḥaqq ad-Dīn, a sultan of the Walashma dynasty, was followed by his brother Ṣa'd ad-Dīn in 1386 (Cerulli 1931, p. 46; cf. Trimingham 1965, p. 59). Yīfāt's political situation remained precarious: sometimes its rulers recognized the suzerainty of the Christian emperor; sometimes they successfully fought for their independence. Before the Ethiopian empire had established its hegemony in the area, the Yīfāt sultanate had been tributary for a while to the kingdom of Damot (de Slane 1927, p. 103; cf. Crawford 1958, p. 80; Cerulli 1943b, p. 284) which was located south of the Abbay Bend.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, whose work *Masālik al-Abṣar* was written between 1342 and 1349 A.D., transmitted a list of Islamic principalities which belonged to a confederation with its capital at Zayla' and which were all vassals of the Christian Empire (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 1f.). Beside Yīfāt, which is mentioned first, this Muslim league comprised Dāwaro, Arababni, Hadiya, Sharka, Balī, and Dāra. The situation of these seven "kingdoms" was quite miserable because the products of their country were meager and they were heavily exploited by the Amhara. But the jealousy

among them prevented the formation of a united front against their common oppressor.

Al-'Umarī's description is the most substantial historical document relating to Yifat, and it also contains valuable information about human life, customs, and material culture. The inhabitants of the sultanate, which extended to the coast, were followers of two different schools of Muslim theology and law (*madhab*). The Shafi'ite groups dominated from the time of Islamization, but the Hanafi'ites had steadily gained ground. The Yifat people either spoke "Abyssinian" (Amharic?) or Arabic and earned their living from the cultivation of wheat, sorghum-millet, and teff and from animal husbandry. Sugar cane, bananas, a variety of fruits, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and cabbage completed the diet. Chat, the sacred plant of the east Ethiopian and Yamanite Muslims, is described for the first time as being consumed as a stimulant. Gold was imported from Damot and from Siham, the latter a region somewhere in the west but not precisely identified. The Yifat people did not develop their own coinage but instead used Egyptian *dīnars* and *dirhams* for trading activities. Its army, when fully recruited in case of need, could muster 5,000 horsemen and more than 20,000 foot soldiers. It is also interesting to note that Shäwa and Adal were mentioned among the seven districts of the Yifat sultanate (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, pp. 5-14).

Most of this information is repeated and summarized by another Arabic author, Maqrizi (1364-1442) (Rinck 1790, pp. 11-13, 17ff., passim). But we learn from him in contrast to some earlier references that Yifat was a relatively wealthy, economically important, and a politically potent kingdom. All the agricultural products mentioned by al'Umarī and Maqrizi, including chat, are still typical today for the provinces of eastern Shäwa and northern Harargé below an average altitude of 2,000 meters.

We also owe to Maqrizi some relevant details concerning the political history of the Yifat sultanate (Rinck 1790, p. 21ff.). Haqq ad-Din II, who succeeded to the throne in 1376 after a series of internal struggles between different pretenders, declared himself independent of the Christian Empire. But ten years later the Ethiopian ruler Dawit I (1380-1412) conquered and killed him. His successor, sultan Ṣa'd ad-Din II, continued the war and gained some initial successes. Finally, however, the Yifat Muslims were beaten by the Christian army under the command of a general called Barwa. Maqrizi's report of this campaign reflects a *jihad*-like atmosphere: "With Ṣa'd ad-Din were jurisconsults, dervishes, peasants and all the inhabitants of the country. They made a death covenant. A fierce battle took place between them. Four hundred godly shaikhs, each with his ablution jug and having under him a great number of dervishes, fell martyrs. The slaughter of the Muslims continued until the majority had perished and the remainder were broken to pieces."[18]

The sultan fled to the island of Zayla' where he was besieged and killed in A.H. 817 (A.D. 1415), and his ten sons took refuge with Aḥmad b. al-Ashraf Isma'il, king of Yaman. When Zayla' was occupied by Ethiopian troops during the reign of Emperor Yeshaq (1414-29), this meant the end of the Yifat sultanate as an independent political entity (Cerulli 1931, p. 45). The center of Islamic power shifted eastward to the kingdom of Adal, which became inheritor of the Yifat tradition and took suzerainty over the Muslim

hemisphere in northeast Africa.

Yeshāq's victories, on the other hand, resulted in the establishment of Christian domination over Yifat's principal territories in the west. Emperor Zär'a-Ya'iqob consolidated Ethiopian control by the settlement of military colonists (Perruchon 1893, p. 47). He installed one of his daughters, Amata Giyorgis, as governor there (Dillmann 1884, p. 12; Perruchon 1893, p. 13f.) but replaced her later by one of his nobles with the title *raq* Masara (Dillmann 1884, p. 13; Perruchon 1893, p. 16). Zär a-Ya'iqob's successor Bä'idä-Maryam (1468-78) preferred the principle of indirect rule and appointed a native leader as ruler of Yifat (Perruchon 1893, p. 112), but at the same time he concentrated his efforts on the expansion of Christianity.

When the Adalite armies invaded Yifat in 1531, they met resistance from the Amharic general Islāmo, who was able to bear the brunt of the fierce Muslim invasion for only a very short period. Aḥmad Gragn charged one of his subordinate officers called Chamsu, who originated from the coast, with the governorship of the conquered province. Chamsu ordered Christianity wiped out in that area, and the chronicle *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* explicitly mentions the destruction of an important church built in the time of Emperor Iskindir (1478-94) (*Futūḥ*, pp. 53, 213, 230, 273, passim). Although the Ethiopians succeeded after Gragn's final defeat in reestablishing their political control over Yifat, a restoration of Christianity, however limited it might have been, in the traditionally Muslim-dominated country proved to be impracticable. Emperor Susinyos (1607-32) faced severe resistance from the Yifat population when he appointed as governor a man called Yolyos, who was evidently of Walashma descent but, as a member of the imperial body guard, seems to have been Christianized (Pereira 1900, pp. 48, 168). It is in fact reported that during the reign of the same emperor, Susinyos, another prince of Walashma origin was installed in Gafagaf, the Yifat capital (Pereira 1900, p. 168).

From about 1300 until its decline in 1415, Yifat had also imposed its rule over other Muslim countries like Adal, Mora, Hubat, and Gidayä, thus controlling a large territory between the Shäwan mountains and the northern Somali coast. Yifat proper, however, when it became defined as a separate unit after splitting away from Shäwa in 1280-85, was much more restricted in size. It seems to have been a long narrow area running in a northeast-southwesterly direction in the Afar Plain. In the west it bordered Shäwa and reached the region of the Enkuoy River, where it probably adjoined the territory of Fätägar. How far Yifat proper extended eastward towards the Awash is uncertain (Cerulli 1941, p. 15; cf. Cerulli 1936, p. 5f.). The geographical reconstruction of the political divisions of Ethiopia by the Portuguese travelers and by Ludolph indicated as its northern neighbor the Christian province of Marabet.[19]

The name Yifat was preserved for a small district on the escarpment of eastern Shäwa, which is predominantly inhabited by Muslim Argobba.[20] According to Rochet d'Héricourt (1841, p. 264f.), there were twenty-one subdivisions in that area--Krapf (1858, p. 62) enumerated only six--among which Minjar and Bulga are specially noticeable. The current population kept a vague memory of an old state and a sharper one of their ruling Walashma dynasty, who claimed a noble descent from Arabs of the Ḥidjaz. It cannot be definitely established if this tradition has any relation to

the one of the Banī al-Ḥumāya origin reported by the Harär Argobba.

A special ethnic problem is imposed in connection with Jabara or Jabarta (Jaberti, Jiberti, Djeberti, etc.), which Paulitschke erroneously equated with Däwaro (Paulitschke 1884, p. 15). The Arabic historiographers mentioned it as the original homeland of Yīfat in the region of Zayla', before it gradually expanded farther inland. Afterwards the term "Jabarti" was transferred to all the Islamic principalities of southern Ethiopia, and finally it became more or less a synonym for all Ethiopian Muslims. Since olden times the Jabarti have also comprised enclaves among the Christian Amhara and Tigray of northern Ethiopia, to whom they used to offer loyally their military services.[21] According to a widespread tradition in southeast Ethiopia, there were two ancestors bearing the name Jabarti, Aḥmad and Isma'īl, who are commonly considered as brothers. Aḥmad's descendents are said to live mainly north of the Awash and Isma'īl's south of that river. The Somali of Ogaden (Darod) and their Oromized fractions in the region of Harargé in particular claim their origin from Isma'īl, who is placed in their genealogies twenty to twenty-five generations ago (Robecchi-Bricchetti 1890, p. 479f; Cerulli 1957, p. 60). Several frontier districts between the Arussi and the Ogaden-Somali in the province of Balī are occupied by mixed groups explicitly called Jabarti.[22]

The story of Jabarti ancestry is not limited to the Somali, who started their vigorous expansion from the coastal regions towards the interior relatively late, that is, hardly before the seventeenth century, but it is also to be found among the Afar (Isenberg and Krapf 1968, p. 16) and in connection with the Ḥarāla traditions. It is therefore by no means restricted to a specific group and was apparently attributed from early times to the whole population of Yīfat, the "burnt land" of Maqrīzī's description.

ADAL

When Yīfat collapsed in 1415, one of its eastern districts, Adal, assumed its heritage and evolved into the most powerful Muslim state ever seen in that part of Africa. The extent to which Adal was considered the successor of Yīfat's tradition is documented by the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, which refers to it with the honorary name Bar Ṣa'd ad-Dīn, "the land of Ṣa'd ad-Dīn," in memory of Yīfat's martyr in the holy war (*Futūḥ*, text, p. 5).

The etymology of the name "Adal," which was occasionally used to denote the whole of the East African Horn, has not yet been sufficiently investigated, and the word appears in a considerable number of different versions ('Adâl, Adel, Adail, Adaiel, Adela, Adem, and others) (Paulitschke, 1884, p. 1, n. 1).

As long as Adal was part of Yīfat, it was scarcely mentioned by the Arab authors. It is nevertheless obvious, and this fact is documented by Marco Polo, who spoke of a "Saracen province of Adem" on the Somali peninsula (quoted by Ramusio 1606, p. 59, passim) that by 1300 Adal had become a well-known geographical and political term in the coastal area.

On their campaign of 1329 Amdä-Ṣiyon's troops pushed forward as far

as Talaq, capital of the Yīfāt province of Adal, laid waste the country, and accepted the subjection of its people (Huntingford 1965, p. 100). An Ethiopian hagiographical tradition, edited by Conti Rossini, relates that "a rebel called Salāh ad-Dīn, in the country of Adal...fought against King Dawit, whose army he easily destroyed."[23] This Salāh ad-Dīn (d. 1422), who was Ḥaqq Ad-Dīn's brother and immediate successor on the throne of Yīfāt/Adal, was described by the Egyptian encyclopaedist Aḥmad al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418) as a vigorous and successful enemy of the Christian Empire (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 37, n.1). Finally, however, he was defeated by the Amhara, and the same thing happened to his successors, Mansur (d. 1424) and Jamal ad-Dīn (d. 1433). Emperor Yesḥaq's victorious campaign to the coast of the Indian Ocean, which resulted in the conquest of Zayla', did not permanently interrupt the rise of the Islamic kingdom in eastern Ethiopia. Shortly afterwards they again menaced the Christian Empire so seriously that Yeshaq is reported to have sent an embassy in A.H. 322 (A.D. 1428/29) to the king of the "Franks"--most probably the Venetians and Genoans--to call for help against his Muslim enemies.[24] A vassal of the Adal sultan Jamāl ad-Dīn (1425-33) had defeated an army of 7,000 Ethiopians and gained a second victory in the frontier districts of Bali (Rinck 1790, p. 34; cf. Lejean 1870, p. 101).

Adal's emergence as a powerful state, initiated by sultan Jamāl ad-Dīn was actively continued by his brother Shihāb ad-Dīn Badlay, nicknamed Arwé Badlay ("the snake Badlay") by the Amhara. He temporarily conquered the Christian province of Balī and settled 1,000 Muslim families there (Rinck 1790, p. 41). A new residence of the principality was established at Dakar near Harär (*Futūḥ*, p. 25, n. 1 by Basset; Paulitschke 1888b, p. 220). When at the end of a disastrous pestilence a reconsolidation of the Christian Empire took place and it reached the peak of its power under Zär'a-Ya'iqob, Adal for its part was severely menaced. During Bä'idä-Maryam's rule invading Adal troops were heavily defeated by the Ethiopians and their leaders captured (Perruchon 1893, p. 131). Already in 1452 sultan Badlay had sent an embassy to Cairo in order to report the deteriorating situation of his struggle against Zär'a-Ya'iqob, but the Islamic coreligionalists were unable to provide any practical help (Cerulli 1943, p. 293ff.). His son Meḥmad (Muḥammad) was obliged to visit Zär'a-Ya'iqob's successor Bä'idä-Maryam with a quantity of gifts to implore him for peace (Perruchon 1893, p. 166).

In the document relating to this emperor the Ethiopian chronicler for the first time calls the Walashma ruler "king of Adal" instead of Yīfāt. After Meḥmad's death his successor Lada'e-Asman again took up the fight against Ethiopia, but he seems to have been beaten by the Christian emperor Iskindir (1478-94) (Perruchon 1894, p. 323). Bruce reported that Na'od (1494-1503) also won a battle against the Adalite Muslims (Bruce 1790, pp. 121ff.), but this cannot be confirmed by the chronicles.

According to information obtained by Alvares at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the troops of Maḥfuẓ, who was governor of Zayla' and de facto ruler of Adal, used to raid the "Abyssinian" territories in Amhara, Shäwa, and Fätägar every year during the fasting time, when the Christians were considerably weakened (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 411, 433). To the same author, Alvares, we owe the following short description of Adal

on the eve of the so-called "great conquest

> The kingdom of Adel (as they say) is a big kingdom, and it extends over the Cape of Guardafuy, and in that part another rules subject to it. Among the Moors they hold this King of Adel for a saint, because he is always waging war upon the Christians; and from his battles and plunder he sends (as they say) offerings to the house of Meca, and to Cairo, and presents to other kings, and they send him thence arms and horses, and other things to help him in his wars; and I have before related, in chapter CXIV, how this King was routed and his Captain Mafudy killed. This kingdom of Adel borders upon the Kingdom of Fatigar and Xoa, which are kingdoms of the Prester John [Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 453].

The offensive policy of Adal was stimulated by emissaries sent from Arabia who proclaimed the *jihād*, presented Maḥfūẓ a green standard and a tent of black velvet (as symbols of the "holy war"), and brought help in arms and trained warriors. In 1516 the Adalites under sultan Muḥammad led a regular invasion into Fätägar, but they met the vigorous counter-attack of the well-prepared Ethiopian forces. The Muslim commander Maḥfūẓ himself was slain, and Emperor Libnä-Dingil's (1508-40) army overwhelmed Adal and destroyed the castle of the sultan at a place called Zankar. At the same time a Portuguese fleet surprised Zayla' when the garrison was away on the Ethiopian battlefields and burned the town (de Barros 1628, pp. 11-14).

Just at the time in which the Islamic menace to the Christian Empire seemed totally to have been eliminated, a new leader arose in Adal. He was Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī (1506-43), called Gragn for short, the national hero of the Ethiopian Muslims. He was destined to reconstitute Adalite political power in southeastern Ethiopia--at least for some decades --and to embark on a conquest which brought three-quarters of the Christian Empire under his control. From Aḥmad's first spectacular victory over the Christians at Shembora Kure in 1529 until his final defeat and death at Wäyna-Däga near Lake Ṭana in 1543, Ethiopia's very existence was threatened. The report by his chronicler Arab-Faqi, the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, still considered today as a kind of national monument by educated Ethiopian Muslims, gives a comprehensive report of the events of that time (*Futūḥ*; cf, Davis 1964, pp. 84ff; Wolde Aregay 1974, pp. 266ff.). We shall not, therefore, refer to them in detail here.

After Gragn's death the new Adal leader, *amīr* Nūr (1551-67) made another attempt to break the Christian power. It was during his reign that Harär, where the Adalite capital had been trasferred from Dakar in 1521, was surrounded with strong fortifications. Although his first campaigns failed disastrously and Harär itself was sacked by the Ethiopian troops, Nūr did not abandon the offensive and defeated the Christians in a battle (1559), in which Emperor Gälawdewos was killed. Nevertheless, Adal's decline was evident by the end of *amīr* Nūr's reign, when the Oromo from the southeast began to overwhelm its territories. From 1567 onward the "pagan" invaders devastated the region of Harär, and only because of its walls did the town itself escape from the same fate.[25] In 1577 the residence of the Adal sultanate moved to the oasis of Awssa in the Afar desert. Harär,

which became independent from Awssa in 1647, survived as an isolated city-state and a Muslim enclave within an Oromo-occupied territory. Trimingham summarized these historical changes with the following words: "So ended the existence of the most powerful Muslim state in northeast Africa. Known first as Ifat with its seat in eastern Shoa, it had passed into Adal with Zaila' as the chief centre, and finally Harär, whence it degenerated into nomadism in the Danakil desert" (Trimingham 1965, p. 97).

Nominally, the Ethiopian empire continued to claim suzerainty over all the Islamic territories in its southeastern borderland, and even in the nineteenth century, before the imperialist powers Great Britain, Italy, and France took possession of the littorals, the Shäwan king Sahlä-Sellasi (1813-47) bore among his titles that of "King of Adal" (Littmann 1960, p. 176). Since Adal, when it was at its political peak between 1420 and 1560, comprised a considerable territory, it has proved to be impossible to define its extent even approximately. On Idrīzī's map of 1154 of the Indian Ocean, the town of Berbera is mentioned, and on another map of 1192 by the same author Zayla' appears (Conti Rossini 1943, pp. 168ff., maps). The maps of Africa which were composed by the geographer J. B. Homann from Nuremburg and based on the card designs of Waldseemüller's "Strassburgian Ptolemaeus" and Mercator's works, shows the "Adal regnum" with the towns Zayla', Pidora, Barbora (probably Berbera), Meta, Salira, and Dardura on the coast and Soceli, Comizara, Novezara, and Ara in the hinterland (Paulitschke 1884, p. 46; from old Latin compilation, *Totius*...1737).

Among the early Portuguese historiographers such as Alvares, Bermudez, Lobo, and Tellez, there was no firsthand information in their knowledge about Adal. Their geographical reconstructions are, as Paulitschke's analysis clearly states (Paulitschke 1884, p. 29), of a reduced reliability with respect to this area. Luys Marmol del Caranvaiel's "General Description of Africa" includes some information concerning Adal in its first part (Paulitschke 1884, p. 34, referring to Marmol del Caranvaiel 1599). It is said there that the capital Harär was situated thirty *"leguas"* southwest of the coastal town Zayla' (Zeyla); the straight line distance between these two places is approximately 250 kilometers. Besides these mentioned towns there were some more important places, Orgabra, Migiate, and Sequeta, which traded in slaves, myrrh, and gold. In the west Adal was bordered by the territories of Balī, Maurra (Mora?), Doara (Däwaro), Comizara, Nouocara, and Seceli, of which the last three are unidentifiable. Tellez relates that the Awash (Aoaxes) flows through Adal's central part and produces the fertility of that region (Tellez 1660, p. 22; cf. Crawford 1958, p. 100). According to the information collected by the famous Dutch author Dapper, the sultanate bordered on Suaken (coastal area of Suakin in Eritrea) in the north, on Hadiya in the south, on Fätägar in the west, and on the Indian Ocean in the east (Dapper 1670, pp. 563ff.; cf. Paulitschke 1884, p. 36). In maps and references of the seventeenth century, a region called Dancali on the lower Awash was mentioned as a separate political entity in addition to Adal (Mercator and Hond 1637, p. 87; d'Isle 1730; Foster 1949, Ludolph's map of 1683), which reflects the division of the sultanate and the shifting of a second political center to Awssa. From the entire range of available information it can be concluded that Adal at the time of its greatest expansion comprised the whole Afar Plain from Suakin to the Shäwa and Chärchär mountains and a considerable

part of northern Somaliland.

Within this area there were some territories in the region of the Harär plateau which are occasionally mentioned in the chronicles as half-independent administrative entities or sub-provinces of Adal: Hubat, Gidayä, and Hargayä. There were also less important districts like Kushem, of which hardly more than the names were transmitted.

