



COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

An ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE HARARI PEOPLE, a. 1875-1975

BY

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Preface

The thesis deals with the Economic history of the Harari people Ca, 1875-1975. Chapter one discusses the background of the Harari people. Chapter two concerned with the original establishment of the Emirate of Harar. Chapter three discusses the Popular interactions and its impacts on the economy of the Harari people. Chapter four also discusses about the contribution of Tourism in the economy of Harare people. This is because Tourism and the invasions of the area by the people of both domestic and foreigners can affect the economic development positively or negatively. The history of Harari and its ancient city jugole or the stonewall is much related with trade. But little is said about the fact that they have been using trade as a means of securing and maintaining peace. To preserve Harar and extend trade beyond it they made trade concessions to the Oromo and allowed the Somalis to derive income by protecting caravans that went out from and came into Harar. For this part of the paper I have used both primary and secondary sources. Many Challenges encountered me in the process of gathering data. Among the problems the major ones are many books are written in Arabic so it takes time and finance to translate them. By a number of methods like using many informants and visiting the Archival centers, I have conducted the research on the topic under the study. Study proposed the proper economic plan in line with the tangible facts; maintain peace, security, and preservation of the Heritage sites. This is because proper planning and designing solutions are not the demand the current generation but also important to fulfill the demands of the future generation.

Abstract

In the south of the Abyssinian kingdom, some Muslim states were, formed during the medieval period. These states have expanded their territory from the Gulf of Aden as far as the valley of Awash river and even beyond it. The most important of such states was Ifat on the edge of Shawan highland. Later on, the kingdom of Adal with its capital at Dakar was emerged. Then the kings of the Solomonic Dynasty, who took the throne in 1270A.D, worried about the challenges of the Muslim States. Thus, they have started a series of wars in which the war of Ahmed Gragn was the best example. Although the 16th century Oromo expansion separated the two rival states, i.e. the Christian highland and the Muslim State of Adal, the war was continued. According to many documents, the conflicts of these groups were not political and religious case. Nevertheless, it caused because of the interest for trade and trade routes of the area. As a result, from the very beginning of its establishment to very recent time Harar has suffered from the invasions of different people who came from both domestic as well as foreign countries. Since it is strategically located at very important position, Harar and its people have experienced good relationship with different people. The relation is specially based on trade activity that carried out at the two major trade routes i.e. Zaila and Berbara. Many of foreign merchants came to the above-mentioned trade routes and have traded with Harari people for centuries. Trade and other economic activities of Harari people have been affected by the invasions of Egypt, Italy and British. The invasions of these countries coupled with the attack of Menelik II have highly affected the commercial activities of the Harari people. Prior to the 16th century many Harari people engaged on different kinds of economic activities as agriculture, handcraft, basketry and others. The economic income of the Harari people generates from multi types of activities. The cultivation of different crops like Coffee, Chat, Sorghum, and Banana are the major ones. The commercial activity that conducted in the town as well as at coastal areas is also another most important means of economic income for the Harari people. Generally, the long lasting relations of the Harari people with many other peoples were based on not only trade, but also it was because of religion affairs. Thus, the people of the study area have experienced to live with many people for many years.

KEY TO THE TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

I. In writing Ethiopian names, the following transliteration system has been adapted to write this thesis. For Amharic transliteration system, the following symbols are used.

<u>Vowel</u>	<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Example</u>
1 st order (<i>ge'ez</i>)	ä	Kabbada
2 nd order (<i>ka'eb</i>)	u	Guduru
3 rd order (<i>sales</i>)	i	Gidda
4 th order (<i>rab'e</i>)	a	<i>Ras</i>
5 th order (<i>hames</i>)	é	Hindé
6 th order (<i>Sades</i>)	e	Kitili
7 th order (<i>sab'e</i>)	o	Horruma

II. Consonant, which have palatalized sound represented in the following way

ሸ=Sh

ቸ=Ch=Chiqa shum

ኸ =ñ=malkañña

III. Consonant, which Glottalized sound is represented as follows:

ጠ=Ta = *Taqelay Gizat*

ቀ=Qä = *Qañazmach*

ጬ = Čä = *cäüccuu* □

ፀ= Sä

IV. Oromo couplets, verses and poses are spelled according to newly introduced Oromo alphabets (*qubee*) to simplify the problems of reading Oromo sayings

Oromo Vowels

<u>Short equivalent</u>	<u>long</u>	<u>example</u>	<u>English meaning</u>	<u>English</u>
a	aa	Gadaa	Gada	a=are
e	ee	<i>beera</i>	old	e= were
i	ii	miila	foot	i=he
o	oo	hoolaa	sheep	o=for
u	uu	Guutuu	full	u=you

V. Oromo consonants are stressed by doubling the similar phonemes and combined by two different consonants. Five different Oromo phonemes are formed by combining two different consonant letters. These are **ch**, **dh**, **ny**, **ph** and **sh**. Two of them have English equivalent.

<u>Oromo</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Example</u>
Ch	Ch	Mancha
Sh	Sh	Sashes

Three of them have no English equivalents. These are **dh**, **ny**, and **ph**.

<u>Oromo</u>	<u>Equivalent symbol</u>	<u>example</u>	<u>English meaning</u>
Dh	-	<i>dhadhabaa</i>	weak
Ny	ñ	<i>nyaata</i>	food
Ph	pä	<i>Dhiphaa</i>	narrow

VI. In Oromo alphabets, consonants like **c**, **q** and **x** have different sounds while the rest have almost the same sound as English consonants.

<u>Oromo</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>English meaning</u>
C	<i>caffee</i>	meadow
X	<i>Xirinyii</i>	civet cat
Q	<i>Qarraa</i>	lighter

ACRONYMS

AAU	Addis Ababa University
AAU	Addis Ababa University
ARCCH	A center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage
EPRDF	Ethiopian people’s Revolutionary democratic Front
FDRE-	Federal democratic Republic of Ethiopia
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
JHCO	Jugole Heritage Conservation office
JU	Jimma University
NALA	National Archives and Library Agency
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PAS	Peasant Associations
PORL	Public Ownership of Rural Land
PVCC	Province Villagization Coordinating Committee
RCC	Revolutionary coordinating committee or Ya Abiot Zamaca Astababari Committee

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

It is well known that Ethiopia is an ancient country and currently inhabited by more than eighty -five ethnic groups. Because of the diversity of nations and nationality, Ethiopia has been described by a number of scholars of History and Anthropology as a museum of peoples, languages and beliefs or faiths.¹ Despite the diversity intimate relationships among citizens, living to gather in peace and love among different groups have been established through the process of migration, intermarriage and assimilation for many centuries in all parts of Ethiopia. These aspects of Ethiopian life and history are the objective cornerstone, which formed the Ethiopian nationhood and enabled the country to continue as the sovereign state for many centuries.²

Although many ethnic groups formed the nation, it was not yet known who first inhabited the country. Hence, the pre-history of the ethnic groups is a matter of controversy among different scholars. The Harari people are one of the components of Ethiopia's nationalities. Therefore, it has been a reality that a long history of contacts of the Islamic religion outside the Arabian world is assumed to have taken place with Ethiopian people.³ In addition to the above, it is said that, the history of Harari people related with the Semitic people of south Arabia. Therefore, based on this fact and assumption, it is in about the beginning of 1000 that the Semitic people came from southern Arabia and settled in the eastern and different parts of the country.⁴

Many scholars have clearly stated that the history of Hariri people connects with the history of the Semitic people of south Arabia. It was Semitic speaking people from Southern Arabia crossed the Red Sea and penetrated gradually into eastern Ethiopia pushed from parts of northern Somalia to the west and

¹Donald N Levine, *The Root of Ethiopians Nationhood in African Report* (N.p, 1974), p.13.

²*Ibid.*p.5.

³Eike Harbor land, Notes on the History of Southern Ethiopian People Central *Della reaches, scientific*, pp.5-6.

⁴Sidney Ralph Waldron, *Within the wall and beyond, Harari ethnic identity and its future* (Addis Ababa, 1975), P.1.

formed linguistic and central family that almost totally disappeared the present remnant remnants of which are the Harari one. It is apparent that the Harari are numerically one of the smallest Semitic ethnic groups of the country. However, they have maintained their identity despite the immense contacts with various ethnic groups like those that the Oromo, the Amhara, the Somali and Argoba. The contacts varied from time to time based on the purpose of their relations with different people.⁵ Consequently, because of the frequent and mutual relationships of the Hararis with different neighboring people and with foreigners their former traditions to some extent began to transform and changed into other styles. The identity maintenance of Harari ethnic group could reflect in the way of life and even their style of dressing. One can easily understand or identify the Harari dressing and of life among many other ethnic groups live in the nearby towns.⁶ Nevertheless, as it has been explained above, such style of dressing is now being changed to modern form. In general, despite gradual change of their culture, many reasons as they have proud of their culture, despite many relations with others peoples, they mainly conduct marriage alliance with their Ethnic group and their good love for their culture. Because of the above factors, the Harari have able to maintain their identity over a long period. On the other hand, many reasons like the expansion of trade, transportation and above all the introduction of modern education and Islamic teaching in the area made the people to move out beyond their old walled city of Harar. Most of them went to Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.⁷

According to many historians and anthropologists, the movement of the Harai people to different areas out of their city was started only after the end of the Emir's rule. This is related with the conquest of the people as well as the whole region by the forces of Christian highland led by *Ras Makonnen* that favored the Harari people to move to different towns within various administrative regions of the country.⁸ Generally, it is possible to summarize that what made the Harari people move out to different towns and areas seem not only economic problem but also political reasons from the viewpoints of some scholars of history.⁹ The, Harari social system, which divided into three institutions, namely kinship, friendship and *Afocha*, all had a great role for their movements as well as for the development of their economic aspects and progress. Although, the core objective of this *Afocha* Institution was social affairs, it contributed a lot in economic issues of the region. In this regard like in other part of the country, specifically among

⁵Informants:- Kalifa and Usman

⁶Informants:- Demise and Tariku Haile.

⁷S KWaldron, *Social Organization and social control in the walled city of Harar, Ethiopia*, (Columbia,1974), p.230.

⁸*Ibid*, p.23.

⁹*Ibid*, p.30.

Oromo what is known as *Dabo*, their *affocha* gives them strength on different economic activities among Harari people. Of the above three institutions of Harari the last two are sex based organizations concerned with not only wedding and funeral ceremonies, but also with economic issues especially which is advantageous for their common interests.¹⁰ However, all these institutions had contributed a lot for the economic development of the Harari people either directly or indirectly for a long period.