Hubat (Hobat, Kubat) appeared relatively early on the historical scene and joined the Muslim confederation against Amdä-Siyon as a dependency of the Walashma state of Yifat. It was listed then among the territories which were conquered during the campaigns of that emperor (Perruchon 1889, pp. 48, 148; Huntingford 1965, pp. 56, 74, 76). Ahmad Gragn passed his early days in Hubat, and this area obviously played a role in his *jihäd* against the Christian Empire (*Futūḥ*, pp. 10, 15, 17, 22ff., 149, 156). It was situated north of Däwaro province, from which it was attacked by the Christians, and at the same time it became the operational base for the Muslim invasion of Balī. This geographical and historical information suggests that the ancient Hubat is identical with the present region of the same name near the Gara Mullata mountains southwest of Harär.

Originally, Gidaya (Jidaya, Gedaya) and Hargaya were also dependencies of Yifat--although its political control in those areas seemed not to have been very intensive--and suffered from Amdä-Siyon's incursion (Huntingford 1965, p. 56). In the time of Bä'idä-Maryam the *garäds* (leaders) of these two principalities were subordinate to the Adal sultanate (Perruchon 1893, p. 166). According to the Harär tradition, Husayn, the twelfth sultan of the dynasty, resided in Gidayä.

In connection with Gidayä, the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* mentioned a people called Giri (*Futūḥ*, p. 173). The ethnonym still exists for a population of mixed Somali and Oromo origin in the region of Jijigga, and in that area the historical Gidayä is in fact to be sought. Hargayä, which was administered by a *garäd* and which reinforced Ahmad Gragn's *jihad* army by its own military contingent (*Futūḥ*, pp. 173, 262), is to be found in the opposite direction, that is, west of Harär between the Chärchär mountains and the middle Awash. The name itself survived only in the territory of the Nolé-Oromo.

As is evidenced by the old maps and additional historical proofs, the dwelling places of the Afar (Danakil) people, who are generally called Adal by the Ethiopians and other neighboring groups, did not occupy the whole of the ancient sultanate. The identity of names, it is true, cannot be considered merely as accidental, but it does not offer a solution to the problem of the composition of the sixteenth-century Adal. It can only be speculated to what extent the Afar were related to the above-mentioned Wärjih nomads of the middle Awash region; at least culturally they seemed to have had much in common with them. Partly because they were pushed by the expanding Somali on their eastern flank, the Afar have gradually advanced westward, notably since the beginning of the last century, and became neighbors of the Argobba on the Shäwan highland escarpment. Some traditions explain the ethnonym Adal as a derivation from Ad-'Alī.[26] According to information from the Oromo, who are said to have advanced their raids as far as Awssa at the end of the sixteenth century (Cerulli 1931a, p. 74), the Afar were originally called *gäbrä* Aṣḥab 'Alī, ("servants of Aṣḥab 'Alī"),

which was abbreviated to Adal. The Somali commonly address them as Odda 'Alī.

The third ethnic group beside the Afar and the Oromo in the ancient sultanate--it was already mentioned above that the Oromo arrival there did not predate the second half of the sixteenth century--was represented by the Semitic-speaking Harärі, who use to call themselves gé lij (or "child[ren] of the town," i.e., Harär) and are known as Adaré (Adari) among their neighbors. It seems to be unquestionable that, before the Oromo invasion, they occupied a large area on the Harär plateau. The possibility of an historical connection with the Harära has already been related. According to an orally transmitted Oromo version the ethnonym Adaré was derived from the name of a tree frequently found in that region. For ethnohistorical interpretation it is noteworthy that the Oromo name Adaré is also used for the eastern Guragé (Silti, Ulbarag, and so on), who are, in fact, related with the Harärі and preserve a Semitic language closely related to theirs. Adaré clans, who derive their origin from Abadir, the legendary founder of Harär town, also exist among the Arussi Oromo of the lake area.

A Harärі tradition, which was already recorded in the writings of the Ethiopian scholar Abäbä Gashaw Bassa, tells that during the rule of a mysterious king, Kanafro, seven groups moved from Hamasen in Eritrea to the region of Harär and that the Harärі are consequently--at least to some extent--of Tigray origin.[27] This migration is dated in the time of Emperor Dawit I (1382-1413).

The question arises if there is a potential link between this tradition and the dislocalization of a group called Bäläw (Balawa, Balu, Belu). According to the *Futūḥ* (pp. 255, 420ff.), the ancestors of this tribe, 'Abd Allah, came from Tigray land to Harärgé in the time of Sultan Ṣa'd ad-Dīn II, who was a contemporary of Emperor Dawit I. Ṣa'd ad-Dīn gave his daughter in marriage to the immigrant, and all their male children were called Qur'ai, the females receiving the name Ba'tiah. Cerulli (1931a, pp. 47, note 1, 78) supposes that the honorary title *awra'i* was specially due to the Bäläw. Contingents of this tribe fought in Gragn's army, and the northern Bäläw in the region of Aksum served the invading Adalite troops as scouts (*Futūḥ*, pp. 424, 460).

It is unquestionable that the Bäläw indeed originated in the North Ethiopian/Eritrean area and that for the groups still bearing this name the historical continuity with the people of the old chronicles becomes obvious. The Bäläw tribes were of mixed Arab-Beja descent, and before the end of the thirteenth century they dominated large parts of the Eritrean plateau and waged war against the Christians in the region of Aalqayt. In the sixteenth century they were on hostile terms with the Turks on the Red Sea coast, were partly scattered over different areas, and were finally replaced in their leading position by other Beja groups. Some remainders preserved their ethnic identity among the Semitic-speaking peoples of Eritrea.[28] The case is different with the ethnic substance of the Bäläw who migrated from northern Ethiopia to Harär, which is hardly traceable. The name survived only in the denomination of a locality and a clan in the Nolé country.

Most probably in the thirteenth century--the information from the

various written and oral data diverge--Abādir, a *Shaikh* of the Qādiriyya dervish order from Yaman, whose name means "quick worker," according to the traditions, is said to have settled in Harär. It must be stated that he was not really a Muslim pioneer, because the autochthonous population, the Ḥarāla and Gaturi, were already Islamized before he arrived. But it was considered his merit to have reorganized the people of that region, which had been terribly decimated by famines and epidemics, and thus he is regarded as the creator of the final Harāri genesis. That the town was already founded in the seventh century by Muslim Arabs, as Burton (1856, p. 305) argues (according to Wagner 1974, p. 98), cannot be verified by significant historical data.

Among the present Harāri subgroups, the Mälāsay and Gatūri were already existent in the old documents. In the beginning of the Gragn wars, a district called Gatūr east of the Awash and northern Dāwaro was administered by a Christian governor, *asmach* Abīb, who converted to Islam and was later killed in action by the Christians (*Futūḥ*, pp. 207, 368, 385). This region, which is probably to be located in Charchär, was then well known for the treasures deposed in its churches. The literary sources for the region are supported by various traditions and the discovery of sacral objects documenting an old Christian influence over that area (see, for instance, Soleillet 1886, p. 150; Paulitschke 1888b, pp. 67, 216). For instance, the Ṭullu Moti (Oromo: "king's hill') near Asbä Täffari was so named because it is said to have served as a place of residence for the Christian rulers, who, prior to the construction of Gondär, did not possess stone-built capitals but used to travel about the country with movable army camps. This place Ṭullu Moti is specially connected with Zär'a-Ya'iqob, whose name frequently stands as a synonym for any Amharic emperor because his time is remembered as the most glorious period of Ethiopia's past, when the influence of the Christian Empire on the southern peoples as far as Wälamo and Gamu-Gofa reached the peak of its intensity. Another locality in that region, the mountain of Assabot, is said to have been the residence of an important monastery.

The chronicle of the Gragn wars repeatedly mentioned the Mälāsay (*Futūḥ*, pp. 84, 185, 207, 466), whose name sometimes also stood as a general denomination for Ethiopian Muslims (Basset 1897, pp. 14ff., 106). They played a part as special troops in the Muslim armies, horsemen wearing cuirasses, and were engaged with a contingent in the Hadiya war against Emperor Ṣarsä-Dingil south of Wäj in 1569 (Conti Rossini 1955, pp. 46-49).

After a thorough analysis of all available information sources, we can draw the general conclusion that the Harāri ethnogenesis resulted from a mixture of northern Semitic-speaking groups with an unknown (possibly Cushitic-speaking) autochthonous population. Since the early extension of Islam, Arabs have amalgamated (Abadir is only one prominent example), and the same happened to Argobba and other people, who seem to have been highly attracted by the advanced Harär civilization. On the other hand, in later periods--that is, after the fall of the Adalite hegemony in those regions--a considerable part of the Harāri were assimilated into the body of the Oromo nation.

The fourth of the important ethnic groups which constituted the population of the ancient Adal state were the Somali. Originally they seem

to have occupied only the coastal zones, where their presence was documented for the first time in the region of Merca on the lower Wäbi Shäbällé about 1150 (Cerulli 1957, p. 45). In the course of centuries they expanded gradually inland and pushed their neighbors, the Afar and the Oromo, steadily westward, a process which is still going on today. By the sixteenth century, the northern Somali evidently had taken possession of the largest part of their present settlement areas (cf. Lewis 1966, p. 30; Braukämper 1975, p. 90). It is not possible, however, to obtain a precise idea of how important the Somali were in the Adalite wars, because the texts of the *Futuḥ* give only very peripheral iddications concerning their military role. It is also not clearly stated in that chronicle if Aḥmad Gragn, who according to the traditions started his campaigns from Balad-Wäyna near the present Jigigga, was himself a Somali. It does not seem so, but he was obviously related to Somali chiefs.[29] The defeats Adal suffered in its war against the Christian Empire and in the subsequent Oromo invasion did not, in contrast to the Harärі, affect the ethnic substance of the Somali.

Among all the Muslim states of southeast Ethiopia, Adal not only stands out as the greatest and most powerful, but with the Afar, Argobba, Harärі, and Somali it was also distinguished by a particular ethnic variety.

MORA

For brief periods, some small chiefdoms existed in the desert areas of the Afar plain which were more or less dependent on the Yifat and Adal states. To some extent, however, they maintained their political individuality and can therefore not be regarded as mere provincial districts. Probably the most important of these was Mora (Maura),[30] which was subjugated by Yifat's Walashma dynasty in 1288 (Cerulli 1941, p. 13). It joined the Muslim league against Amdä-Ṣiyon, whose army invaded Mora after having crossed a river called Yas (Huntingford 1965, p. 71). The defeated princes of Mora and Adal took consel with the *imam* Ṣalih, son of a Makkan *sharīf*, who had great influence as a holy man in the Harar region. Because further resistance seemed to be hopeless, the Mora ruler rendered homage to the emperor and had to accept an Ethiopian governor for political control (Huntingford 1965, pp. 74, 76). After this event, the name Mora disappeared from the historical documents; it is not uncertain that it was amalgamated by Adal.

If it is true, as some authors argue (Huntingford 1965, p. 36; Bruce 1790, p. 37; Isenberg and Krapf 1968, p. 21), that Yas was a local denomination for the Awash, Mora was situated in the Afar plain east of that river. Trimingham's (1965) localization west of the Awash towards the Shäwan highlands lacks evidential support, as it was clearly characterized as a desert area. In later times, that is, since the fifteenth century, the western part of Mora must have been merged with the Ethiopian frontier district of Dawaro, which was established on the middle Awash. An ethnic alteration in this region is not traceable, and consequently we can regard the ancestors of the present population, the Afar, as the probable inhabitants of ancient Mora.

GIDIM

Unlike Mora the neighboring Gidim (Gedem, Geden, Gedm, Guidime, Gedemge)[31] remained a political entity until the seventeenth century, and the name is still used as a geographical term today. The first references to it appear in the songs in honor of the Emperors Amdä-Ṣiyon and Zär'a-Ya'iqob (Guidi 1889, pp. 62, 64; cf. Littmann 1914, p. 26). There is no detailed information about its political status, and since it was not explicitly identified as a sultanate, it can probably be considered as an area under Ethiopian control with a mixed Islamic and Christian population. Zär'a-Ya'iqob put it under the direct administration of the empire, appointed a governor, and settled military colonists (Chawa) there (Perruchon 1893, pp. 13, 47, 95). Under Bä'idä-Maryam the governors had the title *aqanṣan* and were obliged to furnish a military contingent to the emperor (Perruchon 1893, pp. 112, 137). Troops from Gidim also fought on the side of the Christian Ethiopians against the Adalite Muslims in the beginning of the Gragn wars (*Futūḥ*, p. 283). After the conquest in the early thirties of the sixteenth century, the province was Islamized, and its warriors joined Aḥmad Gragn on his further campaigns (*Futūḥ*, pp. 338ff., 359). The Adalites left *amīr* Cham'un as governor (*garäd*) in Gidim with such large force that they could not long be provisioned there, and for this reason they were relocated to new quarters in Gojjam after a victorious battle against Emperor Libnä-Dingil (*Futūḥ*, pp. 402ff., 466).

Gidim was described by the European chroniclers as a fertile province abounding in game, especially known for its population of elephants and rich in gold, and it was situated twenty days' walk from Yifat (Crawford 1958, pp. 171, 177; cf. Isenberg and Krapf 1968, p. 238, and Harris 1846, vol. 2, pp. 316ff.). Almeida's map--also confirmed by other information sources (Ludolph 1682, p. 16; Crawford 1958, p. 177, Zorzi's report; Isenberg and Krapf 1968, p. 19; Perruchon 1893, p. 71; Conti Rossini 1894, p. 637)--located Gidim between Angot in the north, Dancali and Däwaro in the east, Yifat in the south and Amhara in the west. According to our reconstruction, it occupied an area between the highland escarpment and the Awash; the Millé and Robi rivers marked its northern and southern boundaries. Gidim's original population, presumably Argobba and Amhara, were mostly expelled or assimilated by the Wälo-Oromo, who began to invade the territory after Ṣarsä-Dingil's time, that is, in the late sixteenth century (see, for instance, Saineano 1892, p. 43).

FÄṬÄGAR

The first reference to the name Fätägar--it is also known in the versions Fatigar, Fategar, Fesegar--is found in the chronicle of Emperor Amdä-Ṣiyon, who annexed this area as an Ethiopian province and installed a governor with the title *masfin* (Guidi 1839, VIII, v. 14; Huntingord 1965, p. 54). Zär'a-Ya'iqob is reported to have been born in a place called Telq in Fäṭagar, where he later ordered the construction of a church. He assigned a commander with the title *azaj* to head the provincial administration and reinforced the Ethiopian position by the establishment of military colonies (Perruchon 1893, pp. 15, 47, 67; Guidi 1889, X, v. 31; Dillmann 1884b, pp. 12ff., 23). Under Bä'idä-Maryman the governor was titled *aegua*

(Perruchon 1893, p. 112). From the fourteenth century up to the Gragn wars, Fäṭagar was, without intermission, a dependency of the Christian Empire. This thesis is substantiated by the fact that it is not listed by the Arabic historiographers (al-'Umari, Maqrizi, and so on) as one of the Islamic principalities. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Emperor Libnä-Dingil temporarily resided in Fäṭagar. The Portuguese traveler Alvares, who met him there, transmitted a rather general description of the country. Fäṭagar was a hilly lowland area with thoroughly cultivated fields of wheat and barley, fruit trees, and extensive grazing grounds full of numerous herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. Among the Ethiopian dependencies it was known as a remarkably rich country with many churches and monasteries (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 407-9; cf. *Afrique* 1667, p. 90; Conti Rossini 1894, p. 639).

Although the dominating influence of the territory was undoubtedly Christian, a more or less intensive Muslim infiltration cannot be excluded because of its exposed situation on the frontier of Adal. A general characterization as "one of the Muslim states" (Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 235; 1961, p. 407) cannot, however, be accepted. Libnä-Dingil organized Fäṭagar as a concentration area against the hostile sultanates on the eastern flank of the empire, and for this purpose he also arranged a basic change in the defense. Headed by a commander-in-chief, the province was divided into seven different commands (*Futūḥ*, p. 83), a fact which the Muslim chronicler considered as a point of strength, since each unit tried to excel the other in military enterprises. Since the Ethiopian frontier province must have been quite attractive because of its wealth, the defense aginst Islamic raids was indeed required to be very efficient, and in the beginning of Libnä-Dingil's reign mainly the Christians seemed to have been the aggressive and offensive party.

Aḥmad Gragn's troops invaded Fäṭagar for the first time in 1531 and then devastated the area in several subsequent campaigns (*Futūḥ*, pp. 46ff., passim). The Christian commander Islam-Sagad was killed in the battle of Aifars and was replaced by a renegade called Qur'ai 'Uthman, who immediately betrayed Libnä-Dingil, reconverted to Islam, and joined the Muslim party with the forces of his province. For a short period Fatagar was then a sultanate under the suzerainty of Adal, until the Ethiopian Emperor Gälawdewos reconquered it after a decisive victory over the Muslim governor 'Abbas in 1545 (Conzelmann 1895, pp. 28, 138). It was also in Fatagar four years later that Gälawdewos himself was killed in a battle against the Adalite leader, *amir* Nur (Conzelmann 1895, pp. 96, 175).

The Amharic oral traditions report from this time that the governor, *asmach* Indiryas, revenged the dead monarch and successfully repelled the invading Oromo. These defense efforts, however, could by no means have been long-lasting. The chronicle of the Oromo expansion states that they overwhelmed Fäṭagar during their *luba*--which means "those who are circumcised at the same time"--called *bifole* (1558-66), that is, the fourth of five eight-year periods constituting their cyclic age-class system (*gada*). "He [personification of *luba bifole*] began to enslave the inhabitants, and made them the slaves called *gabare*" (Tellez 1660, pp. 59, 63, and annotations on map; Schleicher 1893, p. 18; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 116).

Huntingford's (1955, p. 230) interpretation that Fäṭägar became part of Balī about 1540, is not logical, since this state itself ceased to exist at the same time as a consequence of the Oromo conquest. When Susinyos was Emperor of Ethiopia, the formerly flourishing province was characterized as a desert country (Pereira 1900, p. 220). Ludolph's compilation of Ethiopian source materials in the seventeenth century referred to it as a kingdom "formerly inhabited by Christians" (Ludolph 1682, p. 15).

About Fäṭägar's geographical position before the *jihād* of the sixteenth century there is general agreement. In the northeast it bordered with Adal, in the north with Yifat, in the northwest with Shäwa, in the southwest with Wäj, and in the south and southeast with Balī (Crawford 1958, pp. 92, 163, 198 Fra Mauro's map of 1460, etc.; *Afrique* 1667, p. 87; Ludolph 1682, p. 15; Pereira 1900, pp. 556ff.; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 407ff.). The maps of Egyptus Novelo (c. 1454)[32] and Almeida located Fäṭägar east of Lake Zway and the Gurage country. But these particulars prove to be very approximate, especially because of the incorrect course of the Awash, and an extension as far as Balī can be excluded until the middle of the sixteenth century, because Hadiya was between them. The place where Alvares met Libnä-Dingil was a day's journey distant from the first Adalite market town and eight days from Zayla'. This information indicates a position of that locality in the utmost eastern part of Fäṭägar.

The same author, Alvares, mentioned Mt. Zukwala with its crater lake and the monasteries on its peak (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 409; cf. *Afrique* 1667, p. 87), which can be clearly located in the western borderland of the province. Its position in the area of the Awash is also unquestionable, although there are differences of opinion about the center of its territory. Trimingham thought of it to be west of the river (Trimingham 1965, p. 67), while Paulitschke held to a more eastward extension as far as the Gobelé (Paulitschke 1888b, p. 222; 1888a, p. 67). Most probably the old district of Fäṭägar, characterized as we have seen, as a hilly lowland, occupied the Awash plain from the region north of Lake Zway to the western foothills of the Chärchär chain. On its territory, which partly included the old Shäwan sultanate, Barara (Borora), the headquarters of the Ethiopian empire in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was located--presumably in the vicinity of Mt. Bororo, some 50 kilometers southwest of Addis Ababa (Crawford 1958, pp. 87, 198).

As a geographical term in a much more limited sense, "Fatigar" remained and was also mentioned by various travelers of the last century (Isenberg and Krapf 1968, pp. 23, 90, 288; Harris 1846, vol. 2, p. 65; Martial de Salviac 1900, p. 27). Today the name is still common for the region of Bulga and Minjar southeast of the Shäwan mountains. In Kambata I met a clan called Faṭigar, which derives its origin from that region.

WÄJ

In its evolution and destiny Fäṭägar had much in common with the neighboring state of Wäj, adjacent to it in the south. Its historical identification is not only complicated by a considerable variety of synonyms--it was transcribed in the versions Wadj, Wage, Wed, Vague, Voge,

Hage, Huoggi, Ouadj, Oyja, Ogge, Oggy, Oye, Ogia, Oge, and others--but also by the fact that there is another district called Wäj inhabited by Agaw people north of Lasta in the headwater region of the Täkäzé River (Basset 1881, p. 124; *Futūḥ*, p. 212).

Like Fäṭägar, Wäj was not mentioned by al-'Umarī and Maqrīzī. The Amadä-Ṣiyon chronicle reports that this emperor defeated the Zebdar of Wage (Wäj?) and appointed a governor with the title of *masfin* in the conquered area.[33] The title changed to *hegano* in Zär'a-Ya'iqob's time and into *qas* under Bä'idä-Maryam's rule.[34] In the fifteenth century the Christian influence must have been important, for the written records as well as archaeological findings and the oral traditions testify to the former existence of numerous churches and imperial residences in the region of Lake Zway. This is the reason that an interpretation identifying Wäj as a "Moslem state," whose semi-independent Muslim ruler was tributary to the Christian emperor,[35] cannot reflect the full historical truth. Neither is it possible to support the thesis that Wäj was absorbed by its neighbor Hadiya about the end of the fifteenth century and ceased to exist as a separate entity (Beckingham and Huntinford 1961, p. 407, n. 1). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Alvares reported that they "came to stop at the entrance of the kingdom of Oyja," where the preparations for the "feast of the Kings," that is, Epiphany, had just been started (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 432).

During Aḥmad Gragn's campaigns Wäj became a theater of rapidly changing events; occasionally it served the Ethiopian emperor as a refuge, and repeatedly it was conquered by the Muslims (*Futūḥ*, pp. 212, 234, 240-45, 281, 325, 359, 363, 390-95). The Islamic troops were not able, however, to take the islands of Lake Zway because they refused to build rafts for their conquest, and thus an impregnable bulwark was left, from where the Christians offered stout resistance throughout the whole *jihād* (*Futūḥ*, pp. 371ff.). Gragn's death did not mean a discontinuation of the Muslim-Christian contest in those regions. Emperor Gälawdewos, in the tenth year of his rule, in 1549/50, pushed on to Waj and defeated the troops of *wazir* 'Abbas concentrated there. In order to oppose the growing threat by the expanding Oromo more efficiently, he ordered the construction of fortresses. One of them is said to have been distinguished by a church and a splendid palace which were constructed by Syrian, Armenian, Egyptian, and European architects (Conzelmann 1895, pp. 139, 149).

In 1577 Emperor Ṣarsä-Dingil on his way to attack Muhammad of Adal is said to have passed through Wäj (Conti Rossini 1955, p. 57). The same ruler had to fight the advancing Dawé-Oromo, who retired on the arrival of the Christian troops to remote bush areas and thus left no other choice to the Ethiopians but to move back unsuccessfully and with considerable losses to the north (Schleicher 1893, pp. 30ff.; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 114, 117, 123). Shortly afterwards Wäj was definitely occupied by the Oromo together with the neighboring district Batera Amora. Although it was still listed among the provinces and tributary states of the Ethiopian empire in the seventeenth century--as were many other territories which had actually been lost--[36] this could only be considered as nominal.

In the map which was compiled according to Almeida's information around 1646, Wäj as a political term was an anachronism. In times when

it still existed as a territorial entity, it was bordered in the east by Fätägar, in the north by Shäwa/Yifat, in the west by Gurage with Mugan and Alawale, and in the south by Buzama, Sugamo, and Bargamo (Tellez 1660, p. 22; Ludolph's map in Foster 1949; Almeida's map in Perruchon 1893; Bermudez 1565, c. 49-51; Crawford 1958, p. 79, Zorzi's map of iter IV; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 19, and 1961, pp. 454, 584). A number of geographical problems, however, remain difficult to solve. Trimingham's equation of Wäj with the Guragéland (Trimingham 1965, p. 73, n. 2) is not conclusive, because according to all available information they were two different areas. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that Lake Zway was situated in the territory of Wäj.

Our attempt at reconstruction locates the old district, as it existed until the sixteenth century, approximately in the area from the eastern escarpment of the Gurage highlands to the Gugu mountains in the northern part of today's Arussi Province and from the Awash Plain north of Lake Zway to the southern shores of Lake Langano. In some respects, it is true, this is contradicted by the *Futuḥ*, which gives a more northerly position for Wäj in a region extending on the left bank of the Awash in the direction of the Shäwa mountains (*Futuḥ*, pp. 212, passim). Since the whole geographical and historical context indicates this area to have been a part of Fätägar, there must either have been an error in the chronicle or a new division of districts had taken place during the time of Muslim occupation.

Closely interrelated with the history of Wäj is the fate of an ethnic group called Maya (al-Maya, Maye), who apparently possessed a quasi-autonomous status but could not establish a state-like political foundation of their own. It is not clear if the statement of the traveler Brother Thomas of Ganget (1523), that the province of Wäj (Voge) was subject to queens who are described as the sovereigns of the Bani al-Hamuyyah (Crawford 1958, p. 81), can offer us any historical hint in this context. Cerulli associates this female dynasty with the queen Badit (d. A.D. 1063), daughter of Maya; and to indicate a cultural comparison, he refers to certain customs of the "Sidama," purportedly the original inhabitants in large parts of ancient Ethiopia (Cerulli 1941, p. 21; 1943, pp. 272ff.). This is hardly more than a potential interrelation to the traditions concerning early Shäwa, the Walashma dynasty, and the Argobba. When this is true, the intermingling of those traditions had already taken place some hundred years ago.

By Amdä-Ṣiyon's time, as Cerulli once more suggests, the Maya lived on the periphery of the Islamic states.[37] In the sequel they played a part as a martial group who furnished contingents of auxiliaries to various combatants, Christians as well as Muslims. They fought with weapons, bows and (sometimes poisoned) arrows, which are uncommon in Ethiopia except among the despised castes of hunters and potters among the Gurage, Somali, and other groups. The Christian Emperor Iskindir was killed--as the chronicle explicitly mentions--by a Maya arrow in 1494 (Perruchon 1894, p. 325; cf. Basset 1877, pp. 18, 96, 103).

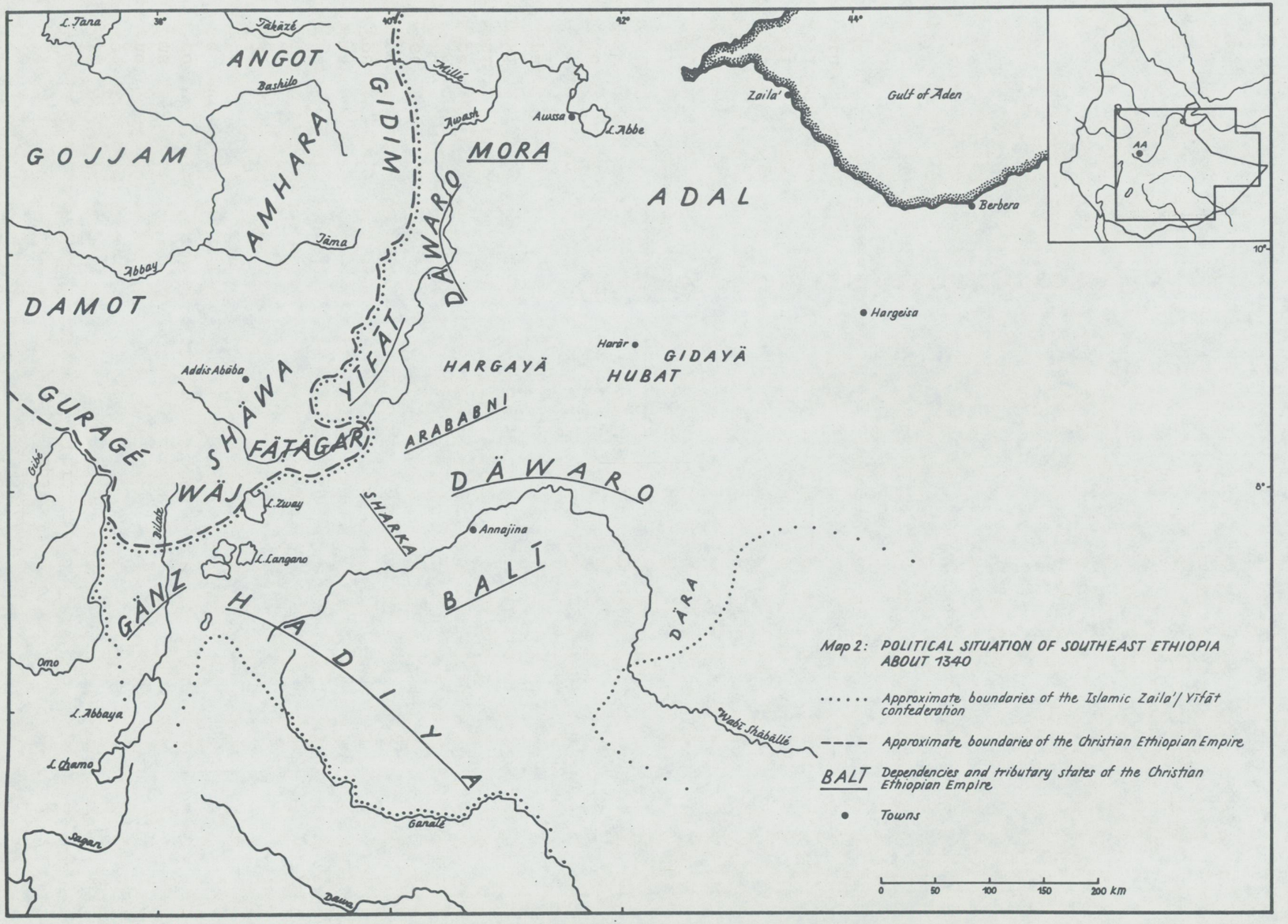
By that time the Maya lived in a place called Arho, probably situated in Adal (Perruchon 1894, p. 359). On the eve of the Gragn wars they lived as nomadic cattle breeders in the woody lowlands south of the Awash as far as Zukwala.[38] This area, which equates to present-day northern Arussi, is to be located within Waj. On Egyptus Novelo's map the Maya are marked with

the comment "fortes gentes" (or "strong people") west of Lake Zway (Crawford 1958, p. 14, map). The chronicle of the *jihād* occasionally mentioned them as allies on the side of the Christian Empire, although they were not themselves explicitly described as Christians. When, for instance, the Adalite commander sent troops from Fāṭägar southward in the direction of Däwaro, they were opposed at the Awash crossing by the army of the Wäj governor, *asmach* Fan'il, which was reinforced by Maya bowmen; and the Muslims had to strive mightily to get through.[39] After the conquest of the Maya country, Gragn appointed the *garäd* Farachaḥam-Dīn as governor there, but he needed still to suppress more than one revolt before the Maya under their chief Zarji converted to Islam and joined the Muslim forces (*Futūḥ*, pp. 126, 191, 353, 357, 362, 365, 367, 390).

The Portuguese soldiers who intervened in the last stages of the Gragn wars after 1540 also faced bowmen among the troops of their enemies (Littmann 1907, pp. 24-38, according to report of Miguel de Castanhoso) who can possibly be identified as Maya. In the end of the sixteenth century the Maya were overrun by the attacking Oromo, who had equipped themselves with big, stiff ox-hide shields as a special protection against arrows (Schleicher 1893, p. 23; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 120). Before they totally disappeared from the historical scene, either by physical extermination or by assimilation into other groups, they were for the last time documented as auxiliaries of the Ethiopian Emperor Susinyos (Pereira 1900, pp. 113ff., 431, passim).

No evidence concerning the ethnic and linguistic classification of the old Maya can be derived from the literary source materials. In this context we can only cite without comment the opinion of Basset, who located Arho, their domicile in the late fifteenth century, in the land of the Afar and related them with this people (see Basset's n. 3 to *Futūḥ*, pp. 82ff.). It is of little help in the solution of this problem that the word Maya is known in the region of Harär, for instance, in the name of the lake Hara Maya, and as an ethnonym for a subgroup of the Babile, a mixed Somali-Oromo tribe in the region of Jijigga. However, according to orally reported traditions, a connection between the old Maya, on the one hand, and some clans in Arba Gugu (northwestern Arussi Province) and the Badogo-Hadiya, on the other hand, can clearly be verified. If the Amaya-Oromo in the region of the upper Gibé (Omo), with their pronounced Muslim traditions rooted in the east, have any historical link with the Maya beyond the similarity of names has not yet been thoroughly checked in the field. When questioned about Wäj, informants in the Ethiopian Lake Region immediately refer to the Waji-Oromo near Assella (Governate General Arussi), who, in fact, live in the probable center of the ancient district. This has induced M. Cohen to argue that the present population got their name from the old political denomination (Cohen 1931, pp. 78ff.).

With the exception of this clan (*gossa*) name, the Oromo have no traceable connection whatsoever with Wäj. In the time of their invasion after the middle of the sixteenth century, Wäj was, in my opinion; predominantly inhabited by Hadiya, who had occupied the former Christian territories around Lake Langano and Lake Zway, terribly devastated in the course of the Gragn wars, shortly before. The northern part, as we have already stressed, was occupied by the Maya, who were related with the Hadiya. The genealogical traditions in Arussi report a marriage connection



between the Oromo ancestor Waji and the Ulbarag, Semitic-speaking Hadiya in eastern Guragéland.

Before the Hadiya took possession of Wäj, a population related to the Christian Aymallal and West Gurage is said to have also lived in those regions on the eastern escarpment of the Rift Valley. Among the numerous historical traces which the Christian Ethiopians left, the relics of churches around Mt. Chilalo (old Ethiopian version Däbrä Silalo) and the so-called residence of Zär'a-Ya'iqob at a place called Ḫaṭi--the name by itself represents the royal title--near Munesa east of Lake Langano are the most spectacular. The inherent problem of the name Zär'a-Ya'iqob for the interpretation of oral traditions has already been sketched. Perhaps archaeology will be able to clarify whether it was one of the previously-mentioned foundations from the time of Gälawdewos (c. 1550) or from an earlier period; Bä'idä-Maryam, for instance, is also reported to have been very active in that region.

NOTES

[1]This subject, in connection with the value of the genealogies in that area, was already discussed in another place. Braukämper 1973, p. 43ff.

[2]Paulitschke 1888a, p. 6; 1888b, p. 114; 1889, p. 165ff. This information was also confirmed by the contemporary eastern Arussi.

[3]Our own materials result from a two and one-half years' field study, carried out in two campaigns in 1970/71 and 1972/74, in the provinces of Shäwa, Arussi, Sidamo, Bali, and Harärgé. It was partly done in cooperation with Eike Haberland and Siegfried Seyfarth, to whom I am specially indebted. I should also like to express my deepest gratitude to all my Ethiopian friends and informants, above all Haile Bubbamo Arficio. Further thanks are to be rendered to the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungs-gemeinschaft) for the generous financing of the program, to Gisela Wittner (Frobenius-Institut) for the drawing of the maps, and to Woodruff Smith for the correction of the English text.

[4]The monograph by Trimingham (1965), which summarizes the knowledge from historical records up to c. 1950, is an excellent base for all further studies on the Muslim past in northeast Africa. Another important contribution, dealing with the cartographical analysis, is by P. Paulitschke (1884). A recent volume stimulating this kind of research is Tamrat 1972, from which we also adopted the standardized transcription of Ethiopian names. For the transliteration of Arabic words, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1960) was used.

[5]Littmann 1910-15, pp. 4ff.; Kammerer 1926, pp. 87ff. Linguistic-etymological analyses of the old Axumite inscriptions in an attempt to discover allusions of an early Cushitic presence are outside the scope of this study. Some preliminary approaches in this field were made by Plazikowsky-Brauner (1957, pp. 66ff.) and by Arficio (1972).

[6]This was, for instance, stated by Tubiana (1959, pp. 17ff.).

[7]For the question of hypotheses concerning the etymological derivation of the name "Sidama," see Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. li.

[8]Cecchi 1888, p. 50; Schleicher 1893, p. 21; Ciravegna n.d., p. 146; Cerulli 1938, p. 31; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. li; Stanley 1967, p. 28. Still today the Barantu-Oromo use to call the people assimilated to their ethnic body, who are mostly of Somali origin, *"sarri* Sidama," or "Sidama people."

[9]Cerulli 1938, pp. 242-48; Tucker and Bryan 1956, pp. 123f.; Bender 1971, p. 167. The materials from our field work clearly prove the linguistic as well as historical connections of these groups. See Braukämper 1973.

[10]An annotated translation of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* was published by Basset (1897). In the following it will generally be cited with the short title *Futūḥ*. The pages referring to the above context are 11, 118, 124, 130, 150, 170ff.

[11]*Futūḥ* (text), p. 111. As one of their subgroups the Zerbah were mentioned. *Futuḥ* (text), p. 171.

[12]This hypothesis was already sketched by Cohen (1931, passim) and by Haberland (1965, p. 13f.).

[13]Rinck 1790, p. 21. The Latin text was translated into English by G. B. W. Huntingford.

[14]Cf. Cerulli 1941, pp. 20-22, and 1943b, p. 272ff., where relevant sources including Ibn Khaldun are quoted.

[15]von Erlanger 1902, p. 58f., confirms Paulitschke's various statements concerning this fact. Some statements date the eastern migration of the Argobba only in the eighteenth century. See Ferry 1961, p. 28.

[16]A document of the history of the Walashma dynasty was published by Cerulli (1931, pp. 40-52); cf. Trimingham 1965, p. 58.

[17]Rinck 1790, p. 17. Ḥaṭī was an honorary name of the Ethiopian emperors.

[18]For the English translation of the text of Maqrīzī's *Ilmām*, see Trimingham 1965, p. 74.

[19]Perruchon 1893, Almeida's map; cf. Ludolph's map of 1683 reproduced in Foster 1949.

[20]A number of travelers in the nineteenth century refer to it, for instance, Isenberg and Krapf (1968, p. 91), Johnston (1854, pp. 42, 46, passim), Harris (1846, p. 123), Krapf (1858, p. 62), and Soleillet (1886, p. 271).

[21]Basset 1881, p. 301 (with note 377); Savard 1970, pp. 148f. According to Bruce (1790/91, p. 8), the name Gibberti (Jabarti) was derived from the Ethiopian word *"gäbrä,"* or "servant, slave." I could only get access to the German translation of Bruce's opus.

[22]Our own materials concerning this are supported by du Bourg de Bozas 1906, pp. 90-95.

[23]Conti Rossini 1904, p. 38 (text). The English translation was done by Tamrat (1972, p. 151).

[24]This is reported in Maqrīzī's "kitāb as-sulūk," quoted by Marquart (1913, p. CCLXXVII).

[25]Schleicher 1893, p. 20; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 116ff. Cerulli 1931a, pp. 57ff. Our own collection of oral traditions among the Baräntu confirm that they invaded the Harär Plateau from the southeast.

[26]Isenberg and Krapf 1968, p. 35; cf. Conti Rossini 1914-15, p. 825. This is also confirmed by the modern traditions of the Barantu-Oromo.

[27]Various other authors concurred with this opinion. See, for example, Mondon-Vidailhet 1902, p. 79; Cohen 1931, pp. 48, 50; Brooke 1956, p. 82.

[28]For the history and ethnography of the northern Bälaw, consult Ludolph 1682, p. 87; Munzinger 1883, pp. 279, 281, 283, 287; *Futūḥ*, pp. 10, 421, notes by Basset; Conti Rossini 1914-15, pp. 628, 630ff.; Paul 1954, pp. 64-66, 71, 76-78, 82, 84, 88ff., 94, 140; Trimingham 1965, pp. 70, 98, 104, 140, 152, 156ff., 162, 169.

[29]For the discussion on Ahmad Gragn's ethnic identification, see Schleicher 1893, p.2.

[30]This Mora may not be confounded with Mahra, a military contingent from Yaman during the Gragn wars (*Futūḥ*, pp. 170, 172, 185, 254, 303) or Mara, the Ethiopian name for Meroe (Crawford 1958, p. 7).

[31]For the identity of Gedem and Geden there is sufficient proof by the geographical descriptions. The ending *gé* means "country" in the Harari language, that is, Gedemgé means "country of Gedem."

[32]See Crawford 1958, p. 14. Egyptus Novelo called the area Fazagur.

[33]Littmann 1914, pp. 25, 30; Huntingford 1965, p. 54. The identity of Wage and Wäj seems to be accepted by the commentators.

[34]Perruchon 1893, pp. 15, 112. Bä'idä-Maryam's residence in Wäj seems to have been in a place called Arari. He is also reported to have possessed a beautiful palace there. Haber 1962, p. 80.

[35]Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 407ff. Also Isenberg and Krapf (1968, p. 30) received information about a former Christian country "Ogge" west and southwest of Zayla' (Adal).

[36]Pais (1945/46, vol. 1, p. 15) enumerated eighteen territories over which the Ethiopian empires maintained a traditional right of possession, which in many cases, however, might have not exceeded a symbolic claim. Cf. *Afrique* 1667, p. 88.