Thus, the region, which has very pleasant climate in the country, even as many scholars Richard Burton describe like it, is “warm but not hot, cool but not cold”.¹¹ This in turn attracted a number of people to conduct the trade activities and different types of activities in the Harari region beginning from earlier time up to very recent period. This great kingdom or the City State of the 16th century (Harar) passed the process of disintegration, most specifically after Gragn’s death because of internal as well as the influence of the foreign countries. Nevertheless, the kingdom has continued to be the seat for an Emirate, which, was though small, but remembered as a centre of trade and Islamic learning in the horn of Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular.¹²

The internal political conflict coupled with the great Oromo invasion who sometimes have taken the land of Harari, constituted to be the main reasons why the Emirate (kingdom) become dependent. This was during the Egyptians conquest of 1875, but prior to this year probably for more than half a century. The entire period in the first half of the 19th century the kingdom characterized by relative isolation from the foreign states and increasing intense of religious fanaticism.¹³ In addition to the above reasons, the power struggles amongst rulers, which created after the death of Emir Ahmed Ibn Mohamed (1794-1821), who was known for his successful expedition against the Oromo of *Afran Qallo*(*The Four Oromo clans*). It was after the death of the above mentioned Emir that the political stability of the was adversely began to be affected.¹⁴

The Semitic language speaking people, Harari though had been lived independently under the dynasty, which founded by Emir Ali ibn-Dawid (r.1647-62) began losing its independence with the Turco-Egyptian

¹⁰Informants: - Mohammed and Redwan Mumme.

¹¹Mordechai Abir. *Ethiopia: the Era of the princes, the challenges of Islam and the re unification of the Christian Empire 1768-1855*(London, 1968), p.9.

¹²Informants: - Fatima and Jabir Mussa.

¹³Richard Burton, *First Foot Step in East Africa* (New York, 1966), p.9.

¹⁴Informants:- Foyez Mohamed and Adulatef Jemal.

occupations of 1875-1885.¹⁵ After a year and a half of renewed independence, the conquering forces of Menelik II again annexed the kingdom in January 1887, after the battle of *Challanqo*.¹⁶ Therefore, the battle of *Challanqo* January 6, 1887 was a landmark and always remembered in the history of Harari people and the surrounding Oromo as bad mighty because it is a time when they had lost their independence and incorporated to the Christian highland Ethiopian Empire. By this, they also lost their economic freedom of conducting the coastal trade activities around two trade ports of Zayla and Barbara, which are very important to generate economic income for Harari people and the surrounding people.¹⁷

1.2. GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Since social and economic interactions and activities are practiced in specific geographical settings, the introduction of geographical information about the study area is very important for the reason that geography can be considered as the major factor for the productivity, types of crops would be cultivated, animal husbandry and related social life.¹⁸

It is clear that while we are talking about the History of the Harari people we must also raise the history of their capital Harar.¹⁹ This is because the area is one of the World's places where ancient civilization began to develop. This area is also the capital of the Harari people that located in the eastern Ethiopia at about some 526-kilo meters away from the capital city of the country, Addis Ababa. It is one of the areas in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, where people used to live and are still now living in freedom and in love.²⁰

Thus, the city is designed to become the most important one in the eastern part of the country, stood in strategically in well important position. They Harari people were known not only for their trade activity but also for its transactional place for the products came from the interior parts of Ethiopia and also from the foreign countries. From their capital, Harar the people of Harari have economically well benefited because of its important geographically strategic location, since it connects different trade routes.²¹

¹⁵Mired Wolde Aregay, population *Movements as possible factor in the Christian, Muslim conflict of medieval* (Yaoundé, 1973).p.266.

¹⁶*Ibid.p.266.*

¹⁷Caulk, Richard Alan, *Harar Town and Its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century*, Journal of African History, XVIII, (1977), p.56.

¹⁸Informants: -Sintayehu and Adam Ali.

¹⁹Ahmed Zakariya, *Harari Coins: Preliminary Survey* (Addis Ababa, 1991), p.28.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Mainsonneve and Larose, *A Muslim City of Ethiopia, Harar* (Addis Ababa, 2004), pp.16-17.

These trade routes connected Harar with the coastal areas as well as with the rich interior part of Ethiopia. The town of Harar founded by Sultan Abu baker who did not reign for long time. This is because he killed by Ahmad Ibrahim al-Ghazi, who is commonly known as Ahmad Gragn in the history of Ethiopia. Thus, Ahmed Gragn was considered by the Harari people as the ruler who governed the town with justice and to have put an end to the oppression of Christian high land of Ethiopia.²²

The city of Harar is differed from many African towns in that its entire area is totally, found or occupied with in the walls. These walls were humble of openings, which were strongly guarded and kept. They strictly locked every night from dusk to dawn. During this time, the keys are given to the Emir for safekeeping. Hence, the keeping of different gates of the city of Harar was not only for the defensive purpose, but also economically it gave benefits for the people of Harari in general and to the Emir in particularly over a long period.²³ As a result, each gate played a distinct role in the city's economic life beginning from their establishment. The gates were located at different directions where they used to serve for different trade access. Therefore, as it was already attempted to make clear, Harar is a place of extensive trade that brought the Harari people into contact with people from abroad as well as from domestic, specially the surrounding Oromo people and the Christian highland Ethiopia.²⁴ The names and directions of the gates will be presented later on in different languages. Harar is also a Muslim city that often identified as the urban centre and the last remnant of earlier widespread Muslim civilization. Thus, as many are said about it, the city was an Islamic cultural and commercial centre since the days of Emir Nur.²⁵

Because of the above, factors and probably because of its geographical location, this allowed it to meet different peoples. Contacts and close relationship between the Harari, and other peoples of the Horn of Africa had established. The relation of people of the interior of Ethiopia in particular and others in general goes back and lasted for a long period. In spite of the close relations with foreigners, the Harari people also closed their gates for non-Muslim travelers and remained so for many centuries. By which even no Europeans had made attempt to explore, Harar. Nevertheless, with the exception of Richard Burton, who disguised or hidden himself and entered the city in 1856. This closed way of life was not eased until the

²²Phillip Paulistichke, Harar (Leipzig, 1888), p.202.

²³*Ibid*, p.204.

²⁴Muhammad Hassan, The Relation between Harari and the surrounding Oromo between 1800-1887 (Haile Sillassie I university), B.A Thesis, 1973), p.213.

²⁵Abdullah, Mohammed, *A Survey of the Harar Jugole and its Gates*, (Addis Ababa, 1990), p.327.

invasion of Egyptians in 1875, when the closed-door policy is ended. This time was when the gates of the city are opened to European traders and Hararis then lost their independence.²⁶

Consequently, as it has been indicated above in different documents the five gates were remained closed and carefully guarded between dusk and dawn. This time was when one could neither leave, nor enter the city of Harar. In addition, the gates of the Wall used to serve as units where the administration, immigration affairs and tax collection have been conducted.²⁷The Harari people had many economic advantages as indicated above from the strategic location of their city, as it located on the major trade routes between central Ethiopia and the port of Zeila. This made the city to become the dominating economic heart of East Africa in general and of the people of study area in particular for long period and until recent time.

In addition, Harari become economically prosperous because of their strategic location, their engagement on different types of economic activities like, cultivation of different crops in the fertile lands of the surrounding areas and others. The extra ordinary resources, the women's basketry activity or art are also among the economic activities that contributed a lot for the people of Harari to become economically prominence over a long period.²⁸ Another important issue, which helped the economic development of the Harari people, was what is known as *Affocha* or *Affosha* (social institution).The institution comprised of members from fifty to seventy-five individuals according to the proximity of their residual places from each other.²⁹ Although, the primary objective of *Affosha* organization was that funeral as well as weeding ceremonies, it has a great role in the economic development in the history of the Harari people over a long period.³⁰ The social organization, *Affosha* had a great role in furnishing social and economic affairs. However, for the Harari people agricultural land was also the main source of income, many of them lost their land due to the fact that the Oromo invasion and in recent time during the periods of Imperial and Derg time when the land reform policy and the political and armed conflicts created. This forced many Harari people, especially young men to flee to different countries like Canada, Djibouti, USA and Europe.³¹

²⁶*Ibid*, p.324

²⁷Informants:- Abdisa and Sheik Ibrahim.

²⁸Mainsonneve and Larose, *A Muslim City of Ethiopia, Harar* (Tokyo,2004), p.90.

²⁹*Ibid*,p.15.

³⁰Informants: - Nega and Abay Aseffa.

³¹Informants: - Fatima and Annisa Jemal.

1.3. The History of the city, Harar

Harar, which formerly written as Harrar and known to its inhabitants as Gey, is a walled city located in eastern Ethiopia. It was previously, the capital of *Harargey* (the Harari term to mean people of the city) and now the capital of the modern Harari ethno-political division *Kilil* (region) of Ethiopia. As frequently indicated above, the city of Harar, was a place where an important interchange point and numerous caravans entered and left the city each year. Most of the Harari's residents were merchants and the markets or Suqs overflowing each day with eager traders hawking their wares. The origins of Harar are obscure, but according to many scholarly studies it was probably in 1256, there was a group of people arrived from the Arabian Peninsula and chosen this site to found the city.³²

At this particular time, Harar was not officially established. Some sources indicate that Harar came into being around the 10th century or even earlier. Harar established in its present urban form beginning from 1520 to 1568 and become the capital of the Harari Kingdom. From the second half of the 16th century until the 19th century, Harar was noted as a centre of trade and Islamic learning in the Horn of Africa. In the 17th century, it became an independent Emirate. Nevertheless, this was also a period of its decline. Due to its prominence, i.e., in terms of commercial and strategic, Harar attracted the interest of the Egyptians, who occupied it from 1875 to 1885. Following this, in 1887, Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia also conquered Harar. At this time; the Great Mosque at *Faras Magala* was destroyed and replaced by an octagonal Orthodox Church of *Medahanealem*.³³ From 1938-1942, a time when the Italians occupied Ethiopia and Harar faced other problems.

In the next few years after the Italians invasion, because of various problems, Ethiopia and Harar have been subjected to famine, civil war and economic decline. In addition to these and other problems for example land reform, this was great problem and in reality decreased the productivity of agriculture in the region of the study area (Hara). Now, Harar Jugol needs to rebuild its economy based on sustainable development.³⁴

This city is located on the hilltop in eastern extension of the Ethiopian highlands at about 526 kilometers away from Addis Ababa at an elevation of 1,885 meters. Based on the figures from the central Statistical Agency in 2005, Harar had an estimated total population of 122,000 or 1.2 million. The capital of Harari people (Harar) was built by seven different *Gays* (Villages), namely Hassan Gay, Scanty Gay, Tunine Gay,

³²Richard Burton, *First Foot Steps in East Africa* (London, 1956), p.304.

³³Informants: - Shemsadin and Lejalem Bakare.

³⁴Mainsonneve and Larose, pp.50-51.

Sampte Gey, Harawe Gey, Rukia Gey and Faruk Gey.³⁵ It was from these seven villages that the present day Harar city came in to being. Sometimes as already indicated above, it is a matter of controversy to tell the exact date of the establishment of the city (Harar). However, according to many literatures the process of establishment was started from 7th century, however the process of full establishment lasted up to the second half of the 12th century and the root word related to different sources.³⁶

Harar city, which was by the fourteenth century, had become a formidable enemy of the Christian Highland Ethiopia was the center of Islamic propagation in the east Ethiopia. However, the three hundred years history of this city state remains obscure (unclear), until the sixteenth century, when Emir Nur bin al Wazir Mujahid came into power and built the defensive wall Jugole which containing five gates.³⁷ The Harar city had its own administrative authority beginning from its early establishment. As has been clearly indicated above the city of Harar over a long period seems to have no peace and stability because of several factors like disease, drought, famine, and the conflicts amongst different ethnic groups and their rulers. The power struggle of the ruling officials and above all the coming of Jammaha from Central Arabia in the 13th century were all contributive factors that led the city towards instability and insecurity.³⁸ During the middle Ages, Harar was of the Adal sultanate becoming its capital in 1520 under Sultan Abu Baker ibn Muhammad.

The sixteenth century was the city's Golden age, because it was a time when local culture flourished, many scholars and poets lived and wrote about it.³⁹ The city as the capital of the Harari people often identified as the urban, cultural and commercial center. It was well known for coffee, weaving, basketry and bookbinding as major economic activities. As being cultural and Islamic center and due to its geographic location Harar had a long history even beyond the rich interior Ethiopia with the outside world. The city developed its isolated way of life according to different scholars because the people of Harari developed especial hatred and disapproval even towards Muslim Arabs and Europeans as well as Christians.⁴⁰ Thus, the Harari closed their gates for non Muslim European travelers. Nevertheless, the evidences of the scholars reveals that the city-state of Harar had been the center of trading, Agricultural, transit and

³⁵Informants: - Hora and Belete Legessie.

³⁶Sidney R Waldron, *Harar The Muslim city in Ethiopia* (Chicago, 1978), p.253.

³⁷J Spencer Tramingham, *Ethiopia Era of Princes* (London, 1952), pp.91-4.

³⁸Richard Pankhurst, *Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville,1982), p.256.

³⁹Informants: - Abebe and Kebeda Afata.

⁴⁰Richard Burton, *First Foot Steps in East Africa* (London, 1866), P.297.

religious.⁴¹ Generally, the economic basis of the Harar city-state was of course, a mixed one because it was depending on different economic activities like trading and agriculture.

The city of Harar, which is located in eastern Ethiopia as it has been discussed above was considered by many as a treasured closed society of a thriving Islamic culture that has been cultivated for centuries by the Harari people. Although many cultural groups in greater Ethiopia struggled to not only survive, but also avoid unmitigated (complete) displacement and continue to prosper in their traditional homelands during the social and political upheavals in the country in the twentieth century.⁴² The residents of Harar managed to do these very things. Today, Harar is the administrative capital of Harari People's National Regional State and a newly elected UNESCO World Heritage site. Recent surveys indicate that approximately 21,000 people live within the 0.6 square kilometers of the Juggole wall that encompasses the historic area of the city of Harar, which also called Jugol.⁴³

The city's population includes persons with ethnic groups of Amhara, Oromo, Harari, Gurage and Somali backgrounds. Although Harari considered the city as their traditional homeland, thus Harari and related Islamic culture dominates the city. Nonetheless, the different cultures coexist with a relatively high degree of religious tolerance. The daily interactions between different ethnic groups frequently take place especially in areas of commerce and devotional activities. In the densely populated old city, which houses 82 mosques and scores of shrines, dedication to Islam and the admiration of local saints influence many aspects of daily life from architecture to landscape design, from meantime rituals to celebratory gatherings.⁴⁴ It is more than 10 percentage of the Harari population lives in Toronto, USA forming intimate relation with the domestic Harari population.⁴⁵

According to the 1974/5 Land policy, agricultural land was the main source of work and income for the people of Harari. Since, the land of prominent officials and Emir was redistributed to the surrounding Oromo other peoples. It was this reason that encouraged or pushed majority of the Harari people to the commerce activity. From the earliest documents the central Ethiopian group who have founded Harar city an indigenous urban complex without parallel in Ethiopia, have been known as Harari. They form a single

⁴¹Yusuf Ahmed, *An Inquiry into some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Emirs of Harar (1825-1875)*, Bulletin of the Ethnological Society, the University College of Addis Ababa. p.56.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³Camilla Gibb, *In the city Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar Ethiopia* (Oxford University, 1996), p.83.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Informants: - Zawudu Wulatahu and Abdurrahman.

ethnic group and refer to themselves as Harar Gay; literally, it means “people of the city”.⁴⁶ The Harari call their language, Gey Sinan, or the language of the “city.” To the Amhara Ethiopians, Arabs and Europeans the preferred name for the Harargey is “Harari” and for their city Harar. The neighboring Oromo choose the Harar Gay as “Adare.”

Before, 1886 the time when Ethiopian rule was firmly established over Harar, this traditional form of residential pattern has not noticeably been changed by the recent growth of Harari communities in the nearby town of Dire Dawa and in Addis Ababa.⁴⁷ The Harari ethnic group refers to the branch of Semitic family. It identified itself from the rest of other Semitic people like Amhara, Tigre and Gurage. These peoples concentrated in eastern Ethiopia amongst different Cushitic speaking people like Oromo, Somali and Afar.⁴⁸ The Harari people who are also known by other name by the surrounding people like Oromo and Somali were at the beginning of the 16th century, supposed to have been lived in a mountainous area of the Harar region. These people accepted a religious man sheik Abadir Omar Al Rahadan, when he came to the region in the 13th century most specifically by Haralla, Gatura and Argoba societies.⁴⁹

The Harella people who divided into sub-clans engaged on the animal husbandry, farming and trade activities, which had been conducted in a very organized manner within the city of Harar, having their own language, though they have a close relation with other neighboring peoples.⁵⁰ In the beginning of the 16th century, i.e. from 1527-1543 as well as from 1552-1567, the conflict and war between the Christian highland leaders (emperors) and the force of Ahmed Gagn, the Oromo population movement and the invasion of the area by different forces including foreign countries and lastly the 1567 series malaria disease have highly devastated the Harari people. Consequently, the societies’ settlement and land holding system was completely changed.⁵¹ Thus, the people of Harari (Gey Usu) professed in Islam and followed modern way of city life and therefore, they have special love for their city of Harar, which was surrounded by old walls (Jugole). Hence, Harar is still the city where civilization is prevailing than all other parts of Ethiopian towns.⁵²

⁴⁶Hecht E D, *Harar and Lamu, A Comparison of Two East African Muslim Societies*, Trans. African Journal of History (Kenya) vol. 16 .1988, p.90.

⁴⁷Informants: Jemal Dawud and Ahmed

⁴⁸Encyclopedia of Britannica, vol. II, (London, 1958), p.168.

⁴⁹Mohammed Hassan, *North African studies* (1982), p.66.

⁵⁰Ulrich, Braukmper: *Notes on the Islamization and the Muslim shrines of the Harar plateau* (Hamburg, 1998), p.146.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Edward Ullendorf, *The Ethiopians* (Toronto, 1962), p.38.

1.4. Religion of the Harari people

The most revered (respected) saints of Harari are the Imam Nur ibn al-Mujahidin and Shaikh Umar Abadir. The Emir Nur is respected by the Hararis so much because of the way in which he identified himself and the fortunes of Islam with Harar city. His tomb was situated between the Falanaa gate (Bab al-Futuh), the French hospital, and the house of Amir 'Abd Allah.⁵³

Harari's long history ran between two sets of traditions. On one hand, the town was the home of a stretchy (flexible), permissive and popular Islam, a mixture of Sufism and mild (kind) Orthodoxy. It served as pragmatists' interests in a regional center of trade and reflected the uniqueness of Harari's culture, which was also expressed in the local Adari language. The second tradition was that of militant (radical) Islam in the spirit of the 16th century anti Ethiopian Christian holy war led by Ahmad Gagn.⁵⁴

Although we found little direct evidence regarding the general conduct of the Harari elite under Egyptian occupation, it is noticeable that they accepted the change passively and pragmatically (practically). However, the return of Amir Abdullah was clearly in the spirit of militant Islam, reviving the Gagn's legacy. Indeed, the history of Harari fluctuated between the two traditions when the town became part of Ethiopia. Throughout the 20th century, most of Harari's elite opted for integration into the Christian empire and benefited from the wider commercial opportunities.⁵⁵

From this perspective, it seems that the Egyptian occupation between 1875 and 1885 influenced the Harari's future even in Imperial period of Ethiopia. The more militant dimension or aspect of Harari's identity was also to surface outside occasionally, often connecting the town's educated middle class to Islamic activists in Somalia, to the *Wahhabiyya* in Saudi Arabia and to Muslim intellectuals and preachers in Egypt. In 1875 Egypt was a dynamic state and society in transition, also nourished by two sets of values.⁵⁶ One was the old Egyptian-Ottoman or Ottoman-Egyptian culture, the outcome of three and a half centuries of integration into an Islamic empire led by Turk.

Many aspects of this culture in terms of concepts and symbols were still apparent at that time. However, the African enterprise was hardly Ottoman Turk. It reflected the interests and visions of a territorial and separate Egyptian identity that had gradually emerged during the 19th century, and acquired new and modern dimensions. This Egyptian identity was spearheaded by intellectuals at home and by some army

⁵³Journal of Ethiopian Studies 1964 no 2 pp. 88-89.

⁵⁴Informants: - Sheik Abdullah and Kado Hamza.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶Edward Ullandrof, *The Ethiopians* (Toronto,1962), p.38.

officers, especially those who tried to build a model of modern Egypt in Africa. Led by Ahmad Urabi, experienced person of the Egyptian defeat to the Ethiopians in 1876, they initiated a protest movement that would pave the way for the emergence of Egyptian nationalism revolving around the concept of Egypt as a Nile empire.⁵⁷ In this context, the Harar occurrence was quite significant. The Egyptian domination of Harar has conducted in Arabic and mirrored pre-national Egyptian perceptions and identities as well as the modern vision of Egypt in the Nile basin.

The Harari are devoutly Muslim society, who supposed to have been being converted to Islam probably in the late fifteenth century. The city-state of Harar remained the chief agency for the dissemination of Islam throughout the southern parts of the Ethiopian region in which the Harar city-state was able to manifest itself as a Muslim center and Islamic arts *Quranic* education and where commerce was highly developed. In Harar, the large-scale conversion to Islam took place in the year 1430, under missionary efforts of Shaik Ibrahim Abu Zaharbui.⁵⁸ The city-state of Harar except one quarter, where *madhahib*, the legal system introduced during the Egyptians short period of administration. As other central Ethiopians, the Harari are used to believe in the positive sprit of Zar. However, little is known about this belief.⁵⁹ In addition, the Harari people fear the evil eye (*buda*), and contact is carefully avoided with person known to have or suspected of having the evil eye that are known as *qumanna*. Hararis resort(choose) to ritual curing with a mullets written by the specialist (Kabir) when local medicines prescribed by a native Ogeessa (Doctor) fail to cure an illness.