[37]Cerulli 1936, p. 18; Wolde Aregay (1974, pp. 270ff.) demonstrates the difficulty in recognizing any connection of the Maya with the Mayageb in Amdä-Ṣiyon's chronicle.

[38]*Futūḥ*, pp. 212ff. Cf. Nerassini 1891, p. 54, and Crawford 1958, p. 82. Wolde Aregay (1974, pp. 27ff.) noted a striking similarity between the history of the Maya and the Zalan, another nomadic people between the Awash and the Shäwan plateau.

[39]*Futūḥ*, pp. 340ff. Concerning the struggle of the Maya against the Adalite Muslims in general, see *Futūḥ*, pp. 94, 108, 113ff., 180, 345ff. 361ff.

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ISLAMIC PRINCIPALITIES IN SOUTHEAST ETHIOPIA BETWEEN THE THIRTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES (PART II)

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GANZ

From Wāj and the country of the Maya a route led to the adjoining territory of Ganz (Ganze, Genze, Ganj, Ganazo, Ganzun, and so on) (Crawford 1958, p. 133, quoting "Information from Brother Zorgi"). This district was mentioned for the first time in the soldiers' songs in honor of Emperor Amdä-Ṣiyon, who defeated its leader Ṭaṭa (Huntingford 1965, p. 129; cf. Guidi 1889, VIII, v. 8; Littmann 1914, p. 26). Ludolph distinguished from it another "kingdom" called Gan or Ganhe, which cannot be identified (Ludolph 1682, p. 16). For Zär'a-Ya'iqob's time it is, on the one hand, reported that Gänz was subordinate to the Christian Empire and was administered by a governor titled *hegano* (Dillmann 1884b, p. 13), and, on the other hand, it seems to be sure that the Ganazo *garäd* of the chronicle, dedicated to that monarch (Perruchon 1893, p. 17), refers to the name Gänz as well. The title *garäd*, which was common throughout Muslim-dominated eastern Ethiopia, is shortly afterward mentioned again in connection with Gänz in Bä'idä-Maryam's chronicle (Perruchon 1893, p. 112). The sons of this ruler were entrusted to the Gänz *garäd* Matéwos (Shändäraba Matéwos) and grew up in his country (Perruchon 1893, pp. 155ff.; cf. Perruchon 1894, pp. 345-47, 362). Tamrat supposed that this Matéwos was at first a personal attendant of Queen Romna, and was later promoted to the more honorable office of Gänz *garäd*.[40]

From this information it can be concluded that, from the mid-fifteenth century, Christian influence prevailed over the Islamic, since the education of Ethiopian princes in any other milieu by a Christian was surely not imaginable. The process of Christianization, however, was not yet completed for in Libnä-Dingil's time Alvares characterized the population of Gänz as "a mixture of pagans and of Christians who are gradually coming into it" (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 454). Christianity collapsed when the Adalite general 'Abd an-Nāṣir invaded Gänz from Hadiya in 1532, defeated the Ethiopian troops under their commander Aiker, and converted the inhabitants by force to Islam (*Futūḥ*, pp. 392, passim). Aḥmad Gragn appointed him governor of the conquered district, which was well known for its wealth in mules and buffalo-like (long-horned?) cattle (*Futūḥ*, p. 378). Nevertheless, the situation for the Muslims remained precarious because their troops were frequently away for campaigns in other regions and the Gänz people repeatedly used the opportunity to revolt (*Futūḥ*, pp. 325, 357, 380, 395).

The Christian restoration after the Gragn wars does not seem to have been very profound. The old title *garäd*, it is true, was still in use in

the time of Susinyos (Pereira 1900, p. 55). In the seventeenth century, Gänz was officially still regarded as a dependency of the Christian Empire (*Afrique* 1667, p. 88; Ludolph 1682, p. 105; Pais 1945/46, vol. 1, p. 15), although the irresistible occupation by the Oromo had already become obvious.

Except for a location by Littmann in the region of Harär (Littmann 1907, p. 121), there is general agreement among the researchers about the geographical position of Gänz. On Almeida's map it is bordered by Shäwa and Gaffat in the north, by Damot in the west, by Guragé and Hadiya in the south, and by Wäj in the east.[41] Tamrat placed it precisely in the area between the headwaters of the Rivers Gudru, Awash, and Gibé and situated Jibat, a town mentioned in Zär'a-Ya'iqob's reign, within this circumference (Tamrat 1972, p. 277, n. 1). Although such a location is certainly correct for the time after the Gragn wars, a number of complicated questions remain to be solved for earlier periods.

Occasionally in the old documents, the version Balēganz (Baliganje, Bellguanze) was transmitted (Baratti 1670, p. 116; Ludolph 1682, p. 16; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 495), which, on the one hand, is considered as a synonym for Gänz and, on the other hand, as an individual political entity. On Gastaldi's map of Africa (reproduced by Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, at end), published in Venice in 1564, the "Regno de Belleguanze" appeared northwest of Amhara and east of Bägämdir, whereas the "Regno de Ganze" was marked in a much more southeasterly position. Few further evidences for this differentiation can be discovered. A probable explanation for the occurrence of the name Balī in association with Gänz was offered by Stanley (1967, p. 26), who argued that *balé*, the Hadiya word for lowland--the pronunciation is slightly different from the one of the old principality Balī--referred to the upper Awash valley. A direct connection between Gänz and Balī cannot be inferred from the written records. It is true, however, that in the traditions concerning their migrations, the Gänz people, after whom the political entity is said to have been named, report an original homeland in the southeast. Alvares mentioned a region called Gamu as a southwestern neighbor of Gänz and reported of its inhabitants as follows: "they are pagans, little valued as slaves, they have no king, only chiefs, who rule separately" (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 454).

This description indicates that it is quite probable to identify the old district Gamu with the present territory of this name west of Lake Chamo. People there show a peculiar racial type, characterized by rather short and sturdy figures, and they did not develop, as far as we know, political organizations above the level of relatively small chiefdoms. But all the evidence of geographical distances must be ignored if we accept a position for Gänz north of the upper Gibé, because present-day Gamu is situated c. 300 kilometers south of there. Since Gamu was definitely located west of Gänz, an identification with Sugamo and Bargamo is also out of question. According to all available information (for instance, Almeida's map), these districts were situated in a southeastern direction from Gänz, south of Aymällal (Alamale) and Wäj. No further explanatory comments refer to these localities, which were for the first time mentioned as Bahr-Gamo and Suf-Gamo in Amdä-Siyon's praise songs (Littmann 1914, p. 14).

If we now accept that the country of Gamu, which was situated in the close vicinity of Gänz, is identical with the area of that name in the

present Governate General Gamu-Gofa, Gänz itself is originally to be located in the region of Wälamo and southern Arussi. This positioning seems to be contradicted by Alvares' description of a common boundary with Shäwa and Wäj. However from the fact that the intensively Christianized country of Kambata was scarcely mentioned as a separate district during the sixteenth century, it can be concluded that this area was more or less considered as part of the Shäwan precincts. Kambata began to play a part as an independent principality only after the Gragn wars. In the *Futūḥ* it is clearly indicated that General 'Abd an-Nasīr invaded Kambata from Gänz in a northward direction (*Futūḥ*, p. 365); Kambatä's southern neighbor is today's Wälamo. It must be concluded from these facts that before 1530 Gänz was situated south of Kambata and not north of this district, where it is located on the maps of the seventeenth century. So the identification of the old Gänz with Wälamo seems to be assured, because it is exactly situated south of Kambata and northwest of Gamu. A common boundary of Gänz with Wäj is also not contradictory to the general outlines of historical geography, because--according to our reconstruction mentioned in the last section--this Ethiopian province reached as far as the southern shores of Lake Langano. In this region the two principalities had a common boundary.

A problem which is difficult to solve on the basis of Alvares' information is the localization of the Gurage, whose domiciles are said to have extended to the southwest beyond Gänz and Gamu (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 454-56). But when we take into consideration the immense distortions on, for instance, Gastaldi's map, where Gurage is marked as the eastern neighbor of the Sudanic kingdom Funj, we tend to ascribe such incongruities to incorrect cartography. In cases like this where the literary sources prove to be rather misleading, the relevance of oral traditions considerably increases. The study of the contemporary ethnic situation can as well contribute some interesting explanations which help to clear up the historical problems of this area.

The question concerning the population of the old Gänz must include the origin and tribal differentiation of the Gurage and Kambata and also take us into the complex field of Hadiya history. When we extend the previously existing corpus of historical materials by adding the results of our recent research, the reconstruction can be summarized as follows:

After the establishment of the Salomonid dynasty (1269), when the Christian Empire began its policy of southern expansion, the climatically agreeable zones on both sides of the upper Gibe became a favored area of colonization by Semitic-speaking settlers from the north. The name "Gerage" appears to have been first mentioned in the chronicle relating Amdä-Ṣiyon's wars (huntingford 1965, p. 78). It is a well-known tradition that about 1330 an Ethiopian army under *asmach* Sibhat left the town of Gur'a in the Eritrean district of Akälä-Guzay and founded a military colony in the mountainous area south of the upper Awash.[42] Ethnically those people were of Tigray origin. According to a popular explanation, the name of the country and the people was derived from the word "Gura-gé," the people (or "*gé*") of Gur'a.[43] This etymology, which has a rather strong historical and linguistic foundation, is more widely accepted than other suggestions put forward by various authors, for instance, "people of the left side" (referring to the south, from Bägämdir and Gojjam [Isenberg and Krapf 1968, pp. 97ff.; Shack 1969, p. 16], from which the early settlers obviously received

reinforcements). It is insofar evident that the colonists had partly originated from Amhara country as the Gurage language has a closer connection to Amharic than to Tigrigna.

We must take into consideration a process of colonization over a long period, and the *Futūh* reports at least a second remarkable influx of Semitic-speaking people. In the time of Ahmad Gragn, who himself stayed for a while in Gurage (*Futūh*, p. 366), remainders of the defeated Christian troops fled to the high mountains of that area (*Futūh*, p. 363).

The term "Gurage," as it can be traced, changed in the course of time. In the early sixteenth century it referred to an ethnic group which was still partly pagan and hostile to the Christian emperor (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 397ff., 401, 451). Culturally rather primitive, they lived between the Ethiopian province of Damot and the upper Gibe. The Chabo, who presently occupy a part of this region, are reported to have been basically Gurage, who were then Oromized after the seventeenth century (Cerulli 1938, p. 166).

On Almeida's map Mugan (Mugär) and Alamale (Aymälläl) were still marked as independent political entities separated from Gurage by Adea (Hadiya) and Ganz (cf. Crawford 1958, pp. 100, 120, 183; Pereira 1900, p. 123). It was only in later periods that the name "Gurage" was also extended to these groups as well as to the Semitic-speaking Hadiya (see below). Before the Adalite *jihād*, the Aymälläl, who speak a language quite similar to Amharic, certainly occupied, together with the related Gaffat, a large area between Kambata and Gojjam (see Haberland 1965, p. 14, map; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 458; Crawford 1958, p. 85; Leslau 1966, pp. 189ff.). They must have constituted the original population of the country, which later became known as (the secondary) Gänz. Cerulli thought that he recognized among the Galila in the region of Lake Wonchi (situated in today's western Shäwa Province) the old Gurage substratum (Cerulli 1938, p. 168), and this thesis has been confirmed from the cultural viewpoint by Haberland's more recent researches (1960, pp. 12ff.). Despite the very inaccurate geographical distances in Legrand's map of 1728, it is quite probable that the lake which is marked on the territory of Ganz is identical with the Wonchi, because in the whole area between the Zway Basin and the Blue Nile (Abbay) Bend no other noticeable lake exists.

The Aymälläl survived as an ethnic group only in northeastern Gurage-land, and the Gaffat were, with the exception of a very small fraction on the Abbay, completely absorbed by the Macha-Oromo and the Amhara. As a topographical denomination Gaffat also persisted in the country of Ulbarag (eastern Gurage) (cf. also Traversi 1887, pp. 123ff.) and as a clan name in Kambata. It is, in fact, documented that Gaffat people in 1532 joined the Kambata Christians in fighting against the Adalite invaders (*Futūḥ*, pp. 224, 366). This is vividly confirmed by the historical traditions of the contemporary generation.

According to written records, Christianity was introduced in Kambata and some adjacent southern regions in the time of Emperor Yeshaq, that is, between 1414 and 1429 (Guidi 1889, p. 56, passim; Conti Rossini 1955, p. 76). (The authenticity of popular legends referring to the missionary campaign led by the famous Ethiopian saint Takla-Haymanot in Wälamo already about 1300 is outside the sphere of our discussion.)

Before the impact of the Christian Empire became dominant, the whole area is said to have been part of another important state which also included Innarya, Janjero, and other parts and was connected with the name of the mysterious Damot ruler Motälamï in the thirteenth century.[44] According to an unverifiable reference by Almeida, Innarya--the Enarea or Narea of the Portuguese--during its peak period extended as far as the vicinity of Balï (Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 314ff.; Cerulli 1938, p. 4). In Kambata the Innarya (Ännarya) clan is still considered the oldest population of that area. Since the fifteenth century, Amharic immigrants, whose descendants are still represented in numerous clans (Ḫatï, Amhara, Dildil Amhara, and others) have been superimposed on them. Moreover, archaeological relics of an old Christianity appear as far southward as Wälamo and Gamu-Gofa,[45] thus also demonstrating a strong Christian influence, discontinued by the Gragn wars, in the territory of Gänz.

The Gänz people, who were classified as a subgroup of the Hadiya in Zär'a-Ya'iqob's time (Perruchon 1893, p. 17), in the fifteenth century held a principality in the region of Wälamo, which was politically dependent on and also to some extent culturally dominated by the Christian Empire. It must be stressed in this context that the ancestors of the contemporary Wälamo (Woleita) were originally limited to a small mountainous region in Kindo, close to the border of Gamu, and did not begin to expand over their present area before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Despite the strong Christian influence, however, both a certain Islamic substratum among the autochthonous Gänz people and the muslim chief title *garäd* persisted. In the *jihād*, a part of the population more or less eagerly joined the Adalites and invaded the Ethiopian Empire under their new leader 'Abd an-Nāṣïr. Some of them stayed in the then Christian district of Kambata, where a clan called Gänz still exists, but the majority advanced to the Guragé and Aymälläl-Gaffat countries and founded a new principality in that area, where the European maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries located it. In Wälamo only small groups remained and were later assimilated by the Gudela and Gadabicho, Hadiya tribes, who forced their way from the east. In their new domicile northeast of Guragéland, the ethnic identity of the Gänz was mostly wiped out by the subsequent Oromo invasion. The ethnonym distinctly survived among the Ḳäbena-Hadiya and in Janjero, and it is noteworthy that even the title Gänz *garäd* was preserved in those regions.

The northward expansion of the Hadiya/Gänz people resulted in a remarkable Islamic influence, which became effective in the area west of the upper Gibé as far as the peripheries of Illubabor. Clans like the Darïmu and Jawara, who are certainly of the same origin as people from respective clans in Ḳäbena and Alaba, are to be found in Chora-Ḳubba in the northern part of Limmu and in Chora-Illubabor. Famous Muslim leaders and missionaries, as for instance Hajjï Nāṣir Allāh, from whom also Oromized groups like the Misken between Guragé and Ḳäbena derive their descent, are still very much honored there. Numerous archaeological relics, shrines, and cemeteries are testaments to the old Islam in the region of Jimma and Janjero,[46] central parts of the ancient Innarya. Pious legends, referring to the specific area, are even connected with the Harari ancestor Abadir (Cerulli 1936, p. 130). It is not always clearly discernible, however, to which source the origins of these traditions can be attributed, because two more waves of Islamic immigrants reached that country: the Hadiya-East Guragé in the second half

of the sixteenth century and the Ḳäbena in the mid-nineteenth century.

From the Gragn wars and the Gänz invasion, Christianity on the upper Gibé suffered a more or less decisive setback. The campaign of re-Christianization which Ṣarsä-Dingil vigorously enforced on the region of Innarya and Bosha (Conti Rossini 1955, p. 145; Saineano 1892, p. 21; Schleicher 1893, p. 31; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 124), did not prove to be of long-lasting efficacy. With the exception of some few survivals, the old Islam of the sixteenth century had also completely disappeared, until re-Islamization began 300 years later.

For the area from Kambata to the secondary district of Gänz we must take into account a settlement by Christian groups since the fourteenth century, who were primarily recruited from the Semitic-speaking Tigray and Amhara of northern Ethiopia. The hypothesis that the ethnogenesis of the Guragé took place on a substratum of Cushitic-speaking "Sidama" populations is common among the scholars engaged on that problem (for instance, Mondon-Vidhailhet 1902, p. 79; Cohen 1931, p. 83; Azaïs and Chambard 1931, p. 186; Leslau 1950, p. 11; Shack 1969, pp. 12ff., and 1974, p. 98), but concrete historical evidence is difficult to find. Most of the subgroups in Kambata, who speak a language of the Sidama cluster, report the tradition that they came from the south after the Gragn wars, when the land was almost depopulated. There is unfortunately no remembrance left which gives us the slightest idea about the ethnic-linguistic classification of the old Innarya people. As far as we can conclude from the total range of historical and cultural data, they belonged to the Omotic (West Cushitic) cluster, which formerly seems to have extended eastward up to the Rift Valley.[47] The Hadiya stratum of the Chabo and Galila cannot, according to the general outlines resulting from the historical analysis of Gänz, have predated the sixteenth century; and it is even uncertain whether the Gänz-Hadiya have a always been a Cushitic-speaking group. We shall come back to this point below.

The concept of an old Sidama stratum in Guragéland, which is said to have been represented by the Hadiya, was mainly initiated by Mondon-Vidailhet (Mondon-Vidailhet 1902, p. 79). The autochthonous Hadiya, he argued, were assimilated by people of Harärі origin, who occupied the country under their leader 'Abd al-Ḳādir in the last period of the Islamic expansion then Nūr b. Mujāhid was *amīr* of Harär/Adal (1551-69). It is true, however, that the Semitic-speaking Muslims from the east were Hadiya themselves, who superimposed themselves upon the Christianized autochthons (most probably of Omotic and Amhara/Tigray origin) called Jerra in the historical traditions of those areas.

HADIYA

In the case of Hadiya the problems of location and ethnic identification possess a special complexity, and there is in fact no other old state in southeast Ethiopia about which so many speculations and erroneous analyses have been made.[48] According to a popular etymology, the name "Hadiya," sometimes written in the versions Hadya, Hadea, Hadija, Hadiyo, Hadiyeh, Adea, Adia, means "gift of god" and is ascribed to Aḥmad Gragn's *jihād* fighters, who were grateful to meet this state as an important ally

in their struggle against Christian Ethiopia. But the name, as an ethnic and political denomination, had existed long before, and so this explanation can no longer be accepted as historically valid, any more than that of the Arussi-Oromo in Bali, who paraphrase it with "empty land" (open for conquest and occupation). In the Charchar region Hadiya is considered as an equivalent for "people left behind," because they did not join the exodus of their tribesmen who migrated westward, as far as Gurage, in the course of the previously mentioned campaigns initiated by *amir* Nur. Further etymological explanations for the name Hadiya, given by the Arussi, are "owner of the land" or "people who received the [holy] word from Muhammad": according to the Gudela (Lämo) version it means "man who carries all."

The famous chronicle *Kebra Nägäst* ("glory of the kings"), written in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, is presumably the earliest literary document, as far as we know, in which the name "Hadiya" is mentioned. Within it we are told that the Ethiopian emperor defeated the Hadiya, hereditary enemies of the Christian state, and devastated their lands (Bezold 1905, p. 100; Budge 1922, p. 165). In 1286/87 the name "Hadiya" was also referred to, without any further comment, in connection with the sultanate Shäwa (Cerulli 1941, p. 13).

Some details about the military conflicts of Christian Ethiopia with the Hadiya were reported in the Amdä-Ṣiyon chronicle (Huntingford 1965, pp. 58ff.). A "false prophet" is said to have incited the Hadiya leader (*amano*) to wage war against the emperor. The Christian troops did not hesitate to invade Hadiya (1329), killed many enemies, carried a large quantity into captivity, and then deported them into their own country. The "prophet" fled to Yifat, where he again tried to mobilize the people against the threat of Ethiopian domination, but he failed. Beginning in this period, Hadiya was listed among the dependencies of the Christian Empire and was obliged to furnish auxiliaries (Huntingford 1965, p. 61; Perruchon 1889, p. 335; cf. also Tamrat 1972, p. 106). In order to keep the conquered people in check, Amda-Ṣiyon prohibited them from carrying offensive weapons and from riding bridled horses. In 1332 a rebellion was smashed, and a military contingent was recruited from the Hadiya to join the Ethiopian army in its campaigns against Yifat/Adal (Perruchon 1889, pp. 287, 293, 335, 339ff.). The memory of the victorious wars against the Hadiya survived in Amharic songs of glory (Guidi 1889, p. 622, passim; Littmann 1914, pp. 25, 27, 30). Towards the end of Amdä-Ṣiyon's reign, an important land grant was made to a resourceful courtier from Hadiya who suggested the establishment of stables in his country to assure a cheaper supply of horses for the imperial cavalry.[49] During this time also a process of evangelization started, and missionaries were sent into Hadiya (Cohen 1931, p. 85; cf. Tamrat 1972, pp. 173, 176, 192, passim).