Harar is considered as the fourth holiest Islamic city of the world, after Mecca Medina and Jerusalem. Therefore, the Harari people accepted Islam eight years after Mecca. This makes the Harari people the first society to believe in Prophet Mohammed.⁶⁰ Harar is also believed to be the home of biblical Habashi, well known African Sahabi (Companion) of the prophet after the prophet Mohammed entered Mecca. According to some sources, especially which are written in Arabic language, Bilal came to Harar, lived in Harar teaching Islamic religion for seven years, and turned back to Mecca.⁶¹ In Harar there are about 82 mosques, which are found in juggle, the Islamic education system and the consequent book bound in Harari, the large concentration of Scholars (*Awlyach*) are some of the existing evidences that support this

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸J Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London, 1952), p.250.

⁵⁹Informants: - Eskindir and Hassan Abdo.

⁶⁰Informants: - Jabir Muhammad and Abdulla.

⁶¹Mainsonneve and Larose (Tokyo,2015), pp.50-51.

conclusion.⁶² The Mosques in the walled city of Harar were almost sited nearby each other, most probably within an average distance of 100 meters. This enabled every family to be present at each prayer session, and perhaps it is the largest concentration in the wall and per area ratio.⁶³

Nowadays, in Harar more than 438 shrines (Awaches) are identified. In Harar, it is important to understand the term Awach. Thus, Awach (shrines) is a place where graves of the Awelya (big Islamic scholars) are located in Harar city and its surroundings. A person would be awarded with these titles, when he in his lifetime considered being devoted and did miracles or good deeds for the sake of society's advantages.⁶⁴ It was based on this fact that, the city is endowed (capable) with a title "Madinat al-Awliya" which means the city of saints. It is important to mention some of those shrines.⁶⁵ To list not all of them, but some of the major ones, let us see in the following. Aw, Abadir- is the great political and religious father of Harari.

The real name of this person is Umar al Rida, when Abadir came to Harar in the 11th century, different tribes living around today's Harar were in the state of just ready to fight each other. However, Abadir using his great leadership quality, was able to create peace among these tribes, thus, he attempted to establish strong and united government centered in Harar.⁶⁶ Aw, Safi Yahya is another Awliya who contributed a great deal to the city's Islamic role. He lived during the reign of Abadir and succeeded in establishing the first Quranic School in institutionalized way with the consent of Abadir. The curricula he created, the methodology he followed and the type of institution he established are still alive in some *Quranicegeys*.⁶⁷

In Harar therefore, many shrines are found like Aw Hakim Aw Abdulkadir jelling and many other could be raised. The location of these shrines and "Toia" of Misguides (neighborhood) had great role in bringing social relations, in turn which are helpful for economic activities and relation affairs. Of all the shrines of Harar, the most widely praised one is AW Abdul-Qadir al-Jailani that is commemorated with the reading of the Mowlud.⁶⁸ The religious sects, particularly Sufi brotherhoods and *tariqa* (religious orders, Arabic) are the basis for the social and job separation between the city quarters. Moreover, when the city developed from the 9th century into city seat of Islamic scholarship and authority its missionaries actively campaigned for the conversion of the surrounding Oromo population and even waged jihad against the expanding

⁶²Informants: - Zubeyida and Abdulla Suleiman.

⁶³Informants:-Aisha and Iftu Jamal.

⁶⁴Mainsonneve and Laronse (Tokyo,2015), pp.50-51.

⁶⁵Sidney R Waldron, *Harar: The Muslim city In Ethiopia* (Chicago, 1978), p.253.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷*Ibid*, p.253.

⁶⁸Informants: - Tofik Muhammad and Ziyad.

Christian Empire. The most famous of these is the brutal campaign of mass forced conversion led by Imam Ahmed al Ghazi, or Ahmed Gragn, which was so forceful and effective that, threatened the very survival of the Christian state in northeast Africa for about 15 years.⁶⁹ Despite, the religious difference, which brought in to conflict and struggle between the Muslim Harari and the conquering forces of Christian empire, the mosques and the church have still living nearby each other.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, during forceful occupation of the Christians, many mosques have been damaged and many others were being replaced by churches in which the *Medhane Alem* church could be best example.⁷¹ As far as the Harar Mosques are concerned, it is believed that the first mosques in the city were built between the 10th century and 12th century, a period when the city of Harar was occupied by a group of villages. Although, it is difficult to get sources which enables us to identify which mosques that date from the above indicated time. However, the 12th century historical chronicle, Faith al-Madinate al-Harari relates that Abadir who had come from the Arabian Peninsula, gathered his followers in the Awalyawch and mosque in order to proclaim the founding of the city.⁷²

As many evidences indicate that, many mosques in Harar were building between the 12th century and 13th centuries. Therefore, the mosques that the people of Harari recognize as having been built in the period between the 10th century and 13th centuries were, Din Algebra, Imam Adrian, Aw Mansur, Aw machad and kefir Alang. However, as information gathered from the informants indicates that majority of the mosques of Harari were built in 16th century.⁷³ The Mosques of Harari as they were within the wall or Jugole and by the names, they can tell the history of the city and its founding fathers.

Thus, the mosques identify the city in the eyes of its inhabitants as the fourth holy city of Islam. When the Mosques are built, it divided in different sections for different purposes like, prayer hall, the zawiya and the courtyard. The prayer hall is circled or rectangular room that varies in surface area between 25 and 35 meter square.⁷⁴ Moreover, Harar Islam is based mainly, on the confraternal Muslim settlements. In recent time, the Qadiriyya confraternity has an absolute predominance in the Harar high land and its surroundings. The followers of Qadiriya have their own zawaya, which is already I have tried to mention above, *Zawaya*

⁶⁹Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia* (London, 1982), p.49.

⁷⁰Informants: - Mohammed and Fatiya Hussein.

⁷¹Richard Pankhurst, *The History of Currency and Banking in Ethiopia and Horn of Africa, from the Middle Ages to 1935*, *Ethiopian Observer*, Vol. 8.No.4.1965, p.49.

⁷²Informants: - Nefisa and Ibrahim.

⁷³Informants: - Mussa and Baderia Ahemmed.

⁷⁴Imran Abdullah, *The History of the Harar city* (2004), p.41.

is a prayer hall for followers of this religion. Even the *Qadiriyya* settlements in the west of Ethiopia are filiations of those of Harar.⁷⁵

1.4.1. The extension of the Harari administrative system

The long lasting relations of the Harari and Oromo people economically and culturally gradually led to many changes in terms of social and administrative structure even outside the town. Therefore, by the mid-nineteenth century, the Oromo had become closely tied to the market economy of Harar. Almost the majority of Oromo people allied with the Harari people. Thus, Oromo people come to the city with different supplies like milk, butter, coffee, tobacco. Such economic interdependence brought the two groups of people together until very recent time.⁷⁶

1.4.2. The Emirs

It is supposed to be seventy-six Emirs in number who had ruled over the Emirate of Harar whose administration is different from each other. Similarly, their will and attitude towards other states was differed from one another, particularly regarding the highland Ethiopian rulers. Some of the ruling Emirs enriched themselves economically by placing an important levy on all trade goods that entering the city. Even though, the trading of ivory, ostrich feathers, and other items were monopolized by some Emirs and their families. The basic value related to property right was respected i.e. economic freedom: the rights to acquire, use, transfer and arrange of private property. This was mainly manifested by the title deed (action) issued by the Harari government after registering the immovable property once the claimant or applicant proved the ownership right he/she had over the property.⁷⁷ Property was either transferred for consideration or unreasonably. Both were the rights of the Hararis.

They were also entitled to lease their house or land. From the Account-Book of Emir Abd Al-Shakur analyzed by scholars like Ahmed Zekaria we also understand immovable properties, land and houses were transferred either through inheritance, sales, gifts or Mahr (financial settlement given by the groom to the bride) through a contract made in the presence of witnesses, sealed and registered by the Qadi. Sijil (register) and Diwan (chancery) were the two institutions where the registration of the immovable property was made and the copy of the title deed was kept. The registration, witnesses, and the Qadi would enable

⁷⁵Enrico Ceruli, *Documenti Arabi perla Storia dell Etiopie* (Rome, 1931 p.394. Tran Afework.

⁷⁶Richard Caulk, *Harar Town and its neighbors in the 19th century*, *Journal of African history (Britain,1977)*,p.373.

⁷⁷Ahmed Zekaria.1997, p.25.

Hararis to implement one very important ethics or value of business, i.e. *pacta sunt servanda*, sanctity of contract.⁷⁸

For it prevents injustice and dissension by keeping in memory for all times, i.e. the register and the chancery the judicial decisions are made effective the Holy Law. What was settled of that which nobody should be free from being strictly bound to it might be the offering or anything else, so that a demand should not be repeated and dissent (disagree) should not exist.⁷⁹ Furthermore, one of the manuscripts analyzed by different historians describes the task of the Qadi as keeping records which deals with inheritance, dispute and transactions so that there should be no trouble and conflict later on.⁸⁰ The value which respects the rights of citizens have over their property is, therefore, basic to peace and economic development. However, a greater deal of trade in Harar effected through barter, although the town had its own coined money.

While the coinage before eighteenth century is obscure, (difficult to understand), Harar did issue an almost continuous coinage from 1782 until 1887, the time when the city taken by the forces of MenelikII. The best example of these coins was *mahallak*, which had explained by Richard Burton. This coin is a diminutive (very small) brass piece and hand worked and almost has artless a medium as a modern Italian coin.⁸¹

The Emir was the head of the Harar city-state. As ahead of the state, the Amir was also responsible for different tasks like appointing of sub-administrative officials to govern his private estates on *gaffa* land and to supervise the farmers who cultivate.⁸² The revenue taxes collected from tenant farmers was retained as a personal wealth. It was from this land (royal estates) that granted faithful subjects, petty official, military officials religious dignitaries when they appointed to office.⁸³ The land holding system primarily controlled by the Emirs who had the right to award part of the land to his lovely and faithful appointees and other relatives. This caused a serious problem on the agricultural activities of the region that badly affected the life of the society.⁸⁴

The structure of the Emirs administrative includes the different organs and officials under it. Some government officials of the Emirs administrative positions were: The *dogin* (Harari term low-level land official) administer the *Gaffa* (Harari term means not cultivated land) that located in the outer districts most

⁷⁸Wagner Eike. *The Arabic Documents on the History of Harar*, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Ababa, 1974), p.18.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸²Stitz Volker, *Arabic Town Records and the Economic and Population History of Harar during the 19th Century*. A Paper Prepared for the Conference on Harari Studies Organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, 1975, p.3.