The fact that Hadiya had indeed become a tributary of the Christian Empire in the fourteenth century is confirmed by the reports of Arab historians. In Abu' l-Fida's geographical work *Taqwim al-Buldan* (1321), Hadiye or Hadea was mentioned as a locality with an exact geographical position, where slaves, who had been castrated in a place called Washlu, were taken for an additional operation before they were sold to Egypt (Reinaud 1848, p. 239). Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari repeated this information in his encyclopaedic work and referred to Hadiya as the largest and militarily most

important among the seven states of the Muslim federation of Zayla'. Its army was estimated at 40,000 horsemen and double the amount of foot soldiers (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, pp. 15-17). Maqrīzī's "History of the Islamic Kingdoms in Ethiopia" (1434) presents no more than a scant summary of al-'Umarī's materials (Rinck 1790, pp. 14ff.). Additionally he reported that the Yifat/Adal sultan Haqq ad-Din once defeated (c. A.D. 1370) the *amano*, prince of Hadiya, who fought against him as a vassal of the Christian emperor (Rinck 1790, p. 23).

Throughout the entire fifteenth century, Hadiya struggled repeatedly to obtain its independence from Ethiopia. A song in honor of Emperor Yeshaq related to victories against rebellious Alaba and Gudela, who can be identified as Hadiya subgroups (Littmann, 1914, pp. 18ff.). Zär'a-Ya'iqob's chronicle reported a conspiracy initiated by the Hadiya leader Mahiko, son of the *garäd* Mehmad (Muhammad) (Perruchon 1893, pp. 16-23; cf. Bruce 1790/91, pp. 71ff.). The rebellion failed because another chief, Gadayto *garäd*, revealed the conspirator's plans to the emperor and advised him to entrust the command in the Hadiya country to *garäd* Bamo, who had been loyal. With the assistance of imperial troops from the Damot province, Bamo, Mehmad's brother, conquered the rebels and reestablished Ethiopian suzerainty. The troops from Damot received a certain amount of land in the territory of the defeated rebels as recompense for their efforts, and also in later periods of Zär'a-Ya'iqob's rule military colonists were settled in Hadiya (Perruchon 1893, p. 47). The emperor himself married a Hadiya princess, the daughter of *garäd* Mehmad, who under her Christian name Illéni (Helena) played a very important rôle in Ethiopian history until her death in 1532. She was also well known to the early Portuguese travelers and ambassadors who negotiated with Libnä-Dingil. It continued to be customary for princesses from Hadiya to be provided for the imperial court.[50] In connection with the title *garäd* (which is, incidentally, still used today), a series of names, clearly identifiable as denominations of contemporary subgroups, were mentioned in the Zär'a-Ya'iqob chronicle.

The relations between the Christian Empire and the Hadiya remained precarious under the rule of Zär'a-Ya'iqob's successor Ba'ida-Maryam (Perruchon 1893, pp. 112, 131, passim). Following the principles of indirect rule, this emperor appointed an indigenous *garäd* in that country.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the "Queen" of Hadiya came to the court of Emperor Libnä-Dingil near Lake Zway to ask him for military aid in order to crush a rebellion against her husband's throne. The eye-witness Alvares described her visit in these terms: "This queen came quite like a queen, and brought with her fully fifty honourable, well-dressed Moors on mules, and one hundred men on foot, and six women on good mules. They are not very black people" (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 427ff.). Libnä-Dingil offered 15,000 soldiers under the leadership of an *adrugaz*, but then he decided to lead the expedition himself. In those days the Christian court certainly resided in Wäj, and on his return the emperor ordered many churches and monasteries to be built in that area (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 430ff.). It is also reported that he once rejected a Hadiya princess because of her big front teeth and sent her to one of his nobles after she was baptized (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 193).

During the *jihād*, Ahmad Gragn's troops invaded Hadiya from the region

of Däwaro in A.H. 939 (A.D. 1531/32). Since the majority of the Hadiya were themselves Muslims, they seem to have agreed voluntarily to the change in rule and joined the Adal armies in their campaigns against the Christians. The Hadiya *garäd* gave his daughter Murias to *imām* Aḥmad, the left-handed conqueror, but she died three months after the marriage (*Futuḥ*, p. 377). Gragn's general 'Abd an-Naṣīr also married a daughter of a Hadiya chief before he continued his military incursions to the west and to the north. The oral traditions tell that Hadiya contingents, especially from the subgroups Badogo and Haballo, took part in his conquest of Kambata (1532). Some Hadiya groups, however, apparently opposed Muslim rule and gave asylum to Ethiopian chiefs, for instance the famous *ras* Islamo, who was for a while commander-in-chief of the imperial army.

After Aḥmad Gragn's death, Emperor Gälawdewos sent an army against the allied Hadiya and Oromo, conquered them, and took many prisoners (Conzelmann 1895, p. 141). A last important document concerning the relations of Christian Ethiopia with the Hadiya is preserved in Ṣarṣä-Dingil's chronicle. In 1568/9 this emperor, who also held the title of a Hadiya *garäd*, won a decisive victory over that people under their leader Aṣé (Aze). The reason for this campaign had been the refusal to pay the usual tribute. Although the Hadiya troops were reinforced by 500 Malasay, allied Muslims from the Harär region, who were known as crack cavalrymen equipped with cuirasses, they could not stand up to the Christian army. After the complete surrender of the Hadiya chiefs (*ajam*; the modern singular is *anjansho*), Ṣarṣä-Dingil left their country in 1570. A new rebellion, incited by the *garäd* Jafer, failed seven years later, and the Hadiya leader was killed in action. But nevertheless warlike activity, in which the Oromo became increasingly engaged from this point on, never came to a definite end (Conti Rossini 1955, pp. 46-49, 52, 59ff., 67). For obvious political reasons the Emperor Ya'iqob (1597-1603) took a Hadiya princess and treated her as his wife, but she died before he had gone as far as marrying her (Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 69).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the name "Hadiya" was still repeatedly mentioned (*Afrique* 1667, pp. 89, 96; Pais 1945/46, vol. 1, p. 15, and vol. 2, pp. 87, 269, 354ff.; Pereira 1900, pp. 26, 167, passim). From then on the vassalage of this principality to the Ethiopian Empire was only nominal. According to Ludolph, however, the Amharic governor of Kambata held the title "rex Hadiensium" (Ludolf 1681, p. L, II, c.17, Gerulli 1938, p. 195), and the maps of that time located Hadiya in the vicinity of that region, that is, Kambata.

The political-geographical situation as it appeared after the upheavals of the Oromo expansion induced scholars, attempting to reconstruct the historical map, to locate the territory of the old state of Hadiya in the region on both sides of the upper Gibé (Conti Rossini 1928, pp. 370, 388; dei Sabelli 1936, p. 274; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 453, 572, map 1; Huntingford 1969, map 4, and 1965, p. 23, Trimingham 1965, p. 64; Ullendorf 1967, p. 68, Tamrat 1972, pp. 133, 204). Even Addio, the western part of Käfa, was equated with Hadiya (Bieber 1923, p. 515). An important argument for localization in the upper Gibé area was presented by the fact that Hadiya still exists there as an ethnic denomination for a considerable part of the present inhabitants. This seemingly obvious argument, however, results from a static conception of the ethnic situation during the last

four centuries and has had to be revised completely by our field materials.

All contemporary Hadiya more or less vividly relate to a tradition, which is undoubtedly impressed by Muslim value concepts, of an original homeland in the east and of Arabic ancestors. It has already been stressed that these versions, stereotypically repeated among many Cushitic peoples, who have been intensively confronted with Islamic culture, are of very limited reliability. According to Ibn Sa'id, Hadiya was situated south of Yifat, which by that time (in the thirteenth century) reached eastward as far as the Somali coast. Abu'l-Fida fixed its geographical position as 7°N latitude and 57°3'E longitude in an area between the equator and the first "climate" (Reinaud 1848, p. 239), whereas al-'Umari and his apologist Maqrizi possessed only a vague idea of its extent: the length was twenty days and the breadth nine days (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 16; Rinck 1790, p. 14). Analysis of the Arabic geographers, especially their information that Hadiya was part of the Zayla' confederation, induced some later scholars to equate it with Adal-Harär (for instance, Bruce 1790/91, p. 10; Isenberg and Krapf 1968, p. 23; Johnston 1854, vol. 2, p. 237; Burton 1856, p. 304; Conzelmann 1895, p. 141). Paulitschke did not completely accept the thesis of their original identity, but the study of information sources led him to the conclusion that Hadiya in an early phase had once been situated in the east of the Somali peninsula (Paulitschke 1884, pp. 15, 44, and 1888b, p. 217; cf. Devic 1883, p. 59). On Egyptus Novelo's map it was also marked relatively close to the ocean (Crawford 1958, p. 14, map 1). According to Alvares in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hadiya extended from the middle of Adal and from Wäj almost as far as Mogadaxo (Mogadishu) (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 453ff.). In Hadiya the Wabi (Shaballe) rose (Crawford 1958, pp. 188ff., according to Zorzi's report), which, according to the reports of the Gragn campaigns, in a part of its course constituted the boundary with Bali (*Futuh*, p. 381). From the seventeenth century Hadiya appeared on the maps as a relatively small area west of Lake Zway (Perruchon 1893, Almeida's map; Foster 1949, Ludolph's map; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, map 1).

How can all this different and sometimes contradictory information be coordinated? The danger of confusing Hadiya with Haviya, an important subgroup of the Somali, has already been indicated by various authors (Devic 1883, pp. 59, 66, Paulitschke 1893, p. 72; Trimingham 1965, p. 5). Alvares' report that Hadiya extended to Mogadishu can only mean that it reached so far to the southeast that it went beyond the geographical horizons of the informants. A direct connection with the Somali coast can nevertheless be excluded. The honorary title "Queen of Zayla'," which was held by Illeni, princess of "Moorish" (Hadiya) origin and Zär'a-Ya'iqob's wife, stemmed from the fact that Hadiya was listed among the dependencies of the Zayla'-Adal confederation and to the Christian Empire's claim to suzerainty over all those territories.

The discrepancies of location largely resolve themselves if we visualize a more dynamic process of ethnic and geographical displacement. It can indeed be concluded from the written records that in the case of Hadiya a territorial shift took place from the east, from Hararge, to the highlands west of the Rift Valley. This is very clearly confirmed by the people's oral traditions about their migrations. In an early period of the Islamic states, before they expanded towards the interior of Ethiopia, they were all

concentrated within a limited area on the East African Horn, and in later times, when a political and territorial differentiation had occurred, they were occasionally still referred to with the general name Zayla'. The intensity with which the original connection is perceived is manifested in the fact that the ancestor Hadiya is considered the son of Abadir, the legendary founder of Harär, and an indigenous (Sidama) woman. This indicates that the Hadiya ethnogenesis probably took place in the Hararge region and that the forefathers were representatives of a relatively homogeneous culture based on a symbiosis of Africans with a thin substratum of Muslim Arabs. The study of historical and ethnologic details proves this to be true.

The name "Hadiya" is preserved as an ethnonym for a number of groups in the region between the upper Gibé and Lake Zway, who speak Cushitic idioms of the so-called Hadiya/Sidama cluster: Käbena, Harako (Libido), Lämo, Soro, Shashogo, Badogo, and Badawacho. More or less pronouncedly also the Semitic-speaking East Gurage, the Silti, Ulbarag, Azernet, Berbere, Gädäbano, Wolanné, Wuriro, Chirro, and the Cushitic-speaking Alaba claim descent from the ancient Hadiya. The so-called *hadiya*-clans of the Arussi officially used to ignore their real origin, because a change in the ethnic value concepts had taken place among the Oromo, but their genealogies as well as certain cultural peculiarities definitely testify to their Hadiya descent.

In 1329 Emperor Amdä-Siyon on his campaign against Yifat/Adal conquered a country called Sasogé--most probably in the western part of the Harär plateau--and appointed three "*makuannen*" (governors) there (Huntingford 1965, pp. 74, 104). It becomes all the more obvious that the Sasogé can be linked historically with the contemporary Shashogo on the upper Bilaté River and their Oromized clansmen in eastern Arussi, as these people refer to the Chärchär/Harär region as their original homeland. Of the Hadiya subgroups in the Zär'a-Ya'iqob chronicle (Perruchon 1893, pp. 17ff.), the following can be identified as still existing: Gudola (or Gudela), Gab (or Gädäb or Gädäbicho, comprising the tribes of the Soro, Shashogo and the Urusso group of the Badawacho), Alaba, Käbena, Gänz (who have already been discussed above), and Saga (who survived as a clan among the Chaha in West Gurage, where they formerly held a leading position). The Hababo (Adaba in today's Bali Province), Diho, and Gogola are possibly clans assimilated by the Arussi (cf. Stanley 1967, pp. 16ff.).

Various place names, which were occasionally mentioned in records concerning the Hadiya, for instance Washlu (Washilu, Ouachloh)[51] or Jitu (Djitou), can unfortunately not be localized. *Amano* (most probably a title, although this is not certain) only appears as a name in genealogies, but in a position which can perhaps lead back to the time of its reference, that is, the mid-fourteenth century. On the other hand, the old denomination for their leaders, *garäd*, has been preserved by the Cushitic-speaking Hadiya.

When we analyze the contemporary ethnic situation with reference to the historical materials, we arrive at the following constellations. The Lämo correspond to the old Gudela, and this name was transferred by the Amhara and Kambata as a general denomination to all Cushitic-speaking Hadiya between Gibé and Lake Zway. In the fifteenth century the Gudela settled in the southwestern part of the Hadiya state east of Lake Abbaya and started from there to occupy Wäj during the Gragn wars.[52] Until the seventeenth century they lived side by side with the Oromo (cf. *Afrique* 1667, p. 86),

but then they were mostly assimilated and pushed northward with the wave of the Oromo expansion as far as Wälo and Tigre (*Afrique* 1667, p. 36; cf. also Conti Rossini 1938, pp.92ff.). The contemporary Lämo claim a genealogical connection with the Ashangé, Azabbo, and Raya of those areas, which, however, cannot yet be confirmed because corresponding researches on the Oromo side are still lacking. Only the Gudela of the Ashangé fraction, who remained in the ancient district of Wäj and occupy the northern part of the present subprovince of Kambata, preserved their original language (of the "Sidama" cluster).

East of the Gudela, the Gädäbicho on the outbreak of the Gragn wars held a region in what is today southern Arussi and northwestern Bali. This region was called Gädäb after them and still bears this name. A cultural peculiarity of those areas and of parts of Sidamaland, graves encircled by concentric mud or stone walls, is ascribed to their activities. Like the Gudela, the Gädäbicho were either absorbed by the expanding Oromo or pushed in several subsequent waves to the west, where they struggled for new living areas in Kambata and Wälamo. The first Hadiya invaders there, the Badogo and Haballo clans, had already passed the Bilaté with the *jihād* troops of the Adalite general 'Abd an-Nasir in 1531/2 and forced the Christian population to retreat to the impregnable stronghold of Mt. Ambaricho. Various clans and locality names, as for instance Gädäb and Gudela (Bianchi 1881, p. 303), possibly indicate that, with the expansion of the western Oromo (Macha), Hadiya contingents reached as far as the borders of Gojjam.

The Alaba and Käbena occupied as neighbors of the Shashogo the area between the Chärchär Range and the region of Shirka in today's eastern Arussi (cf. also Traversi 1887, p. 279). After the Adalite leader Ahmad Gragn had conquered Däwaro, they welcomed his troops and joined them to fight against Christian supremacy, to which they had hitherto been subject. The turbulence of the *jihād* provoked such far-reaching migrations among the peoples of that area that the whole ethnic situation was radically affected. A part of the Alaba and Käbena at first moved to the southwest, where they left some of their clans in Gädäb and the present Sidama country. The region at the source of the Wabi Shäbällé, for instance, is still called Alaba by the Arussi people. As can be seen from a study of their genealogies and historical traditions, some Alaba and Käbena segments again left Sidamaland in the eighteenth century and migrated up the Bilaté to the vicinity of Tembaro and Kambata (Braukämper 1973, p. 36; Moreno 1941, pp. 52ff.). Through intensive contact with these groups they are said to have changed their Semitic (East Gurage) language in favor of the Cushitic Kambata idiom. From Kambata they proceeded to the southern escarpment of the Gurage mountains, but they were driven from there by the invading Lämo at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Käbena evacuated to the region northwest of the Gibé headwaters and pursued a policy of Islamization through military force among the surrounding Gurage. Under the generalized ethnonym Hadiya, they became specially well known because of the fierce *jihād* through which their leader Hasan Injamo sought to block the Amharic expansion under Menilek II around 1890. At the end of the last century a fraction split once again from the Käbena and were permitted by the Jimma sultan to settle in the lowlands west of the Janjero mountains. The remnants of the early Hadiya incursion in those areas, the Gänz--to the extent that they had not yet been absorbed by the Oromo or Gurage--joined the Käbena.

The Alaba proper, after their defeat by the Lämo, moved at first eastward, to the country of the Ulbarag, where they stayed for a short period. About 1320 they finally reached their present dwelling area in the lowlands east of the Bilaté. It seems to be true, however, that certain Alaba groups, who had migrated along a shorter route from Shirka/Gädäb to the region east of Kambata instead of taking the roundabout way through Sidamaland, were already established there. In contrast to the newcomers, named Side and Hasan Alaba after an ancestor who died in Halgé (northern Sidama), the early immigrants are generally called Ull' Alaba, the "old settlers" (derived from the word "*ulla*" or land).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ull' Alaba possessed an Islamic principality, whose leader Alico temporarily arrested the Portuguese traveller Fernandez in 1613 and forced him to make his way back to the Christian Empire instead of proceeding on the direct route to the coast (Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 166-71). Alico can be identified as a chief of the Ulbarag, a group genealogically of the same descent as the Alaba but linguistically different from them, because they preserved their original East Gurage language. The Side, the leading Alaba clan, who under the name "Hogomänä" also hold an important position among the Chaha-Gurage, are descended from a Muslim prince who lived in the Guragé/Kambata area and was a contemporary of Emperor Susinyos (Pereira 1900, pp. 26-28, Pais 1945/46, vol. 2, p. 87).

The question of the original Alaba language cannot be answered definitely. We do not know if the Ull' Alaba were Cushitized after the arrival of the Hasan Alaba or whether they had already spoken Kambata before. The names in the genealogies and the oral traditions do not give sufficient indices for a reliable language classification. However, the Arussi traditions report that Hadiya groups north of the Wabi Shäbällé, whom they either assimilated or expelled, were "Guragé-speaking," that is, from the Semitic cluster. The war cry of the invading Oromo in this area was "ofa Gärba" or "Diba Gärba," which signifies "drive out the Garba" (Arussi name for the Hadiya, which was originally equivalent to "slave" and referred in general to the conquered autochthonous populations).

As already mentioned in the case of the Ulbarag, there is, historically and genealogically, a close connection between the Alaba and the neighboring East Guragé. That these Semitic-speaking groups should be classified as a fraction of the old Hadiya has not been sufficiently recognized in previous studies--for instance, by Mondon-Vidailhet, Cohen, and Leslau[53]--because, beyond the sphere of linguistic analysis, systematic historical work has hardly been done so far.

In addition to the consciousness of being an offspring of the old Hadiya, the East Guragé kept the memory of their relationship with the Harari. The linguistic connection between those two groups is unquestionable, and further historical evidence is provided by the Oromo name for the East Guragé: "Adari," people from Harärgé (cf. also d'Abbadie 1890, p. 117; Plazikowsky-Brauner 1957, p. 317). Their most important section are the Silti, who lived in the Chärchär region in places such as Choba and Minnaballa, before they settled in the Guragé mountains. Already in Amdä-Siyon's time a land called "Seltagi," that is, Silti-gé, the country of the Silti, was documented (Huntingford 1965, p. 75, cf. p. 24). After their

exodus from Charchar in the 1560s,[54] they were, according to tradition, so war-weary that they refused to take part in the *jihād* any longer and decided to stay in the region where they are still to be found. Their remnant, who did not leave their domicile in the east, notably people from the abosara clan, were later absorbed by the Ittu Oromo.