⁸¹Gill Denis, *The coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somalia* (New York, 1991), p.4.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴Ahmed Yusuf, *An inquiry into some Aspects of the ceremony of Harar Ethnological society* (Addis Ababa, 1960), p.25.

of the time known as the 'eye of king as he was directly responsible to the Emir in carrying out his duties. It must be from the Harari people who can be appointed to this position of office.⁸⁵

The *damins* (the clan leaders) are administrators of many villages. When these officials appointed to the office, the Emir awarded them a fief. In turn, this also caused acute problem on the agricultural and related activities of the region. The other official was *garad* (Chief of a village or sub village) though with less authority, the responsibilities of these officials were similar to that of the *damins*.⁸⁶

These officials had also a fief right from the Emirs. The other important chief was the *malak* who was chief of a quarter. Thus, each Quarter had its own *malak* who has commonly known by the name of the Quarter that he governed.⁸⁷ Consequently, the superiority of all the above officials beginning from the Emir to the ordinary officials, with whom the peasantry had to give free, services the socio-economic life of the people of the study area and the surrounding peoples. In addition to paying of a varied taxes and tribute were also other burdens of the peasants.⁸⁸

1.5. The five gates and their economic importance

The name '*Jugole*' refers to the Defense wall as well as to the fortified town area. The historic town of Harar Jugole is located in the Eastern part of Ethiopia at the extreme North of the basin of the river *Wabi Shebele*. The buffer (safeguard) zone forms a protection zone extending east west and south north with at different distances. Harar Jugole is the fourth of the sacred towns of Islam, and it is the center of an Islamic region as already explained above. Harar Jugole has also been a powerful trading center. The historic town consists of a traditionally functioning community.⁸⁹

According to some historical accounts, the city walls, Jugole in Harari language, are supposed to have been started in the 13th century. Nevertheless, other sources date the walls to the time of Emir Nur ibn al-Majid (1551-68), who wanted to protect the city against the Christian threat (warning). The walls were built according to the topography, enclosing also to water sources. The five historic gates corresponded to the main roads to the town. Originally, the city was also divided into five neighborhoods corresponding to the gates, but this division was not lasted long or functional anymore.⁹⁰ The wall was built from rough stone of granite and sand stone and clay used as cement. They have been rebuilt by Egyptians and have being four

⁸⁵Mired Wolde Aragay, *Population Movement as a possible factor in Christian Muslim conflict of Medieval Ethiopia* (Yaoundé, 1974), p.68.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷Richard Burton, *First Foot Steps in East Africa* (London,1966), p.232.

⁹⁰Phillip Paulistchik, *Harar* (Leipzig, 1888), p.75.

⁸⁹Abdullah Muhammad Ahemed, *A Survey of the Harar Jugle and its Gates* (Addis Ababa, 1990), p.321.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

to five meters height meters with numerous decorations.⁹¹ From the five gates the Duke Bari (ye Harar Bari) or Shoa Bari by the Italians. Although the primary objective of building the Jugole (walls) was defensive purpose, it served for many activities. The wall, which cover a total area of 48 hectares and has a total circumference of 6666 cubits and the height of four meters and 50-75 centimeter thickness, besides defensive purpose, it had contributed a great economic advantage for the Harari people, who had a close commercial tie with different people like Oromo and Somali at different gates of theJuggle.⁹² Consequently, these gates are coming known market places for their different commodities as it indicated in the above parts, like chat, fruits, vegetables and basketry for which Harari women are well known. The five gates which were built for the sake of protection purpose, are named in line with the Islamic religion, i.e., the five gates refer that there are five times praying per day.⁹³ The five Quarters that are located nearby each other have their own administrative officials known as *Garads*. One of the Quarters, which were recently added to these five Gates, called known as Harar Beri or Duke Bari. Similarly, Harari as Kuful Beri calls it. It had been locked down except in time of danger or disasters like invasions, fire and water related problems during the summer season and etc.⁹⁴ But at the end of 1890s this manner or the locking of the Gates was completely forbidden and it began to serve as entrance and out let by leul Ras Mokonnen. The Harar gate increased in its width in 1935 and even during the period of Italian invasion (1936-1941), the main asphalt road crossing the gates were designed. In same way they took its present-day architectural in 1968. Generally, when the Gates of the Harar Jugole are concerned, in terms of economic importance since as it is the center of the trade communication, the Harari people have benefited a lot from these different Gates of Harar Jugole.⁹⁵

Therefore, it was because of this reason that the gates had been kept by the elected personals, as the taxes that collected from traders was served as a means of the government's income. Similarly, the Emir's revenue was derived principally (mainly) from tribute paid by provincial and town officials and custom dues paid by traders on all goods entering the gates of the city. The tribute paid by administrative officials were raised in the form of tithes (mu-asser) in grain, ivory, cattle, coffee, and other products, which were changeable from time to time

⁹¹Informants: - Eskinder Kasim and Gemechu.

⁹²Abdullah Mohammed, Ahmed, *A Survey of the Harar Jugole and its Gates* (Addis Ababa, 1990), pp.321-2.

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴Asmerome Legessie, *An Indigenous African Political System* (Asmara,1973), p.8.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*pp.8-9.

1.5.1. The names of the five gates

The name '*Jugole*' refers to the defense wall as well as to the fortified town area. To keep the peace and security of the city, except the dwellers of the city entering the town with war weapons had been impossible. If a gust came to the city with war armaments, he/she had to surrender the weapons at the gates of the wall the case would be presented to the Emirs. Then after, the weapons ought to be given to the gusts if it realized that the gusts evacuated without any problem.⁹⁶

The calculated five-gates are located in the north, east, southeast, south and westward directions. Their positions have chosen considering defense strategy, trade direction and probably to have easy access to the ponds of the surrounding rivers, which are nearer to the gates than any other parts of the wall.⁹⁷ At all times the gates must be carefully guarded, that means at dusk they were closed and the keys were handed to the Emir and they remained closed until the *Quful Goita*, a person who has a responsibility of closing and opening the gates. Between these two time intervals, one could neither leave nor enter the city.⁹⁸

Moreover, at each gate there is a small house, which were used by Bari Goita or customs officials who were directly linked to the office of Zaka Mari, an official in charge of financial affairs. The houses had also served as store where the Bari *Goitas* (custom officials) used to keep weapons temporarily surrendered by Oromo, who entering the gates. Therefore, since the keeping of the gates was so strict that extensive penetration into the city particularly for non-Muslim intruders was completely forbidden or impossible. From 1875 onward the wall and the gates, which are very important for the economic purpose of the Harare people, were incessantly (continually) repaired and restructured by the Egyptians (1875-1884), the Italians (1936-1941) and the local people.⁹⁹ Therefore, the quarters were initiated for mobilizing the local people, eventually they began to serve as unites of administration and tax collection. The five names and their purpose for the people of Harari are quite important that, the Harari have related different numbers in the gates with the number of verses in the holy Quran and the five daily prayers. These gates are strictly guarded for the sake of peace, particularly, during nighttime. The names of these gates in different languages, i.e. in Harari, Amharic, and Arabic and in Afaan Oromo are presented in table below.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶Richard Pankhurst, *Under Ethiopian skies* (Nd.1983), p.88.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁸Abdullah Mohammed, 1990, p.321.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰Informants: - Feysal and Badiri.

Table1: The names of Jugole gates

Harari Name	Amharic Name	Arabic name	Oromo Name	Direction of Location
Suqutat bari	Sanga ber	Babu-Salam	Karra Soofii	Southeast
Argob bari	Herer bur	Babu-Rahmah	Karra Erer	East
Assumiy bari	Fallana ber	Babul-Fat-h	Karra Fallana	North
Asmaaddin bar	Shewa ber	Babu-Nasr	Karra Hamaressa	West
Badri bari	Buda ber	Babul-Hakim	Kara Budawa	South

Source: - Mainsonneve and Larose, p.29.

Although, the names of the gates are different in different languages they have a great contribution in the economic affairs of the Harari people. *Assum Bari* -The original name of this gate was *Assum Bari* that means the place where drinking water was founded. The name has also been interpreted as “Salt Gate”. Such naming of the Market places was common in the Harari based on the commodities to be sold and bought by different merchants, who come to the place. *Argob bari*-Originally Argob Bari, named after the Argoba people who frequently entered and left via this gate, which faces their respective localities to the south of the city.¹⁰¹

Suqutat bari- The Harari name for this first gate is derived from the name of farmland starting just in front of the gate. It is located in the southeastern part of the wall. The corresponding Amharic name is *Sanga beri* means “Gate of Ox”, the Arabic name Babu-Salam means Gate of peace and the Oromo is Kara Sofi means the way to Sofi.¹⁰² This gate was perhaps named after a locality called *Badri* in Saudi Arabia. This Gate was the one, which successfully served as the defensive gate. *Asmadin Bari*. Both traditional and written sources tend to associate the original name of this gate with a certain prominent that lived in the second half of the 16th century, who is supposed to be the one who has contribute a great for the construction of this gate.¹⁰³

The other gate was *Badro Bari*:-The original name of this South gate is said to have been *Badro Bari*, this is currently known as Badro Bari. Generally, all the above mentioned Gates, were though initially built for

¹⁰¹Elisabeth Dorothea, *Basketry work of Harar*, 1992, p.9.

¹⁰²Ahmed Yusuf, *An Inquiry into some Aspects of the ceremony of Harar Ethnological society* (Addis Ababa, 1960), p.13.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

the sake of protective purpose, eventually began to serve greatly for economic development of the people of the study area as well as its surroundings i.e., at each gates tax have to paid by merchants who enter and leave the city which increased the income of that people. Besides, these gates were gradually begun to serve as units of administration and tax collection. Regarding the income means of the Harari Emirs, the tax collected from the peasants of the surrounding Oromo, who were in the north east of the city at some 30 miles from the town, used to serve them (the Emirs).¹⁰⁴

Generally, different Gates of Harar Jogule, although they were named by different languages differently, their contribution in the economic development of the Harari people was not less than its primary objectives meaning that the defensive purpose. Hence, when we summarize the importance and all about. It was built during the 1970s at the place where forty years earlier the fortification had been demolished to widen the primary access to the town. *Fallana Gate* was the entranceway for caravans coming from the port of Zeila. It is here that visitors can watch the nighttime demonstration of hyenas being fed.

Erer Gate is one of these Gates that, through which Richard Burton entered with a caravan in 1855 (the time when entering the city was very difficult even for Muslims themselves leave alone the followers of other religion).¹⁰⁵ The *Chat* market, which was very important for the economic income of the Harari people, is held at the foot of this gate. *Sang Beri*, with the cattle market Buda Gate, so named because, blacksmiths and potters lived nearby in former times. *Shewa Gate*, named from the province; on the gate is an Amharic inscription (writing) which reads "Victory Gate."

From these letters and different kinds of receipts it is possible to simply understand that different kinds of commodities had been entering the city or sent out of the region to different neighboring areas as well as to different countries at the abroad. At each of the gate as already been indicated above, taxes must be paid to the government, which administering the people of the region. In addition, the letters also show that the currencies paid at different gates of the wall were varied in their kinds from time to time. This reflects that it could be possible to find a Variety of coins that had been used in Harari region.

In other case the income generated from these different gates of the wall greatly helped the economic development of the Harari people especially in trade activities that most of the time considered as the

¹⁰⁶Richard Burton, 1969, p.120.

dominant type of economic activity in the region beginning from their early establishment. Hence, the history of Harari and their Jugole could not be separated to each other.

1.6. Military Trains in the Emirate of Harar and its economic consequences

Throughout the period of its existence as independent principality the city state of Harar seems to have no standing skilled and professional army. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century the Amir's total army was explained to have, only been about 200. Majority of these soldiers were armed with back ward weapons except few men the rest were armed with like spears, swords and daggers.¹⁰⁶

The total armed forces are expected to maintain law and order over a wide territory. Thus, the main objective of the Amir's army was to safeguard the life of the rulers, to maintain law and order in the local people, to ensure the run of the trade as well as keeping the security of the trade routes.¹⁰⁷ Though ,the Harar city state was seriously challenged several times by the forces both from the abroad and domestic(inside) even by its surrounding people like the Oromo particularly after the declining of the kingdom it had never the less managed to maintain its integrity for centuries.¹⁰⁸ The other important factor or reason, which supported the Harari's maintenance in terms of economy and social independence and sustainability, was their traditional culture of Agri-agri and Berti-berti.

These two cultures were designed to indoctrinate the youth in the military warfare and to the systematic organization of male citizens because of residential Quarter membership and on the farm neighborhoods.¹⁰⁹ All of these factors regardless of some weakness helped Harari people to preserve their city-state (Harar) as an independent entity.¹¹⁰ Clearly, agri-agri was a general military education which followed by all males of Quran school students to get basis of military skill. On the other hand, *Berti-bertis* were arranged to provide school age group with additional trainings would promote their military skills and economic activities.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶Richard Burton, 1966, p.192.

¹⁰⁷Informants: - Rashad and Abdulqader.

¹⁰⁸Trimingham,p.97.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰Informants: - Anisa Yusuf and Ahmed.

¹¹¹Abdullah Mohamed, *Some Historical Remarks about the Gates of Harar presented at the First National Conference of IES (A.A, 1989)*, p.6.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. THE GENEALOGY OF THE LATER WALASMA SULTANS OF ADAL AND HARAR

As early as the fourteenth century, some members of the ruling family of the Walashma dynasty of Ifat shifted their political centre from the eastern Shewa region to the highlands of Harar. Under the control of the rulers from Ifat, the town of Harar and its surrounding areas thus, became the nucleus of the sultanate of Adal, which gradually extended its hegemony into large parts of the hinterland of Zeila, and challenged the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia in the north.¹¹²

The establishment of Harar was supposed to be started in the 7th Century, the time when its site was chosen according to many scholars. And it described as a mere mass of Bedouin villages before the reign of Imam Muhammad. Harar as an urban centre in the 13th century was founded by Arab invaders or those Arab groups who Hararis refers to as sons of Yemen migrated from Hadhramaut who in the 7th century conquered and colonized the low territory between the Red Sea and the high lands. Although, there was differences among scholars about the origin of the Harari people most commonly accepted evidences reveal that before the coming of the Arabs to the Harari region, there had been indigenous people on the area.

Those Arabs were identified as simply warriors. Furthermore, since conquest presupposes the subjugation of the inhabitants by the conquerors of the area. Therefore, the original inhabitants were people who were conquered by the Arabs; the migration explanation may or may not suppose the existence of original inhabitants nor relationship based on subjugation.¹¹³ Harar was founded by Aw Abadir, the famous father of Hararis who settled in Harar, Aware, Gasa, Wergar, Gature, Addis and Abagn clans establishing advanced administration in 940-950 A.D, in the present site of Harar. Similarly, oral traditions tell us about who selected the present location of Harar.¹¹³

A group of religious and civic leaders who met one day to determine a suitable site to establish a new city chose four sites. After long argument, a choice was made and Harar was built on the site of the present old walled city.¹¹⁴ The choice was made because of the suitable elevation, the fine landscape and the many

¹¹²Hussein Ahmed, *Harair-Wallo Relations Revisited: Historical, Religious and Cultural Dimensions, African Monographs*, pp.111-17.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴Amare Getachew and A.D. Kerkorian, *Coffee's Rival from Harar, Ethiopia. Botany and Use*, Economy Botany, vol. 27, No. 4 1973, pp. 353- 355.

rivers and streams in the area. Whoever was the founder, Harar acquired its present shape in the days of Amir Nur Ibn AL-Mujahid (1551-1568).¹¹⁴

Scholars like Nicholl broaden the rule of Harar to include a large and fertile province, Hararghe, and its peaceful agricultural inhabitants. Hence, the region had been ruled by several Emirs. However, there was difference among scholars on the number of the Emirs who ruled the Harari people, many sources indicate that there were Seventy six Emirs who had ruled the Hraris. But some others still claim that as if they were seventy two in number.¹¹⁵

Emir Mahfouz was a religious-military leader who fought the Abyssinians for almost thirty years taking the advantage of the forty days rigorous fasting days when the Abyssinians were less capable of carrying arms. After his defeat and death he was succeeded by his son in law Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim known as Ahmed Gagn by the Abyssinians had occupied and ruled Ethiopia for fifteen years until he was defeated by the Portuguese army.¹¹⁶ Imam Ahmed was succeeded by his nephew, Amir Nur who after defeating *Galawadios*, returned to Harar with the beheaded head of *Galawadios* as decoration.

As a result, both Abyssinians and Harar were weakened. Thus, taking the advantage of the exhaustion (tiredness) of the two states, i.e., the settler Oromo overran both, damaging them irreparably for long time. As a result the Adal kingdom shifted its capital to Awsa leaving Harar to its own fate. Surprisingly while Harar survived extremely Awsa disappeared. Harar was possibly saved by the wall around the city built by Emir Nur.¹¹⁷

The effects of the occupation of those territories by the Oromo people were multi-dimensional. The Oromo over-ran many cities such as Semen, Shoa, Negeb, Dekker, and Hararge, which were probably satellites of Harar either eliminating the people or adopting them. Moreover, the internal revolt also was another factor to weaken Harar and then it was isolated from its vassals and continued to be the seat for an Emirate.

Consequently, which was noted as a centre of trade and Islamic learning in the Horn of Africa lost its economic superiority over the people of the surrounding areas.¹¹⁸ The Oromo have their own background that enabled them to defeat and invaded Villages and hold large tracks of land from Harari people. *The*

¹¹⁵Abdu-Khalil Edris, *Harar Jugole, Historical Quality to Treasure*, Dire Printing Sh. Co Khalil, 2007, pp.30-34.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷W C Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, Vol. I, (Longman,1844), p.49.

¹¹⁸Ahmed Zakaria, *Harari Coins, Preliminary Survey*, Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. XXIV, 1991, p.76.

Alla, Jarso, Nole, Obora, Anniya and *Ittu* are the main Oromo clans living around Harar and Harari province.¹¹⁹

In addition Oromo had a common political institution called the *Raba-Dori* which situated at *Gara Mullata*. Each Gosaa or clan have consisted the confederation, which had its own government headed by a *Bokku*. This occupation and relationship of the two groups of people does have its own economic impact either positively or negatively.¹²⁰

Moreover, the Oromo were organized in a system of classes (*Luba*) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economic, political and ritual responsibilities, where there was especial age group assigned to defend and wage war against enemies and even sometimes one clan against another that made it hard to defeat the Oromo.

Because of this the only solution for Harari and their Emirs had to make an agreement of coexistence for their economic sustainability. Thus, they have applied different mechanisms to have peace with the surrounding Oromo.¹²¹ The Oromo, who settled and turned into farmers, protected Harar from being invaded by semi nomadic pastoralists. Yet the Harari people have benefited much from the cooperation of Oromo farmers, traders and cattle breeders than what they had gained from war. In the same way, the Emirs achieved not only economic terms but also politically they gained numerous advantages. Therefore, even on the side of the invading Oromo, who have gained good advantages from the peace relations, like they were incorporated into the administration of the region. Moreover, the peace relations led to the Islamization of many Oromo people.¹²²

In addition, Harari included the Oromo people in their administrative hierarchy under different titles. For instance the titles which justify such relation were *Malaq*, *garad*, and *damin* which are still in use among the surrounding Oromo. The *Malaq* was a chief of the smallest unit i.e. chief of a ‘clan’ in administration. The *damin* (chief of a village) was authorized over several *Garads* that made economic interdependence between Oromo and Harari.¹²³ In the late 14th century, the Walashma rulers and Ifat freed themselves from

¹¹⁹Informants: - Badir and Muktar.

¹²⁰Oscar Neumann, *From the Somali Coast through Southern Ethiopia to Sudan* The Geographical Journal, vol. XX, No. 4, 1902), p.374.

¹²¹Sidney R Waldron, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar*, PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1984, p.1.

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³Muhammad Hassan, *Menelik is Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its effect on the Political Organization of the Surrounding Oromo up to 1900*, p.230.

Ethiopian tutelage and became the organizer of the holy war against Christian, but in most cases, the holy wars were unsuccessful.

The *Walashma* dynasty when it supported by the Yemenite rulers in 1415, it established itself in Adal by making Dakar its capital, which was near the plateau of Harar and relatively not so much exposed to the attack of Christians. From the holy wars the *Walashma* ruler have learned lesson, i.e. they passed a more peaceful policy towards Christians. This was because they realized that involvement in transit trade between Ethiopia and Arabia was more advantageous than the frequent holy wars with the Christian highlands.¹²⁴ The policy, however did not win the approval of the population, whose interest was to be ruled by the religious rulers or Imams. Therefore, the religious party grew stronger at the turn of the 18th century. For instance, Mahfouz b. Mohamed, governor of Zeila was the Imam who began to raid the Christian territory without the consent of the *Walashma* ruler, Mohamed b Haraddin, who tried to live in peace with Christians. The most important religious leaders who undermined the legitimate secular rulers of *Walashma* dynasty were Abun b, Adash, Nur, b, Mujahid and Ahemed Gagn.

From the above mentioned leaders of Harari, Ahmmmed Gagn, possibly the only Harari who has a place in the World history. Therefore, the relationship of Harari people with different people of their surroundings and even with those of who were at far distance changed from time to time over a long period.¹²⁵ Sixteenth century was the time when Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (Ahmed Gagn) launched a war of conquest that extended the kingdom's territory. This war threatened the existence of the neighbouring Christian Ethiopian Empire.