The "Kingdom of Adea" on Almeida's map comprises a relatively small area, bordered in the north by Gänz, in the east by "Mugan" and "Alamale," in the south by Kambata, and in the west by Gurage. It can by no means be identical with the vast area of Hadiya before the wars of Aḥmad Gragn. According to its geographical position, it can be identified exactly as the land of the Hadiya/East Gurage. On the maps from the late sixteenth century onward, the name "Hadiya" was only used for them, and this offers the most noticeable explanation of why researchers generally tended to locate the old principality in the upper Gibe region. Once we are aware of this considerably modified geographical situation in the late period of the southeastern principalities, there is no longer a contradiction in the fact that the Kambata *shum* (Christian governor) was also titled "prince of the Hadiya" from the early seventeenth century (Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 166-71; cf. Ludolph 1682, p. 233), because all (nominal and actual) Ethiopian dependencies in that area were administered from the old Christian center of Kambata.

On the level of interethnic relations, there were also close connections between the two districts. The Kambata dynasty, which was installed shortly before 1600, is, for instance, named after Oyeta, a daughter of Ḥajj 'Alī(ye), a religious leader from East Gurage.

Those groups which can be identified as Hadiya, both Cushitic- and Semitic-speaking, maintained a pronounced consciousness of related clans among various Oromo tribes, especially the Arussi, Guje, Jilé, Karayu, and Ittu. Just to mention one example in passing, the Adarī clans in Arussi have kept a marriage restriction with the East Gurage, because they consider this people as their own kinsfolk and also claim to have spoken their (Semitic) language up to about five generations ago.

In connection with the Cushitic-speaking Hadiya, the ethnogenesis of linguistically related Sidama is of outstanding interest. It can be verified that two ethnic strata, both originated from the ethnic conglomeration of the Hadiya, contributed to this process. Those groups, who derive their descent from an ancestor called Bushé, can more or less clearly be identified as being of common ancestry with the Gudela/Gädäbicho fraction. For the Sidama claiming to be Maldea's descendants, a close relationship with the formerly Semitic-speaking Alaba is distinctly evidenced by the genealogies and historical traditions. There are still important subgroups called Alaba and Käwena (slightly different dialectic variant of Käbena) in Sidamaland, and even survivals of an old Islam persisted under the surface of the Cushitic folk religion.

Both of the genealogical fractions from which the majority of the Sidama are descended do not consider themselves as autochthonous in their present dwelling areas and tell of original homelands which cannot be precisely determined: the Bushé people came from Däwa and the Maldea descendants from Migo.[55] It is at least remembered that these places were situated in the northeast, and the Sidama used to bury their dead facing in that direction.

Here an old Cushitic folk custom possibly coincided with the Islamic practice prescribing the dead to be faced to Makka. The final ethnogenesis and a new cultural orientation, including their cyclic age-class order (*gada* system), obviously did not pass before an intensive contact with the Oromo since the late sixteenth century. From then on the Cushitic-speaking fraction prevailed linguistically.

As a general synthesis from this literarily and orally transmitted information we can conclude that the Hadiya, who kept their ethnic identity in the region between Lake Zway and the upper Gibé, are only the scattered remnants of a formerly much larger ethnic complex. Before the Gragn wars and the Oromo expansion their dwelling areas were situated in a more easterly region. The contemporary Sidama once belonged to this ethnic-political bloc as well, before they developed their own concept of ethnicity and their individual cultural patterns.

If we ignore the sources which indicate an early identity of Hadiya with Adal and its position on the East African Horn, we must assume the Hadiya principality to have been a country south of the Chärchär Range. When we try to reconstruct it on a modern map, the ancient state comprised (between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries) parts of southwestern Harärgé, southern Arussi, and northwestern Bali, and stretched for an unknown distance southward to the Sidamo Province. In those regions, which are mostly occupied by Arussi Oromo at present, both traditions and gravestones, the latter of which can be dated by their Arabic inscriptions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D., testify to an old Islam (Littmann 1924, p. 246; Rossi 1942, p. 281; Plazikowsky-Brauner 1957a, p. 313). Hadiya itself became the name for a big Muslim state with a heterogeneous population: Semitic-speaking groups of the same stock as the Harari were concentrated in the north and Cushitic Sidama peoples in the southerly adjacent regions. Marriage connections between both of them were certainly common, but a complete amalgamation did not occur. The differentiation of the people into subgroups (mostly still identifiable), which also appeared as political-administrative entities is evidenced at least since the fifteenth century. The thesis of an old Hadiya/Sidama stratum north of the Lake Region on the Ethiopian plateau[56] cannot be confirmed by our materials. That of a more northerly expansion of Omotic-speaking groups in the distant past can--according to the existing framework of historical knowledge--only be speculation as well.

During the turbulent Adal wars of the sixteenth century, Cushitic- and Semitic-speaking populations of the Hadiya state were at first shifted to the northwest and southwest and then, some decades later, either conquered and assimilated or pushed westward by the invading Oromo. This process of assimilation and dislocation did not come to an end until the Amharic occupation shortly before 1900.[57]

SHARKA

In the vicinity of Hadiya some smaller political entities were sometimes mentioned, which seem to have been inhabited by similar ethnic groups. In Amdä-Ṣiyon's time Ethiopia had established her suzerainty over a territory called Sharka (Sharha, Sarka, Xarha, Xerca, Xarkhah), which should not be confused with the Sarka in Gojjam. The emperor's chronicler later accused the "ruler of Sharka" of having cooperated with the Muslims of Däwaro against the

Christian army. Passing through Dāwaro, Amda-Ṣiyon led a punitive expedition against Sharka, bound its governor Yūsuf, and plundered the land, which seems to have been considerably rich in livestock (Perruchon 1894, pp. 436ff.; Huntingford 1965, p. 103). Scattered information, probing hardly more than its existence as a political entity, was transmitted by al-ʿUmarī and Maqrīzī (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 17; Rinck 1790, p. 15). The people of Sharka were very similar in the life style and economic conditions to those of Dāwaro and Arababni and belonged to the Hanafi school of religious law. The length of the district was three days and its breadth four. Its army could muster 3,000 cavalrymen and double that number of foot soldiers.

When the *jihād* broke out, Sharka was administered by an Ethiopian governor called Limu, who was killed by the Muslims in the battle of Zalla in Balī. The conquered area was then put under the command of the Adalite *garād* Siddiq, and the Futūḥ repeatedly mentioned it in its reports of campaigns to break the resistance of the Ethiopian general *asmach* Islāmo (*Futūḥ*, pp. 92, 141, 192, 194, 198, 240, 325, 344, 373, 377, 380-81, 385, 389-90, 395). From then on, Sharka was definitely lost for the Christians, who, after Adal's decline, did not make an attempt to reestablish a permanent military and political presence in the area. When Särsa-Dingil on his way to attack the Adalites in 1577 passed through Wāj and Sharka, it occasioned the last reference to the old district (Conti Rossini 1955, p. 57).

The Portuguese travelers did not explicitly know Sharka, and for this reason it is commonly missing on the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since topographical details concerning its situation are practically nonexistent, it can only be ascertained that it was bordered by Hadiya, Dāwaro, and Balī.

When Oromo and Hadiya informants were questioned about Sharka, they spontaneously equated it with Shirka in eastern Arussi, to which the traditions of many Alaba and East Gurage refer as their former dwelling areas. The Sittana and some other clans are obviously originated from the remnants of those peoples, who remained in that country and were later absorbed by the Arussi. If Beckingham's and Huntingford's suggestion proves to be true that the district of Orgabeja on the boundary of Hadiya, where the Portuguese travelers stayed with Emperor Libna-Dingil in the 1520s, is identical with Ulbarag (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 435), this area can only be located in Shirka, because the exodus of the Ulbarag people only happened some decades later in the course of the lengthy Adal *jihād*.

The population of Sharka predominantly consisted of tribes which claimed a Hadiya ancestry; and it becomes once more evident that this name must be considered as a general denomination for groups which are not only heterogeneous in origin and linguistic classification but which also occupied different political entities. Contemporary informants in present Shirka--they belong to the Arussi group of the Oromo--characterize their country as an old Hadiya state which in former times received a certain influx from the Ogaden area, and its ethnic substance is said to have been very similar to Dāwaro. The position of the ancient stratum not only remained important in the historical traditions, but it also caused the cultural change due to the Arussi nomads to be less drastic than in other areas. The people of Shirka, where the old principality of Sharka is in fact to be sought, maintained their capabilities in agriculture, exporting barley to the surrounding regions and keeping a strong allegiance to Islam.[58]

ARABABNI

Another small principality, Arababni, is not mentioned as such in Muslim or Christian documents other than in al-'Umarī's and Maqrīzī's works. It may be true, however, that it is also hidden in the name of a region called Arab, where Amdä-Ṣiyon appointed a "*masfin*" as governor (Huntingford 1965, p. 54). We may also mention Conti Rossini's interpretation of Arabani as another version of Ara'ini, which again corresponds to the Ar'en of the Ethiopian chronicles (Conti Rossini 1955, p. 95). Basset localized the area of Ar'an, which is mentioned in the *Futūḥ*, in the region between Fäṭägar and al-Maya (*Futūḥ*, p. 83, note 1 by Basset). According to al-'Umarī (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 15, cf. Rinck 1790, pp. 13-14, Maqrīzī'sreport), it was a rectangular territory four days in length and four days in breadth. Its army could muster 10,000 horsemen and numerous infantry, and its Islamic population showed a cultural identity with those of the neighboring states Däwaro and Sharka.

Beyond the fact that Arababni was situated somewhere between Hadiya and Däwaro, no further topographical specification is available. It can be concluded from the data concerning the military strength that the population of the relatively small area was rather dense, and this suggests a location in a region with favorable agricultural conditions. Arababni's position can be presumed to have been generally in an area of western Chärchär and Arba Gugu, which was later occupied by the Maya. Since it is not explicitly mentioned in the authentic information sources after Maqrīzī's time, it can be assumed that in the sixteenth century Arababni had definitely disappeared from the political map and had been absorbed by other territories, that is, Fäṭägar, Wäj, and Hadiya.

At present, the name "Arababni" is occasionally known by educated *shaikhs* in the versions Irbini or Arabini, but they do not possess a concrete geographical idea of it.

DÄWARO

Culturally Sharka and Arababni had much in common with Däwaro. Paulitschke thought that the name, which is also transcribed Doaro or Duarum, signified "borderland" (Paulitschke 1888b, p. 220, and 1888a, p. 67). It is true that more than one name of this type existed on the peripheries of the Ethiopian Empire, and this fact considerably complicates identification and historical analysis.

Neither the document of the Shäwan sultanate nor that concerning the "house" of Walashma makes any mention of a land called Däwaro. It is Amdä-Ṣiyon's chronicle which apparently makes the first reference to it for the year 1329: "The governor of this country with the name Haydarā, in his words professed to love the king, but in secret had evil designs, like Judas the traitor who sold the Lord" (Huntingford 1965, p. 62). At the end of the same year (1329), Däwaro, which was allied with the Yifat sultan Ṣabr ad-Din, was plundered and devastated by Ethiopian troops. From then on it was listed in the documents as a vassal state of the Christian Empire (Huntingford 1965, pp. 74, 108, 128; Littmann 1914, p. 30; Cerulli 1957, p. 114). These sources indicate a location for the territory within the sphere of infiltration from

Muslim-dominated east Ethiopia. Al-'Umarī's report clearly confirms this. In the text summarized by his apologist Maqrizi, it is related that Dāwaro was five days in length and two days in breadth and that the Islamic (Ḥanafī) population did not differ greatly in number, quantity, and armed forces, and agricultural products from that of Yifat. As in Hadiya and Arababnia, a special coin was used called *ḥakuna*, consisting of iron needles; 5,000 *ḥakuna* valued a good cow (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, pp. 14-15; Rinck 1790, p. 13).

The Christian impact, which had begun during Amdä-Ṣiyon's reign, reached a high degree of intensity in the time of Emperor Dawit I (1388-1413). The Ethiopian troops stationed in Dāwaro were nevertheless in constant danger in their positions and suffered heavy losses from the attacks by the Adalite Muslims under the leadership of sultan Jamal ad-Din.[59] The conqueror Zär'a-Ya'iqob consolidated the supremacy of the Christian Empire in Dāwaro and appointed the *awrari* (abbreviation of the title *fit awrari*) or "leader of the vanguard") Bajer governor (Perruchon 1893, p. 15). The settlement of Ethiopian military colonists was undertaken in this area with an extraordinary intensity (Perruchon 1893, p. 45). After a successful preliminary campaign the Adal sultan Ahmad (Arwé) Badlay Sa'd ad-Din invaded Dāwaro and faced Zär'a-Ya'iqob's forces at a place called Gomit, but he was defeated and killed in action (Perruchon 1893, pp. 88ff.). After Zär'a-Ya'iqob's death the Adalite Muslims resumed hostilities and obliged Bä'idä-Maryam to concentrate his efforts on the defense of the southeastern boundaries. From the particularly threatened province of Dāwaro, where he appointed a governor with the title *ras*, he directed two victorious campaigns into Adal, the heart of the Muslim country. A third one, however, conducted in 1474, ended with a great setback for the Christian army, which was practically decimated (Perruchon 1893, pp. 112, 150, 159, 165-67, 180-82; Perruchon 1894, p. 362; cf. Cerulli 1931a, p. 48, n. 3). Some victories were won by the Amhara during Na'od's rule, but in general the situation remained precarious on the Dāwaro boundary for both opponents (*Futūḥ*, p. 168).

The Italian Dominican Pietro Ranzano, one of the first European historians of Ethiopia, referred to Dāwaro in the version "Duarum regnum" about 1450. The name of its capital was Sabboch.[60] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Dāwaro repeatedly appeared in the itineraries of the travelers Zorzi and Brother Thomas (Crawford 1958, pp. 68ff., 92, 100, 133, 135, 156, 163, 185). In Libnä-Dingil's time we can assume a certain proportion of Christian inhabitants, for there is explicit mention of churches (Conti Rossini 1894, p. 639). Illeni, the emperor's step-grandmother and Regent during his minority, was however not the daughter of a Dāwaro governor, as Beckingham and Huntingford misleadingly argue (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 425), but a princess from Hadiya.

Following Aḥmad Grāgn's first invasion of Dāwaro in 1528/9 the Ethiopian frontier province was definitely occupied by the Adalities in 1531, and *amīr* Ḥusayn b. Abu Bakr al-Gaturi was appointed governor (*Futūḥ*, pp. 16ff., 59, passim). The part of the population that had not been Muslim was eventually converted by force, but the Christian remnants under *ras* Banyat continued for a while to offer stout resistance (*Futūḥ*, pp. 135, 144ff., passim). In a place called Andura was a certain church, which was upholstered exceptionally for the southern provinces with valuable carpets of Greek provenance and various precious ornaments (*Futūḥ*, p. 194). The orally transmitted tradition about the eventful battles in Dāwaro kept the memory of a

brave Christian general, *aemach* Indiryas, who is also reported to have won an important victory against the invading Oromo. After Gragn's death Däwaro was controlled for a short period by the Adalite *wäzir* 'Abbas, who was defeated and killed in a battle against the Ethiopian army under Galäwdewos in 1545 (Conzelman 1895, pp. 28, 138).

The Christian Empire could not rejoice in a long-lasting possession of the reconquered districts in the southeast, because during their fourth *luba* period called *bïfole* (around 1550) the Oromo overwhelmed Däwaro, devastated the land, and made the inhabitants slaves (*gäbäré*) (Schleicher 1893, p. 18; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 115ff.). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ethiopian emperors' claim to sovereign power over Däwaro (see, for instance Pais 1945/46, vol. 1, p. 15; Ludolph 1682, p. 15) was in fact no more than a historical reminiscence.

Among all the early southeastern states, the territorial identification of Däwaro poses the most complicated problem because two political entities of this name existed. According to Huntingford, the "original" Däwaro was situated south of Yïfat, and separated from it was a northern portion beyond the loop of the lower Awash.[61] The cited information sources, Maqrïzï's work references in the Amda-Ṣiyon chronicle (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, map; Cerulli 1936, pp. 11ff.; Huntingford 1965, pp. 61ff., 71, 100), and modern traditions collected by Cerulli, are, in my opinion, not reliable evidence for the localization of a second Däwaro so far to the north. In Fra Mauro's map it appears on the eastern bank (Crawford 1958, p. 19, fig. 4; cf. Cerulli 1936, p. 9), and the topographical reconstructions on the basis of Zorzi's materials located it west of that river (Crawford 1958, p. 79, fig. 20; cf. Cerulli 1936, p. 9). Zorzi's itineraries indicate an area forty days in circumference, situated north and northeast of Fäṭägar, which could be reached from the Shäwan highlands within thirty days (Crawford 1958, pp. 135, 163). From this Däwaro the Ethiopian emperor passed through the Awash in order to invade the "desert kingdom of Mara" (Huntingford 1965, p. 71), and the same river had to be crossed in an eastward direction by Aḥmad Gragn's warriors to enter Däwaro from Fäṭägar (*Futūḥ*, p. 271).

This "borderland" Däwaro must be differentiated from the "province" of the same name south of Harär, to which the majority of the historical information relates. During the period of our concern this territory--mostly transmitted in the version "kingdom"--was the most easterly region under the suzerainty of the Ethiopian Empire and ranked among its richest dependencies. In the sixteenth century it was controlled by about fifty military leaders with the title *dejaemach* (Ludolph 1682, p. 16; d'Abbadie 1890, p. 68).

This information can by no means refer to the desert area of northern Däwaro but to the ecologically far more suitable zones in the mountainous parts of Harärgé. Amdä-Ṣiyon had already conducted his punitive expedition against Däwaro and Sharka from Adal to the south, and the trade route from the Harär area to Däwaro led in the same direction (see, for example, Tamrat 1972, p. 83). From the *Futūḥ* and other Arabic sources it can be concluded that Adal bordered Däwaro in the north and east, Balï in the south, Hadiya and Sharka in the west, and on the northeastern edge it touched the country of the Maya (Cerulli 1936, p. 18). On Almeida's map, which shows only one Däwaro, the whole area is situated north of the Awash between Gidim and Yïfat in the west, Dancali in the north, Balï in the south, and an unspecified area

in the east. Here a geographical mistake becomes apparent, which was already noticed by Huntingford.[62] In contrast to the Ethiopian Empire's territory, where the rivers and other geographical data were marked with an astonishing accuracy, European knowledge of the Islamic countries in the East African Horn was mostly limited to second-hand information. Particularly remarkable is the confusion about the Awash, which was equated in its middle and lower course with the Wabi Shäbällé; the Wabi itself is cartographically non-existent. Awssa, the Adal capital of the late period, was marked to a great distance southeast of its actual location. According to all available information, Bali never extended beyond the Awash but went only slightly beyond the Wabi to the north.

Moreover, it contradicts all of our empirical data to locate the "Galla" (Oromo), whose name was mentioned on the territories of Bali and Däwaro north of the middle Awash in the direction of "Dancali." The Oromo never occupied the desert lowlands in the interior of the Afar Plain. All these considerations assure us that Almeida's data essentially refer to the southwestern province, the so-called "kingdom" Dawaro, but because of his geographical ignorance of those regions he confounded the information concerning both Dawaros.

Paulitschke located the "kingdom" in an area between the Gobélé in the north and the Wabi Shäbällé in the south, which is distinguished both by ruined buildings and fortifications of Islamic provenance and also by archaeological relics of an old Christianity (Paulitschke 1888b, p. 220, and 1893, p. 64; Huntingford 1965, p. 22). It obviously stretched as a long, narrow territory from the Chärchär/Harär mountains in a southeastward direction and reached the Wabi Bend at its most northerly point.

Today this area roughly corresponds to the land of the Ittu, southern Ala, Anniya, and eastern Arussi, Oromo tribes which, with the exception of very few individuals, associate no concrete idea with the old name Däwaro. After their great expansion the Oromo referred to all the land which they had occupied north of the Wabi Shäbällé as Didaa, which means "outward" or "foreign country" because their original homes were situated south of the river. In a more restricted sense, Didaa is for the contemporary Arussi the area between the Wabi in the south, the Gugu mountains in the north, the escarpment of the Rift Valley in the west, and the Ejersa River, which marks the boundary with the Ittu, in the east. Some informants stated that this Didaa at least partly equated with the old Däwaro, which according to the written records was in fact the first area north of the Wabi into which the Oromo penetrated from the direction of Bali.

Sharka is mentioned in the oral traditions as a district more or less belonging to Däwaro; and its ancient population, Hadiya as they say, escaped from the Oromo pressure to the southwest. The remainder was subjected and absorbed by the invaders. Däwaro proper was also most probably inhabited by a Hadiya/Sidama population. But unfortunately historical data, derived from field researches, among the southern Ittu and Anniya for instance, have not yet been collected, thus preventing us from a more categorical answer to this question.