The successor of Ahmad Gagn, Emir Nur ibn Mujahid as has been indicated above built a protective wall around the city. This wall sometimes called by the name Jugole in Ethiopia and by the foreign countries. It was after the death of Emir Nur, the city (Harar) began to steady decline in wealth and power because of the invasion of different peoples like Oromo and the hostile Afar. Nevertheless, Harar regained independence under Ali ibn Da'ud, the founder of dynasty that ruled the city from 1647 until 1875, when Egyptians conquered the city.¹²⁶ However, this Harari independence was lasted only for two years until six, January 1887 when the battle of *Challanqo* fought and Harari was incorporated into the Christian empire of

¹²⁴Bruakampera, 1997, p.174.

¹²⁵Burton, p.29.

¹²⁶Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian borderlands* (Lawrenceville, 1997), pp.375-77.

MenelikII. The conquest had adversely affected the economic system, particularly the commercial activities of the region.¹²⁷

Previously, it was tried to be made clear in the above explanations. Accordingly, there were however, a number of economic activities in Harar, commerce and agriculture is the most dominant economic activities of the Harari people. Generally, when we see the whole activities, it is a mixture of different economic activities which carried out and still going on although trade take the first place from its early establishment to the very recent time in the town.¹²⁸

2.2. Harari administration and other peoples

Gradually, as their power was becoming strong the people of Harari had established its relation with other peoples for common purpose. As a result of this relation Harari people had established a close relation with people of the domestic and the foreign countries. Such relations highly reflected with the surrounding Oromo .Thus, Harari have applied different mechanisms to have a good relation and peace with the Oromo. As many sources indicate that the relations of the Hararis were not only restricted to the Oromo people, but also it extends to a more far distance to the foreign countries.¹²⁹

2.2.1. The Harari-Oromo economic relationships

Harari-Oromo relations as observed in the mid-twentieth century seemed to preserve feudal type of power division and ethnic stratification, in which the Harari held the upper hand. However, the real power in the administrative system was essentially in Oromo hands until the conquest of the region by the Turco-Egyptians in 1875. The setting for the development of Harari-Oromo relations derives directly from the two major events in sixteenth-century Ethiopian history. These were the jihads of Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (1529-1543) and the continuous demographic sudden increase of the Oromo from their original homelands in southeastern Ethiopia. These two major factors had a great economic, social and political disruption on the people of Harari and its administrative structure in the meantime.¹³⁰ The rapid expansion of the Oromo northward into the former territory of Ifat and eastward to the region of Harar, Certainly reflects the space of protective power in the regions of the Rift, which for centuries had been the

¹²⁷*Ibid.*

¹²⁸Ulrich Schalizel, 1980, p.34.

¹²⁹Muhammad Hassan,1900, p.230.

¹³⁰Urilch Braukamper *Notes on the Islamization and Muslim Shrines of Harar plateau*, p.174.

common territory of both Muslim and Christian principalities.¹³¹ Harar, then the capital of the empire of Adal was perhaps the sole survivor of the principalities and trading centers of this region.

When the demographic movement was at its peak in the sixteenth century, there were several kingdoms in central and southern Ethiopia that fell under the Oromo domination. To mention some of such kingdoms Bale, Fat agar, Hadia and Dawaro are the major ones.¹³² More than all these kingdoms, the relation of the Harari people with the surrounding Oromo reached at complex and at its peak for a long period. This resulted in the encapsulation of the city's society and in the beginnings of a transformation of the Oromo of the region, especially, the Afran Qallo, from independent pastoralists to agricultural peasants. It was managed by personal, political and economic arrangements between the elite of both groups in contact, i.e., Oromo and Harari.¹³³

As already indicated above, the Harari's relationship with different ethnic groups of Ethiopia and with other people of foreign countries changed from time to time. Similarly, the relation with Oromo people also included both peace and antagonist. When the pressure was at its highest stage in the 16th century several kingdoms were fell under the Oromo domination.¹³⁴ Of all kingdoms, those came under the Oromo domination, Harar, the then capital of the empire of Ifat was perhaps because of personal abilities of its rulers, the favorable environment created between the Harari people and the Oromo people for a long period.¹³⁵ The first extensive contact between the Harari people and Oromo initiated in 1559, during the regime of Emir Nur, Imam Ahmed's successor. Before, his death, in 1567, Amir Nur reacted by building Harar's wall as a defensive mechanism or final barrier between the Oromo and the Harari people. Within the matter of ten years, Harar was reduced from the capital of Adal, the largest Muslim empire in Ethiopia, to the status of an isolated Emirate.

Finally, these varied relationships of Harari and Oromo had its impact on the economic development of the Harari people.¹³⁶ Thus, the first negotiated relationship between the Harari and Oromo is a market treaty, which arranged by Amir Nur's successor Othman al-Habashi, in which the Oromo have market privileges, like the right to purchase the imported cloth at a fixed price. Clearly, this treaty minimized the gap between

¹³¹Trimingham, 1965, pp.42, 95.

¹³²*Ibid.*

¹³³Asmarome Legesse, *An Indigenous African Political System* (Asmara, 200), p.8.

¹³⁴Informants: Jamal Harun and Muktar

¹³⁵Muhammad Hassan, 1900, p.8.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

the two groups, though many of its aspects were not clear, sometimes there was Confrontation between the signatories when the terms were violated.¹³⁷

By the opening of the 19th century, the relation between Harari and the settled Oromo had developed into mutual economic interdependence. The Oromo used the town as their main market for exchanging surpluses of coffee, hides, and cattle as well as some ivory, for goods imported or produced in Harar, such as cloth and salt.¹³⁸ Harari needed Oromo produce for export. This economic interdependence and political necessity brought a closer alliance between the city's administration and the settled Oromo people.

From the late 18th century, marriages between some Emirs and the daughters of the Oromo chiefs seem to have bound the two together. Such alliances reflected in economic as well as social aspects. Therefore, it is possible to identify from different sources that what the pastoralists (Oromo) have needed from the Harari's market was that cloth and salt and imported commodities.¹³⁹ After the heavy defeat of 1577, Harar never again seems to have provided a military threat to the Oromo who had entered the region, especially the Afran -Qalloo Oromo (Alla, Nole, Obora and Babile) and the non- aligned Anniya. As a result, the Harari lost the overall control of market, trade routes which they used to import and export different goods.¹⁴⁰

Hence, as already indicated above the relationship of Harari-Oromo, specifically with those of Afran-Qallo changed from time to time which was based on the mutual advantages of the two ethnic groups. This varied relationship of the two led to the marriage alliance between the Harari Emirs and the Oromo.¹⁴¹

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Oromo have become closely tied to the market economy of the Harari and hence the relationship of the two was highly increased. In such a relation, the Oromo frequently approached to the town's market with the supplies like milk and butter. Similarly, the Alia west of Harar supplied part of the coffee, tobacco and safflower, which the Harari merchants sent to the coast. Other Oromo provided the Harari merchants with grains and ivory in exchange they received cloth imported from India.¹⁴²

¹³⁷Richard Caulk Alan, *Harar Town and Its Neighbors in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of African History*, XVIII, 1977, p.371.

¹³⁸Informants: - Hussein and Aisha Ibro.

¹³⁹Muhammad Hassan, *The Relations between Harari and the Surrounding Oromo b/n 1800-1875*, BA Thesis (Haile Sillassie I University, 1973), p.1.

¹⁴⁰Informants:- Mohamed and Murad

¹⁴¹Ernest Cerulli, *Ethnographic Survey of Africa People of Southwestern Ethiopia, its Borderland* London, 1954, p.2.

¹⁴²Richard Caulk Alan, *Harar Town and Its Neighbors in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of African History*, XVIII, (1977), p.371.

Besides the Harari- Oromo relationship, the Emirs of Harar incorporated many Oromo officials in their administration for the purpose of supervising any activity of the Oromo within the city as well as outside the city.¹⁴³ Finally, all the above relations between the Harari and Oromo were resulted in the Oromo population settlement in the center of the city and the gradual conversion of Oromo to the Islam religion.¹⁴⁴ As already indicated above, one important thing that the strong sides of the Emirs of Harari was their accepting of the invading Oromo in the territory of the Emirates as well as their ability to Islamizing the Oromo.¹⁴⁵ The Emirate of Harar, which would, last for more than two centuries have had a long history of the emirate incorporated the invading Oromo people and converted them to Islam religion.

Thus, sometimes it was regarded as the political achievement of the Emirs of the region. Because of such relationship between the two groups, many of Oromo officials included into the administrative structure and Organizations of the Harari people. Besides, the Emirs were able to maintain their rule over the neighbor tribes like Somali, Afar and Argoba.¹⁴⁶ The people of Harari and their city Harar as a major commercial settlement with a large population was also a center of Handcraft production. It was remembered particularly for its *Shashes*, which were equal to the celebrated cloths of Shoa. As far as the Harari- Oromo relationship is concerned especially in its economic terms, it is clear that the process of their relationships, varied as indicated above, from time to time based on the mutual advantages of the two groups over centuries.

Through this long period of interaction, the power position of the two was changeable. Sometimes the Harari took the upper hand but at another time, the Oromo people controlled the real power in the system. Moreover, the condition is continued until the conquest of the region by the Turco-Egyptians in 1875.¹⁴⁷ This contact has either positive or negative affected the economy of the Harari people. For this, some sources or evidences reveal that the impact of the Oromo expansion on the economy of the Harari people was very serious one.¹⁴⁸ This totally resulted in the transformation of the Oromo of the region, from independent pastoralists to agricultural peasants. This was managed by personal, political, and economic arrangements between the elite of both groups.

¹⁴³Informants: - Ibrahim and Mohammed.

¹⁴⁴Muhamed Hassan, 1973, pp.4-5.

¹⁴⁵Ernest Cerulli, Translation, by Afawork. p.338

¹⁴⁶Informants: - Jamal and Batulla Kedir.

¹⁴⁷Waldron, 1974, p.293.

¹⁴⁸Informants: - Semu and Yonas Tamirat.

First contacts -When we see the beginning of the contact and the attack of the Oromo people it starts from not only the Harari people but also, it includes the Christian highland people. Accordingly, the first attack of the Oromo on the Ethiopian highlands took place in 1545 between the Dawe of Borana and the forces of Emperor *Galawdewos* in Bali.¹⁴⁹ Although *Galawdewos* inflicted considerable losses, he did not stop the drive of the Oromo forces. Indeed, defeating the Oromo as had been explained above, was almost impossible task as long as an Oromo population base provided warriors, for the Oromo attackers were highly organized not in terms of a conventional military hierarchy, but in terms of the very social organization, this defined their identity.¹⁵⁰

Generally when we summarize about the Hararis and their different types of relations with Oromo it looks like the bellow. Whenever Harar is discussed three points may not be disregarded. These are Harar as a centre of Islamic education, commerce and trade and as well as a symbol of peace. Harari utilized the first two as a means to achieve and sustain the third one. Historically villages or small cities like Harar were over-run by the Oromo which resulted in complete disappearance of those villages or little cities with their people who were either completely adopted by the Oromo.