At present a strip of land adjoining the Wabi Bend in the north is called Daro, and according to the oral data this region was the first to have been conquered by the Adalite *jihād* armies. This information can

meaningfully be incorporated into the general historical and geographical context. In the case of Däwaro, however, similarities or even identities of name are so frequent that the interpretation must be extremely cautious. In northern Arussi, for instance, Däwaro appears as a locality name at least twice. It is also a subgroup denomination among the Jarso Oromo east of Dire Dawa and the name of a small administrative district in central Hararge (*Journal* 1964, p. 6, Cerulli 1936, p. 7). A clan Däwaro, which originated in present-day Arussi country, is also to be found in Kambata. According to various statements of the informants, this clan is related to the Kabena and Soro-Hadiya, but this could not be verified by the genealogical criterion.

Some researchers who were engaged in the study of the Däwaro problem thought of Däwro, a district west of the middle Omo opposite to Wälamo, as the country of the mysterious old state (d'Abbadie 1890, p. 68; *Futuh*, p. 16, n. 2 by Basset; Cerulli 1936, p. 7). D'Abbadie went so far as to equate the whole area between Käfa in the west and Harär in the east with the ancient principality of Däwaro (d'Abbadie 1890, p. 68). According to Cerulli's hypothesis, a historical connection between Däwro and Däwaro could also not be suggested by the fact that immigrants or refugees from the east preserved the name and certain cultural traditions of their former country in their new domiciles on the middle Omo (Cerulli 1936, pp. 7ff.). However, Haberland's recent researches (1970) in the district of Däwro, which is called Kullo by the Amhara, resulted in the realization that the historical links of this territory are directed northward and there is no traceable connection altogether with Däwaro (personal information by E. Haberland).

BALĪ

The name of Däwaro's neighbor Balī (Balé) appears for the first time in a description of Ethiopia under the Zagwé, the pre-Salomonid dynasty, which ruled the Christian kingdom from 1137-1269 (Perruchon 1897, pp. 277, 280). Balī was situated east of Shäwa and Yafet (probably Yifat). Reports of this rather mysterious province, dominated by queens who just before their deaths were summoned by a demon and replaced by others, also reached the Portuguese (Bermudez 1565, pp. 105ff.). This vague and legendary information does not prove whether this Balī was identical with the one referred to in the Ethiopic and Arabic chronicles from the fourteenth century onward or whether there was an accidental coincidence of names.

As it is the case with many other southeast Ethiopian territories, the relevant written records of Balī commence with Amdä-Siyon's time. Unlike Däwaro and Sharka, it was not mentioned in the list of Muslim districts which fought against the Christian army in 1332, but number eight of the "Soldiers Songs" relates that the emperor subjected 'Alī, the prince of Balī (Guidi 1889, VIII, v. 12; Littmann 1914, p. 26; Huntingford 1965, p. 129). This happened during the campaigns in the 1330s, when the whole of Shäwa, Hadiya, and Däwaro also came under the political control of the Ethiopian Empire. Not only the existence of a leader's name, 'Alī, but also a number of Arabic inscriptions dating back to the thirteenth century (Huntingford 1955, p. 231) demonstrate that Islam had gained a noteworthy foothold by this time. Despite the annexation forced on the frontier provinces, in particular Yifat, Däwaro, and Balī, their full political and cultural integration into the Christian state proved to be unrealizable; and since the Muslim part continued to

prevail among the inhabitants, the Ethiopian Empire could never be sure of their loyalty. Unlike most other non-Christian districts, Yifat, Dawaro, and Bali were placed under the direct rule of the court, and the governors of these areas were carefully recruited from among the most trustworthy noble families because the Christian monarchs were aware of the persistent danger that their Adalite opponents would undermine their position in the frontier region (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 19).

Bali's links with the Islamic east were indeed very close, for al'Umari listed it among the seven principalities of the Zayla' confederation. The length of this "kingdom," which was adjacent to Hadiya, was twenty days and its breadth six days. Its army consisted of 18,000 horsemen and numerous infantry. Among all the territories of Zayla' it was considered the most fertile, well watered, and agreeable in climate. Unlike the inhabitants of the neighboring states, the Bali people did not use any type of money but exchanged various goods and products, such as sheep, cattle, and clothes (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, p. 18).

Sa'd ad-Din, ruler of Yifat/Adal between A.D. 1387-1415, once raided Bali with fifty horsemen. We owe a description of this event to the chronicler Maqrizi:

> The Amahara had ten commanders, each of whom had 10,000 soldiers, and his Sa'd ad-Din's whole force was thus less than that of one of these commanders. When the armies met, he and his men therefore performed a ritual ablution; and prostrating himself twice, he besought God to help him to defeat them soundly. He killed many and took many prisoners. So great indeed was the number of the slain that their heads and bodies covered the ground, and the Muslims could advance only by passing over them. There was between this country and that which belonged to Sa'd ad-Din a space of 12 days. But distinguished by victory and loaded with spoil he went back there. . . [Rinck 1790, pp. 24ff.].

Harb-Jaus, a general of the Adalite sultan Jamal ad-Din (d. A.D. 1433), before he continued his campaigns against the Christians in Dawaro, also achieved a successful attack on Bali. Maqrizi's document reports: "So much booty fell into his hands that every poor man was given three slaves; indeed by reason of the vast numbers of these the price of slaves fell" (Rinck 1790, p. 34). Jamal ad-Din's successor Shihab ad-Din Ahmad Badlay pursued the offensive and martial policy of his predecessor, recovered Bali, where the Christians had firmly established their rule, and settled 1,000 Muslim families there (Rinck 1790, pp. 40ff.). Although the military successes seem to have been overstressed in Muslim historiography and did not result in more than a temporary control by the Adalites in Bali, they nevertheless demonstrate Adal's strong impact in this hotly contested frontier province. The efforts to hold Ethiopia's territorial position there put Dawit I to great trouble throughout his reign (1382-1413) (Basset 1897, pp. 95, 132; Rinck 1790, p. 24).

As everywhere in the southeastern districts, the political situation in Bali consolidated when the Christian Empire reached its zenith of power under Zär'a-Ya'iqob. The Hadiya conspiracy, which aimed at plundering the rich provinces of Dawaro and Bali in company with the Adal Muslims, could not be realized because the conspirators' plans were revealed to the emperor.

Zär'a-Ya'iqob ordered the military mobilization of the two provinces in order to intercept the rebels' passage to Adal (Perruchon 1893, pp. 17, 19). To secure more efficient protection on the boundary, he settled additional contingents of military colonists (*chawa*) in Balī (Perruchon 1893, p. 47), who were obliged to send him auxiliaries for his campaigns in other areas (Guidi 1889, X, v. 35).

The principle of direct rule in this area was obviously not given up by Zär'a-Ya'iqob's son Bä'idä-Maryam, although the governor in Balī with the Amharic name Jan Zeg, who was killed with all his troops in a campaign against the (unknown) country of Gam, held the title *garäd* which was usual in Islamic countries (Perruchon 1893, pp. 140ff.). A subsequent *garäd*, in whose administrative period a plot against the emperor failed and who led a successful expedition against the Adal Muslims, also bore a Christian name, Gäbrä-Iyäsus ("servant of Jesus") (Perruchon 1893, pp. 157, 159, 165-67). A very important hint for the ethnic analysis is offered by the information that Bä idä-Maryam ordered the deportation of Hadiya people from Balī to the Kambata area.[63] According to a suggestion given by the Ethiopian scholar Hailé Bubbamo Arficio, these people were once called Jannansho, "troublers."

During Na'od's rule the Ethiopian nobleman Wänäj-Jān, who was converted to Islam, led an incursion from Adal to Balī, but he was defeated and taken prisoner. The emperor not only treated him with consideration but, after his re-Christianization, appointed him governor of Balī. He again used his position for betrayal and organized the assassination of the Christian leaders. However, before he could realize his plan to force an Islamization on the whole province, he had to yield to Na'od's army and died near the Wabī Shäbällé. Muslim warriors from Adal, who had approached in haste for his relief, maintained their defense in Balī for two months. When they had been slain by the Christian levy, the former status of the country was immediately restored. Simu, the son of the rebellious leader Wänäj-Jān, escaped to Adal and again played a role during the Gragn wars when he received the command of a Balī contingent (*Futūḥ*, pp. 165-68).

It is certain that none of the early European travelers visited Balī themselves, and they consequently transmitted no more than second-hand information about the region. In Alvares' voluminous report the version Baliganje, which cannot be identified with full accuracy, appeared only once (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, p. 495). Fernandez, who wanted to travel to the Indian Ocean by the route of Bali in 1613, had to give up his plan in Alaba (Pais 1945/46, pp. 220ff., passim; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 160ff., passim). The information collected by Brother Thomas and edited in 1523 by Zorzi in Venice reports that merchants from Balī kept up intensive trading activities with the Christian Empire. Of their merchandise, the following articles were specified: "gold, silver, jewels and pearls and horses and mules and divers medical herbs and roots, and cloth of silk and of another sort finer and more lustrous and fairer than silk, and this is a certain tree called Arid, great with white leaves like a pomegranate, and bears a fruit the size of a fist of finest wool, and of it they make clothes for their king and their lords" (Crawford 1958, p. 153). This is certainly one of the earliest references to cotton cultivation and an old, established weaving industry which we have from that area. Some branches of the eastern route from Zayla' apparently proceeded in a southwesterly direction to Dāwaro, Balī, and further inland to Hadiya, the center of the slave trade.

In 1527 a Christian army under Degalhān, Libnä-Dingil's brother-in-law and governor of Balī, invaded Adal and was decisively beaten. This was to some extent a signal for the violent outbreak of the Adalite *jihād*, and throughout the war Balī played a role as a strategically important theater of operations and as a source of numerous military contingents (*Futūḥ*, pp. 181, 184ff., 208, 344, 349, 388ff.). After the fall of Däwaro, the Ethiopian defense in Balī collapsed rapidly and the Christian forces were wiped out by the Muslims under their leader *wazir* 'Addolé at Zellah in August 1532 (*Futūḥ*, pp. 380ff., 390). The attempt of the new Ethiopian governor to turn the tables by a vigorous counterattack again resulted in a disastrous defeat. Already before the complete breakdown of the Christian position became evident, many people who were either Muslims themselves or sympathized with the Islamic party had begun to negotiate with Aḥmad Gragn's lieutenants for separate arrangements and alliances (*Futūḥ*, pp. 154, 162).

After Gragn's death the *wazir*, 'Abbās for a short period maintained Adalite rule in Balī as well as in Fätagar and Däwaro, until his defeat by Emperor Gälawdewos definitely swept away Islamic hegemony in those areas (Conzelmann 1895, pp. 28, 138). The Ethiopian restoration was very short-lived, for Balī, as the most southerly of the empire's dependencies, was the first region penetrated by the Oromo. Starting with the *gada* period *melbah* (1522-30), they steadily invaded the province, and after the final establishment of their dominance they made it their deployment zone for further conquests north of the Wabī Shäbälle (Tellez 1660, pp. 59, 63, appendixes; Bruce 1790/91, p. 215; Schleicher 1893, p. 17; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 115). It was only in the *gada* period *mesle* (1554-62) that they stopped retiring south of the river after every campaign and began their permanent occupation of the adjacent southeast Ethiopian frontier provinces and in Adal (Schleicher 1893, p. 19).

The attempt at a Christian restoration in Balī had to be given up when Fäsil, Särṣä-Dingil's brother, was killed with all his people by the Dawe-Oromo (Schleicher 1893, pp. 12ff.; Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 114). After a failed rebellion against the ruling monarch in 1567, he had apparently tried to find a refuge in the lost southern provinces, which in the long run were expected to serve him as a base for his power ambitions. Särṣä-Dingil himself, on his victorious campaign against the Adalite sultan Muḥammad, advanced as far as the Wabī Shäbälle, but he had to give up his plans of further offensives against the Muslims because the Oromo had meanwhile deeply intruded into Ethiopian territory behind his back (Bruce 1790/91, pp. 213ff.; cf. Basset 1897, pp. 111, 166). The Susinyos chronicle still reports that Dagano, *garäd* of Balī, paid a tribute to the Emperor Ya'iqob (1597-1607) (Pereira 1900, p. 12), but it can be concluded from the entirety of the historical situation that Ethiopia's claim to sovereignty (Ludolph 1682, pp. 11, 14; Pais 1945/46, vol. 1, p. 15) later in the seventeenth century was purely theoretical.

Balī's geographical localization is facilitated by the frequent mention of the Wabī, which can be clearly identified as the Wabī Shäbälle. However, because of the scarcity of information sources, earlier scholars sometimes came to erroneous interpretations.[64] The major part of Balī's territory was situated south of the river, but it also stretched a certain distance beyond the Wabī to the north, although certainly not as far as Huntingford suggested

(Huntingford 1969, map 4; 1955, p. 232; 1965, p. 22; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, map 1). A relatively large northward expansion, that is true, is to be inferred from the fact of a common boundary with Yīfat and Fätagar on Almeida's map, but the map's unreliability for the areas touching the Wabi has already been discussed in the case of Däwaro

Crawford, who was not sufficiently aware of Almeida's mistake, located Balī in the lowlands east of the Awash (1958, pp. 79, 92). A southward extension up to the Ganale, as Cerulli suggested (1938, p. 3; cf. Trimingham 1965, p. 67), can also not be accepted because the region east of that river, Dallo, being a relatively dry bushland with no relics of an old Christianity and a mixed Oromo-Hadiya population with an uninterrupted ethnic continutiy, as far as we know, contradicts in all respects to the documentary notes concerning Balī. Consequently, there can be little support for another hypothesis which holds that Balī stretched as far south as the Dawa River in the center of today's Sidamo Province.[65]

Since they lacked authentic knowledge of that area, Portuguese historians like Almeida and Fernandez gave only a very approximate size for Balī and simply described it as a country east of Kambata and Innarya, reaching in an unknown distance far to the southeast toward the Indian Ocean (Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 133ff., 152; cf. Cerulli 1938, p. 4). Zorzi's notes are limited to the information that one goes from Dawaro to Balī in fifteen days; from Balī to Amhara, where the Nile has its source and origin, in twenty days; and finally that Balī was thirty days in circumference and was sixty days distant towards the sea (Crawford 1958, pp. 135, 163). They also confirm the Arabic authors' descriptions characterizing Balī as a mountainous country with rich vegetation and a population known for their trading activities.

Returning to the available information concerning its political boundaries, it can be stated that Balī was bordered in the north by Dawaro and Sharka, in the west by Hadiya, in the east by Adal and Dawaro, and in the south by regions which cannot be specified. The area east of the Galamo mountains is still known to the Oromo by the name Dangazayla, borderland of Zayla' (or Adal) (Cerulli 1938, p. 3). In the eastern frontier zones the small districts of Dara and Daj (the Dadj of the *Futūḥ*) are also to be located. According to contemporary Oromo traditions, the head of the Garambadima pass in the high mountains east of Adaba was the ancient boundary between Balī and Gädäb, which was part of Hadiya. To reach Hadiya from Balī one needed to take a route crossing the Wabi Shaballe on its upper course (*Futūḥ*, p. 381).

As far as we can reconstruct its geographical position, it appears that the old Balī occupied an area in the northeast of the Governate General which was named after it, between the mountain range of Urgoma and the eastern Wabi Bend. Today this area is inhabited by Arussi of various origins, that is, from the Oromo, Hadiya-Sidama, and Somali.

Cerulli held the view that the ethnic representatives of the Balī state were Sidama groups and that the original homeland of all the Sidama is to be sought in that area.[66] Pushed by the Oromo, who penetrated from the south approximately between the upper Ganale and the Dawa, the Sidama were forced into a westward movement. This opinion was not received without dissent, and

Stanley (1967, p. 19), for instance, is convinced of the contrary, namely, that the Sidama expelled the Oromo from their original dwelling places and not vice versa (cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. lxxvff.). Cerulli's thesis--that one path of the Oromo invasion route lay through Koira (Amarro) and the true Sidama country east of Lake Abbaya and that it was largely due to their resistance and that of the Wälamo that the Oromo did not succeed at the start in overrunning the "Sidama" peoples along the Rift Valley--cannot be supported by solid facts. As was already explained, Wälamo for instance was before the Gragn wars a Christian-dominated area whose contemporary population did not begin to expand from the very small region of Kindo prior to 1700. Also, the true Sidama have occupied their present dwelling places for no more than three generations. The lowlands east of Lake Abbaya which now belong to them were formerly occupied by Guji nomads.

From an analysis of the oral data which we collected about the ethnic situation in ancient Bali, the following picture can be drawn. As far as the true Sidama are concerned, there can be no reference to them in the Bali traditions for the very reason that their final ethnogenesis only took place in their present country. Stanley's opinion that the Oromo expansion did not cause the migration of the two major Sidama fractions, the Bushé and the Maldea, from their eastern domiciles in Bali and probably also Däwaro, because this exodus had already happened in connection with the *jihād* movements, can be accepted. There is a very distinct memory that the Bushé/Maldea people, when they came to Sidamaland south of the Wabi headwaters, assimilated an autochthonous population, the previously Oromo-speaking Hofa.[67]

The region of Gädäb belonged to Hadiya and was occupied by various subgroups of this people, whose Oromized descendants (for instance, the clans Dóda, Wégé, Chatimána, Adamonye, Wosherminné, and many others) still live there. Hadiya groups also settled on the Bali territory, and some of them can be identified by the ending *-mána*--for instance, the Holbatmána, who also exist among the Badogo-Hadiya between Omo and Bilaté. The same is true for the Soro and Badósa. Together with those Cushitic-speaking fractions Semitic-speaking Hadiya groups from the Harärі/East Guragé cluster, in particular Siltana and Alaba, contributed to the autochthonous population. They are sometimes called Dararra in Bali, and some of their ancestors are said to have come from Arabia by way of Harär. The Berbéré, who derived their name from the town of Berbera on the Somali coast, had established their settlements before the Gragn wars. One fraction split off from them; and, reinforced by another clan, the Faracho (Faratsé), joined the Hadiya movement of Guragéland.

Groups of this type are historically related to fractions, frequent also in Arussi, who claim a Somali/Arabic origin and are sometimes recognizable by their more or less transmogrified denominations (for instance, Shedamma, or "people of *shaikh* Adam"; Abósara, or "people of Ahmad Abu Sarri"; and the like). People who derive their descent from the direct line of Muhammad the Prophet and are respected for this reason in popular Islamic beliefs as embued with an outstanding magical power, so-called *sharifs*, are mentioned in Bali by the *Futūh* (p. 162). That means there is an ethnic continuity at least up to the sixteenth century. The Ataba, Awlijana, and other Arussi clans consider themselves to be the offspring of those blessed and privileged ancestors.

One of the first important Muslim missionaries, *shaikh* Husayn (Nūr Hussen) from Yaman, is said to have reached Balī about 1300 and, supported by his disciple Sufi 'Umar, undertook successful efforts to convert the autochthonous Hadiya/Sidama (Cerulli 1938, p. 33, 1936, pp. 147ff., passim; cf. also Andrzejewski 1972, pp. 463-80). Even today his mausoleum in Annajina is the greatest Islamic sanctuary and the most frequented place of pilgrimage in Muslim Ethiopia. Before *shaikh* Ḥusayn's arrival, the missionary campaign had sporadically been started by other Arabs, of whom *shaikh* Sa'īd and *shaikh* Ibrahīm are still remembered. A religious leader and contemporary of Aḥmad Gragn called Aṣḥab Uthmān, whose grave is to be found near Tiçho (Governate General of Arussi), seems to have played an important part in those areas. According to the historical traditions, this man became the ancestor of the Hadiya clans Dóda, Wégé, and Malgé. In the course of unknown rivalries he was killed by the Ogaden warrior Aṭṭalībo, who was cursed for this deed by Gragn's successor *amīr* Nūr.

Besides all the groups claiming an old Islam, there are some autochthons in Balī, notably the Karmamidda, Fasīl, Sabbro, Fanḳal, Koiye, and some Daiuy sections, who derive their origin from Ethiopian Christians and are probably descendants of military colonists from the time of Dawit I, Zär'a-Ya'iqob, and other emperors.

Although they were the last contributors to the ethnic conglomerate in the medieval history of those areas, the Oromo, who invaded Balī after the 1530s, became the culturally and linguistically prevailing element. Cerulli believed their original homeland to have been in the area between the Ganalé Bend and Lake Abbaya.[68] Haberland, working with his materials from his field study, located it in the region of Dallo, where up to the present the spiritual Oromo leader, the *abba mūda* (or "father of pilgrimage") resides. This *abba mūda* (Haberland 1963, pp. 4, 6; cf. Cerulli 1936, p. 144), however, according to our own investigations in that region, is not of true Oromo origin but is descended from the offspring of a mixed Somali/Arabic clan called Ruitu (Raya), who are classed with the Hadiya and have their relatives among the Haballosa, Gudela, and Wälo-Oromo. Together with the Arussi and parts of the Shäwa (Tulama)-Oromo, the Wälo-Raya used to send their delegations to the *abba mūda*'s residence in Horra Wolābu, the spiritual center since olden times (Cerulli 1936, pp. 142-45, Haberland 1963, pp. 470-75). It can, nevertheless, hardly be doubted that the region of Dallo itself, where the place of pilgrimage is situated, was not the original settlement area of the Oromo nation but belonged to the Islamic-dominated Hadiya land. The Oromo, according to my opinion, were very close to it, west of the Ganalé.

Because of this, we can accept Cerulli's idea of the Oromo homeland between Ganalé and Lake Abbaya. To the east it could have stretched as far as Liban, a region between the rivers Ganalé and Dawa, which is claimed as their original dwelling area by the Borana, the "oldest and purest" among the Oromo tribes (Haberland 1963, p. 25). Because the general outlines of culture history indicate that their ancient domiciles were in cool highlands, where the cultivation of barley was of considerable importance for the economic life (Haberland 1963, pp. 4ff., 363), there are solid arguments to justify the thesis of an original Oromo settlement in today's Guji-occupied areas between the upper Ganalé and the Amarro Mountains. The place "Harro Wolabu," designated as their ancestral home by the Tulama- and Macha-Oromo, who most probably

were the pioneer fractions of the great migration, is also situated in that region. The same is true for Waji, where according to the Borana tradition Horro, the first Oromo man, fell from the sky (Haberland 1963, pp. 5, 24).

The northern Guji (Alabdu) report that they had already advanced to the vicinity of Lake Langano during Zär'a-Ya'iqob's time and were then forced to retire southward by military pressure from the side of the Amhara (Haberland 1963, p. 276). This tradition contradicts general historical knowledge. It seems once again that that the name "Zär'a-Ya'iqob" was taken as a synonym for any Ethiopian emperor, and this story possibly relates to Särsa-Dingil's reign, when the Oromo once beat a hasty retreat from Wäy on the announcement of the arrival of the Amhara.

Whereas the Tulāma and Macha obviously took the direct route northward through what later became known as Sidamaland, proceeded along the eastern escarpment of the Rift Valley through Wäj, invaded Christian Shäwa, and finally overwhelmed large parts of central Ethiopia, the Arussi moved to the northeast and crossed the Ganalé to Dallo. In those lowland areas they came upon the Hadiya and immediately entered into a racial and cultural symbiosis with them. The Islam of the Hadiya, that is true, disappeared except for some survivals and was replaced by the Oromo *gada* system, but the former Muslims succeeded in attaining and conserving a kind of leading position, at least spiritually, in the "pagan" society. According to information obtained by Cerulli (1936, p. 140) in Annajina (Shek Hussen) some Somali and Arabs came with the Oromo to Bali. This fact testifies to the relatively strong Islamic role in the earliest phase of Oromo expansion.

Because their intermixture in Dallo occurred so long ago, there is no memory about the original ethnic differentiation left among the people of that area. The more the Arussi moved northward and gradually assimilated new Hadiya/Sidama groups, the more, evidently, a dualism between the true Oromo and the so-called Hadiya clans crystallized. The Barantu, for instance, used to refer to a general subdivision of their ethnic body into *sarri* (or "people") Humbana/Barantu (true Oromo) and *sarri* Sidama (assimilated Somali, Harari, and others). With respect to foreign groups encountered on the path of expansion that were not completely expelled, the more recently assimilated were no longer fully integrated into the *gada* system and were not allowed to take part in the pilgrimage to the *abba muda*.[69] This indicates that they were generally considered to be of lower status in society. The procedure, under which, for instance, Hadiya groups applied to the Oromo leaders (*abba gada*) in order to be accepted under their rule as so-called *mogasa* (or "assimilated"), continued in the region between Lake Zway and the Bilate up to the beginning of our century.

Dallo was the assembly area from which the invasion into the territory of Bali started, and in the heart of the country a further subdivision of the Oromo nation took place: the Barantu fraction proceeded directly northeast to Dawaro to turn against the sultanate of Adal/Harär (1567), while the Arussi stayed behind and successively occupied the whole of Bali, Hadiya, Sharka, and parts of Dawaro and Wäj. In their traditions, the Barantu refer to Mormor on the boundary between Dallo and the old state of Bali as their place of origin; the Arussi held a big assembly at Koss, already on the Bali territory, to come to an agreement about the migration route of their two major subgroups Bulala and Wuchale. Again at the beginning of the seventeenth century, another

fraction, the Raya and Azäbbo, considerably mixed with Hadiya, split from them, crossed the Awash, and pushed northward to Wälo as far as the Tigrean borderland.

With respect to the origin of the name "Balī," the linguistic explanation that it was changed from the Hadiya word "*bäle*," which means river valley or gorge and is said to refer to the valley of the Wabī Shäbällé in this special context, is supported by a more scientific evidence than a legend deriving it from the Amharic word "bālé" (or "husband").

The traditions of the Christians, especially priests, who live in the Balī area today mix together legendary stories with those of authentic historical value. Emperor Libnä-Dingil is said to have prayed to God that a war would come to deliver the country from the problem of overpopulation. After this blasphemous desire had been uttered, Gragn Muḥammad's hordes overwhelmed Balī, destroyed the churches, killed many Christians, and forced those who escaped from the massacre to look for refuge in caves and forests. Gragn invaded Balī from the region of Gälb, and the Christian forces under *asmach* Dägälhan, who is sometimes equated with the above-mentioned Fäsīl, were defeated by the Muslims in the first assault. Fäsil, who can certainly be identified as Sarṣä-Dingil's brother who was killed by the Oromo, made the last attempt to reestablish Christianity in that area. The rock-hewn church near Goba, the southernmost example of this type known in Ethiopia,[70] is said to have been constructed in his time; according to another version, however, it was initiated by Galawdewos.

A subprovince (*auraja*) of the modern Governate General of Balī and a mountain near Goba, where remnants of old settlements are left, received their names from this Fäsīl. The town of Goba itself is said to be named after one of his followers, and Balī as a whole ranked among the most important strongholds of the Christian Empire. This point is certainly overstressed by the Amharic traditions. They continue to report that a considerable proportion of the male Christians were killed during the Gragn wars (contingents of Balī troops were once smashed on the Shäwan battlefields) and that this fact enabled the Oromo to overcome the resistance of the survivors easily. The "pagan" invaders took the Christian widows as their wives, and this intermarriage explains why the Arussi in Balī represent a handsome racial type just comparable to the Amhara. The Oromo, as they say, were wild and barbarous, and their incursions definitely sealed the downfall of Christian civilization, which had already suffered a heavy blow by the Gragn wars.

It is illuminating to note that the old trading state of Balī, as it had been characterized by al-'Umarī in the fourteenth and by Zorzi in the beginning of the sixteenth century, continued to be a center for the distribution of various goods until some decades ago. Salt, for instance, used to be transported by camel caravans from the district of El Kare in the Ogaden steppes to Balī, whence Arussi traders took it on horseback westward as far as Walamo.

DARA

In al-'Umarī's enumeration of the seven principalities which composed the Zayla' confederation, Dära (Darah) was mentioned--after Balī--as the last.

With each a length and a breadth of four days it passed for the weakest and most thinly populated sultanate in the confederation. It was able to muster no more than 2,000 horsemen and 2,000 infantrymen. Its Muslim inhabitants were as little acquainted as those of Balī with the use of a monetary system (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1927, pp. 18ff., cf. Rink 1790, pp. 15ff.).

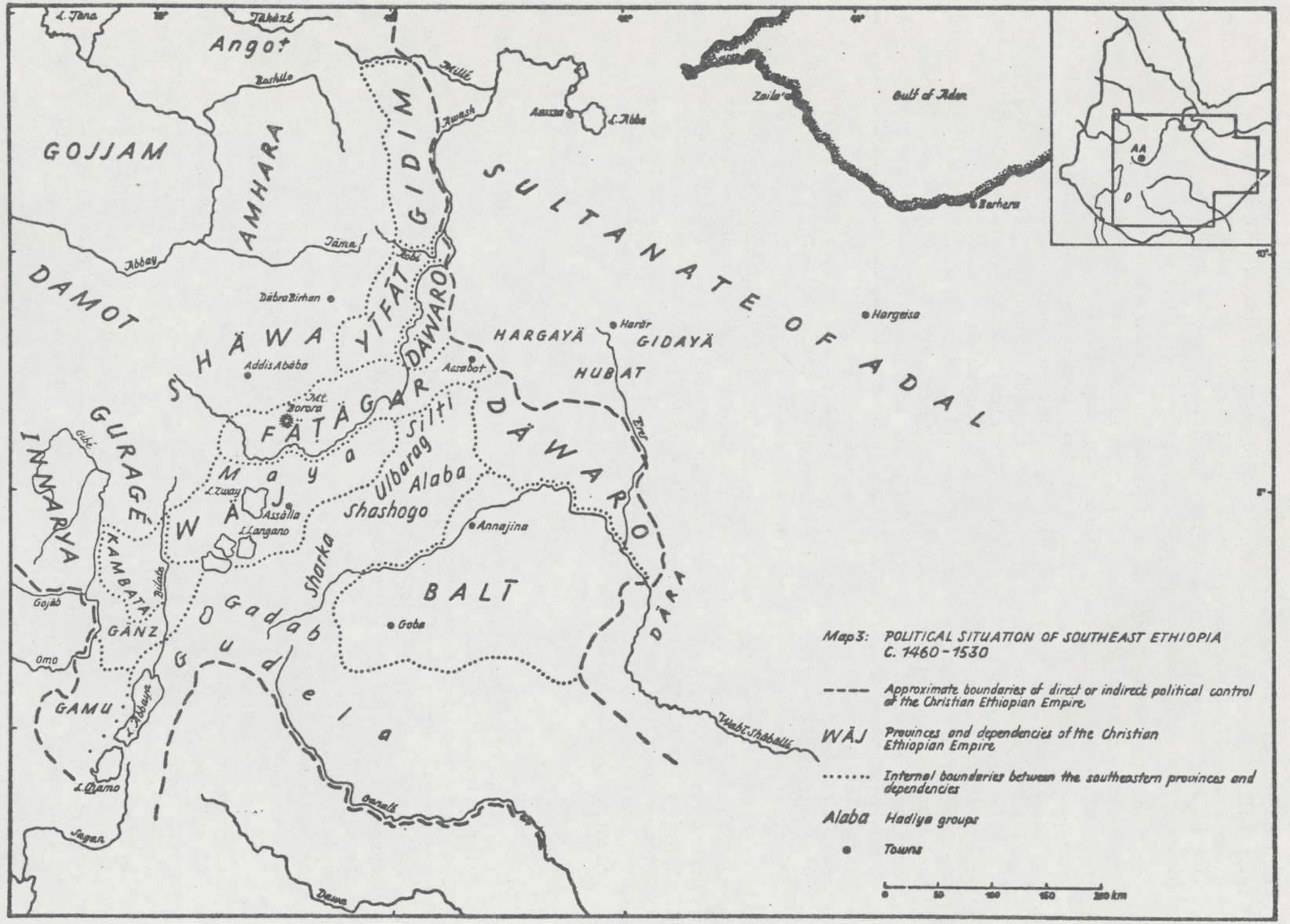
The fact that Dära is mentioned in a geographical and cultural connection with Balī evidently excludes its identification, considered by some commentators, with a region of the same name in the Ethiopian highlands near Lake Ṭana (Basset 1897, p. 254, n. 141, Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, p. 233, Trimingham 1965, pp. 64, 73). Such a location would, moreover, contradict the whole of what we know in general about the geographical diffusion of early Islamic states in northeast Africa. Dära should also not be confused with a district in Shäwa, which is sometimes mentioned by Alvares (Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, pp. 107, 292, 415, 579), and the same is true for another Dära documented as a Muslim province (*tanbalāt*) in the fourteenth century (cf. Tamrat 1972, p. 188, n. 3). This district appears to be completely unidentifiable. Another source of potential errors is offered by Maqrīzī's compilation locating Dära in the region of Suakin on the Red Sea coast and the Daḥlak Islands (Rinck 1790, p. 16, Lejean 1870, p. 96). This is so obviously different from al-'Umarī's basic text that one must be skeptical about his apologist's particulars.

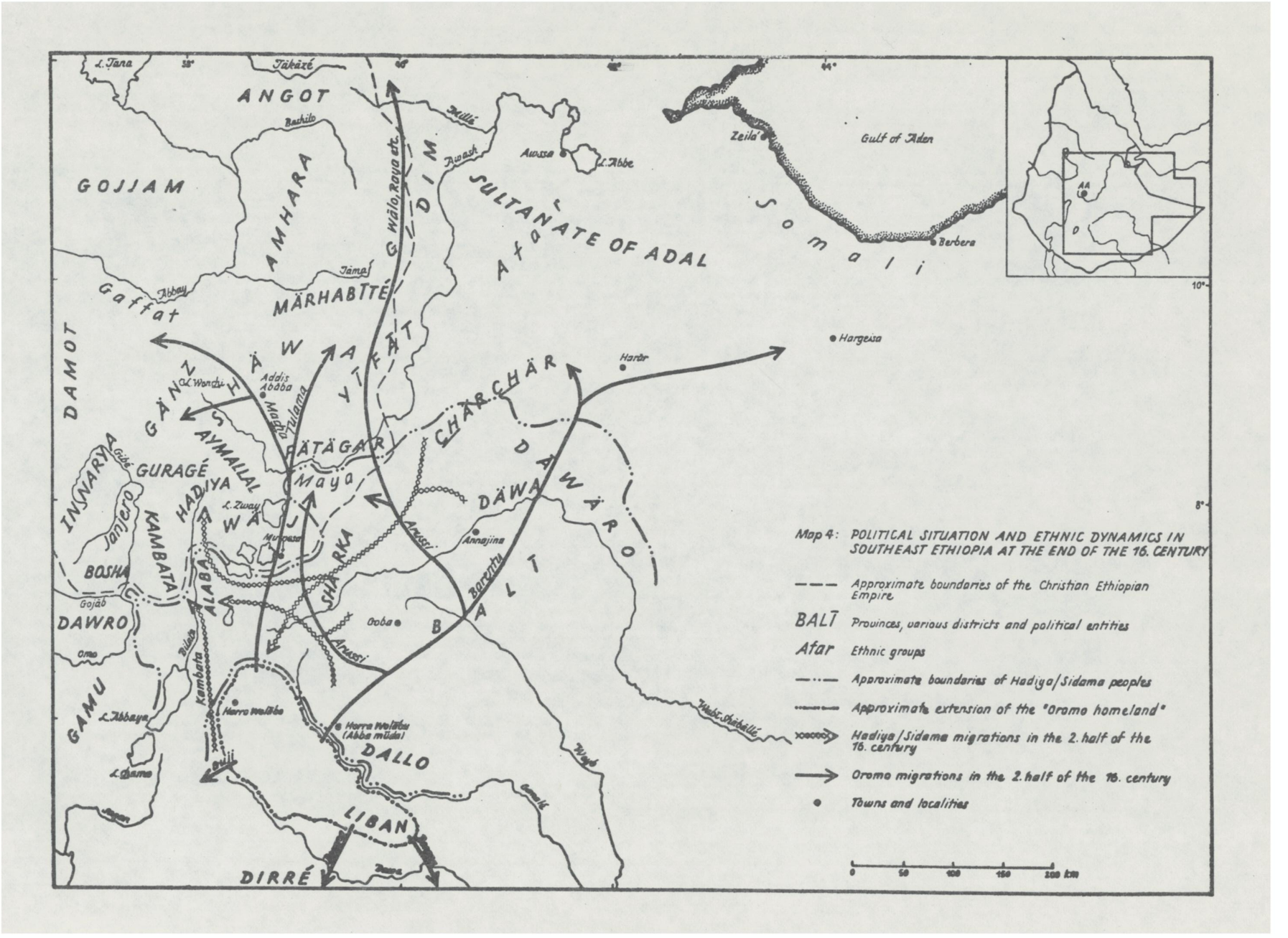
The only useful information in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (p. 337) related to Dära suggests a position near the bend of the Wabī Shäbälle east of Balī and south of Däwaro. Such a location is all the more likely because al-'Umarī's description places Dära in a relatively arid zone. A further support for the geographical position of Dära east of the Wabī Bend is given by the fact that Gälb, from where Aḥmad Gragn started his invasion of Balī, was situated close to Dära.

CONCLUSIONS

The above materials concerning the Islamic states of southeast Ethiopia between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries can only be a small contribution to the historical reconstruction of this area, and they aim to draw further attention to the immense amount of further research needed in order to rediscover the personality of the ancient Ethiopian people. The information sources mostly refer to warlike events, which seem to be overrepresented in historiography, because those martial relations between the Christian and Muslim opponents were more spectacular and noteworthy to the chronicler than the long-lasting periods of peaceful interaction, negotiations, mutual cultural influences, and trading activities.

The differentiation of the Islamic states on the Somali coast and in east Ethiopia became noticeable with their intensified inland expansion from the thirteenth century onward. It is inadmissable to assume, on the basis of the records stemming from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a historical and geographical continuity leading back to the early years of the thirteenth century, when the documents first indicate their existence. Quite often in the past, analyses have tended uncritically to stress a rather static view of the historical evolution in those areas. The contrary is demonstrated by considerable evidence of change, which can be seen in its general outlines.





One of the key remaining tasks is the further investigation of the Hadiya/Sidama peoples, their ethnogenesis and their migrations in connection with those of the Oromo. As we have tried to indicate, the oral traditions not only can improve the state of our historical knowledge, but they can also give detailed indications concerning the identity and location of ancient political entities. When we, moreover, take into consideration the remarkable inaccuracy of the old European maps, for instance, those by Gastaldi and Almeida, the relevance of orally transmitted data considerably increases. An additional and important advancement of research, little employed so far, can be offered by archaeology, for which especially the Harär Plateau and the Chärchär Range promise good results for the future.[71]

Until recently, when there was question of Ethiopia's past, it almost exclusively concerned the Semitic-speaking part, the Axumite and the Christian Empires with the impressive continuity of their historical and cultural development. It was considered more prestigious for historians to concentrate their studies on this subject and to leave the field of the illiterate southern groups to cultural anthropologists who were more or less also interested in their history. The role of the southern Cushitic peoples in general analyses of Ethiopian history was often confined to that of a threatening and destructive factor for the higher civilizations, notably with respect to Aḥmad Gragn's *jihād* and the Oromo expansion. Now, very late already from the standpoint of collecting further authentic information in the field, it has become a matter of urgent necessity to study the hitherto neglected past of the Cushitic part and its role in Ethiopia's history and culture.[72]

NOTES

[61]Huntingford 1955, p. 232, and 1965, pp. 21ff.; Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, map 1. The terms "original" and "secondary" in connection with Dawaro seem to be as inappropriate for the historical analysis as "big" and "small."

[62]Huntingford 1965, p. 22, in the introduction to his annotated translation of the Amdä-Siyon chronicle.

[63]This interpretation is given by H. E. Arficio on the basis of oral traditions and of Haber 1962, pp. 78ff.

[64]On the map of Paulitschke (1893), it is not the Wabī but the Juba which separates the provinces of Balī and Dawaro. Cf. Cerulli 1936, p. 7.

[65]See d'Abbadie 1890, p. 304, who referred to Taurin de Cahagne.

[66]Cerulli 1936, p. 2, passim. Trimingham (1965, p. 67) agreed to this interpretation. Cf. also Straube n.d., p. 8.

[67]These traditions were already collected by Jensen at the beginning of the 1950s (Jensen n.d., pp. 30ff., passim).

[68]Cerulli 1936, p. 3. Huntingford (1969, map 4) indicated an even more westerly region, which can by no means be accepted.

[69]Cf. Haberland 1963, p. 444. This fact could be confirmed by my own field study in the Dallo area of Balī itself.

[70]This monument was mentioned for the first time by the expedition of du Bourg de Bozas (1906, pp. 138, 141), but it has never been thoroughly studied. The interesting construction, which was called Abbo *washa* (or "the cave of St. Abbo") by the inhabitants of that area, was unfortunately destroyed by the Italian fascists in 1937.

[71]We are, however, glad to state in this context that a team of French archaeologists have worked in that area for some years and have so far published five volumes of their periodical *Documents pour servir à l'histoire d'Ethiopie*.

[72]This aim was explicitly stressed in the resolution of the "Colloque international sur les langues couchitiques et les peuples qui les parlent" in Paris, September 8-12, 1975.

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