The Harari, however, realizing negotiation with the Oromo would saved their city from destruction convinced that the Oromo preserving the city would serve their interest better than destroying it.¹⁵¹ Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, the relations between Harari and the settled Oromo had developed into mutual economic interdependence. This economic interdependence and political necessity brought a closer alliance between the city's administration and the settled Oromo. Such alliances reflected especially in economic and some other time also on political needs.¹⁵²

Also, in order to conduct trade activity to the port at Zeila, Hararis maintained alliances with not only Oromo but also with Somali-caravan protectors under the unifying force of Islam. Records from the Emirs' households, from the seventeenth century on wards demonstrated numerous alliances with Oromo and other non-Harari, mostly through kinship, including intermarriage.¹⁵³

Adoptive brotherhood and Islam brotherhood were also other mechanisms. Thus, the basic patterns of interdependence were important to the city's development. Apart from having peaceful relations with the

¹⁴⁹Informants: - Abulkerim and Mumme.

¹⁵⁰Tramingham, 1965, p. 93.

¹⁵¹Alan Richard Caulk, 1977, p.369.

¹⁵²Muhammad Hassan, 1973, p.1.

¹⁵³Jan Bender Shelter and Dawitt Yehualashet, *Building a City of Peace through Inter-communal Association, Muslim-Christian Relations in Harar, Ethiopia, 1887-2009*, Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace, 2010, p.3.

surrounding peoples, like Oromo the Hararis controlled some trade items to safeguard their interests. One of those items was salt. It was controlled by the Hararis as a key to the survival of the city. Thus, consequently, controlling of the salt market put Hararis in an advantageous position. This was also other mechanism that Hararis used to preserve their city, trade and trade routes for a long period of time.¹⁵⁴ Once peace is secured merchants belonging to different local communities such as Oromos, Somalis, Harari, Argoba, Shawa, and foreigner could come together on Harar market to exchange their diverse trade goods. While the market served as a place of cultural contact.

The diversity of trade goods also shows clearly the extent of commercial relations among many ethnic and class groups.¹⁵⁵ As many Scholars indicated that, those relations were not always entirely in favour of the Hararis. For instance, Emir Muhammad Ali's adoption by the Oromo chiefs by the *Elma gosa* ceremony exposed Harar to the regular provision of hospitality to visiting Oromo.¹⁵⁶

The Emir had to pay regular tribute to the Oromo chiefs who were running the administrative work. The income of the Emir includes tithes from the Harari farmers, taxes collected on goods of merchants as they entered and left the city, income drawn from the farm land of the Emir and taxes levied on export of ivory and other items.¹⁵⁷ Since these incomes did not satisfy the desire of the Emir and the Oromo chiefs, he imposed a special hospitality tax referred to as *Mahalaq al Oromo* on the citizens. He further exacerbated the economic situation by humiliating the existing coin by replacing the silver with copper and used the silver saved to settle his debts.¹⁵⁸ It was a cost paid by the Hararis to protect the city from complete destruction in similar way to others who suffered from Oromo expansionism. The Hararis did not, however, allow that unfair and unbalanced relation to continue for earlier or later it would have slowly ruined their city too. Thus they invited the Turko-Egyptian forces to occupy Harar by opposing the Harari Amir and Oromo alliance.¹⁵⁹

Basically, therefore, negotiation and cooperation rather than confrontation were promoted by the Hararis, which were necessary, to protect their city and enhance peace which was essential to economic development. Thus, the value of respect, mutual benefit and cooperation governed the relations between the Hararis and the Oromo. The provisions of these values depended very much on the principles of justice,

¹⁵⁴Waldron,1984, p.3.

¹⁵⁵Harris W C Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, Vol. I (London, 1844), p. 383.

¹⁵⁶Mohammed Hassan,1973, pp.13-15.

¹⁵⁷Alan Richard Caulk,1977, pp.377-8.

¹⁵⁸Sidney R Waldron, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar*: PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1975, p.6.

¹⁵⁹Abbas Ahmed, *A Historical Study of the City State of Harar (1795-1875)*, Master Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History Department (1992) ,p.46.

honesty, sincerity, carefulness, trust, non-discrimination and fairness in the relations among traders as I have tried to indicate above.¹⁶⁰ Whenever, these values are bettered people will approach to other means to restore them. That seems the reason why Hararis either invited the Turku-Egyptian force to occupy Harar or at least gave no resistance to that force. Again when the Turku-Egyptian administration started to violate those values the Harari started silent resistance against that rule.¹⁶¹

2.3. Trade routes and trade activities

Harar and Hararis' history is much related with trade. But little is said about the fact that they have been using trade as a means of securing and maintaining peace. To preserve their capital (Harar) and extend trade beyond it they made trade concessions to the Oromo and allowed the Somalis to derive income by protecting caravans that went out from and came into the city of Harar. They allowed their currencies to circulate beyond the city-state while at the same time permitting foreign currencies to be used in the city state unlike what Egyptians had done during their administration.¹⁶² Thus, trade for Hararis was not a source of conflict; rather it was a means of achieving and maintaining peace. This article suggests that underlying the idea of peaceful trade relations with Oromo in particular and with other peoples in general were values and important for the people of Harari. Similarly, such relations among traders of different regions and areas have good advantage for trade advancement of Harari people. Above all this fact was very essential in the case of Oromo in the markets of Harari controlled areas.¹⁶³ Thus, Harar was able to continue as a market place and secured the trade route applying various methods to control the relations they had with the surrounding people especially with those of Oromo and Somalis.¹⁶⁴

Accordingly, the first negotiated trade relationship between the Oromo and Harari is a market treaty, arranged by Emir Nur's successor, Othman al-Habashi in which the Oromo given market privileges, like the right to purchase imported cloth at a fixed price.¹⁶⁵ Thus, this treaty reveals that the step towards stopping hostility between the two groups, however several aspects of this treaty were not clear. Then this treaty had encouraged Oromo people to attend the markets in Harari's territory.¹⁶⁶ Oromo of this period were very organized under their *gada* system. Hence, it is difficult to defeat them.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁶¹Pankhurst Richard, *The History of Currency and Banking in Ethiopia and Horn of Africa, from the Middle Ages to 1935*, 1965.P.72.

¹⁶²Abu baker, *Trade for Peace not for Conflict: Harari Experience*, 2013, P.1.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴Informants: - Miskiyya and Leila.

¹⁶⁵Ernesta Cerulli, *Ethiopia Occidental* (Rome,1931), p.54.

¹⁶⁶Caulk Richard Alan, *Harar Town and Its Neighbors in the Nineteenth Century*, Journal of African History, XVIII, (1977), pp.331.

Lastly, after their crushing defeat of 1577, by Oromo especially the Afran Qallo, i.e., *Alla, Nole, Obora and Babile*, Harari never again seems to have provided military challenges to Oromo over a long period of time and until very recent time.¹⁶⁷ Thus, because of Oromo' invasion, trade routes, which might have supplied firearms and band (group) of soldiers to the Harari, were seriously disrupted. Accordingly, the survival and the demand for commodities at markets by Harari people were depended on the Oromo.¹⁶⁸

By the opening of the 19th century, the relation between the Harari and the settled Oromo had developed into a mutual economic interdependence. Since the two groups come to an agreement, the city (Harar), became the main market for the exchanging surpluses of different good. Initially, the Harari people desired the relation between the both groups as they depended on the encouraging of their market, which mostly wanted the Oromo produces, particularly a sumptuary item.¹⁶⁹ The alliance of the two was not only restricted to the economic affairs, but also there had been intermarriage alliance with politically influential persons or groups. Hence, marriage arrangement took place between the Emirs of Harar and Oromo people.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, the marriage agreement could facilitate most specifically the economic relation in particular and politics in general over a long period. This alliance could facilitate the trade advancement of the region. It was by so doing that the Emirs of Harar as Emir Muhammad had benefited a lot from the Oromo hospitality in economic terms, which could in turn helped the market stability of the region.¹⁷¹

2.4. Trade Routes

As it has been repeatedly indicated above, Harar had been served as a centre of trade, religious scholarship and it gained prominence for a long period of time. Thus, the Emirs of Harari had used to collect taxes from traders who entered and left the city. In short, especially Emir Muhammad purchased his alliance of Oromo i.e. the Afran Qallo at the expense of the city's economy.¹⁷² Generally, the close alliance especially, which was marriage based one as already stated above parts, played a great role and lastly resulted in the conversion of many Oromo people to Islam religion. Hence, several Oromo elites were emerged.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷Informant: - Arabo and Kamal Hussein.

¹⁶⁸Muhammad Hassan, 1973, p.213.

¹⁶⁹Seitz Volker, *Arabic Town Records and the Economic and Population History of Harar during the 19th Century*. A Paper Prepared for the Conference on Harari Studies Organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, June 1975.p.9.

¹⁷⁰Ceruli 1942, p.5.Trans.by Afeworke.

¹⁷¹Asmaroom Legessie, *Gada Three Approaches to the Study of African Society* (New York, 1973), p.69.

¹⁷²Caulk Richard Alan, "Harar Town and Its Neighbors in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History*,1977, p.380.

¹⁷³Informants:-Abdulla and Saboure.

Harar had used to communicate with merchants of foreign countries like, Yemen, Arabia, India and China using its two trade routes from Zayla or Barbara. Whereas the first route was the one which cuts through the Somali Eesa territory and the second one was through the mountains of the Nole tribe that belongs to the Oromo People. The imported goods and export were not only used for local consumption in Harar. Some were taken either by Hararis or merchants from the high land to the interior part of Ethiopian high land especially to the provinces of Shawa and Arsi, using the trade routes those which converged at *Aleyu Amba* and finally connecting Showa with Harar. Hence, Harar was essentially a commercial town and a place of contact between the rich interior Ethiopia and the countries of the Gulf of Aden and beyond.

2.5. TRADERS OF THE HARARI

Harari were farmers as indicated in the above explanation, before abandoning their land and turning principally into traders. Among the reasons for such move was the loss of land to the Oromo in the 16th century or attraction by the lucrative trade. Then after, trade became the major occupation of Hararis and consequently that made Hararis born traders.¹⁷⁴ Other peoples including Alla clans of the Oromo in the west and south, the Babile to the east and the Nole in the north, the Issa in the lowlands northwards to the sea; the Gari and Bartari (who thrust the Oromo back from the Jigjiga plain and mingled with them), the Ogaden Somali who with another branch of the Oromo, the Anniya, who occupied the headwaters of the Wabi Shebelle to the south of the Alla, shared an interest in long-distance trade and were fellow Muslims.¹⁷⁵

Harar, however, brought together not only fellow Muslims from the east and south of Ethiopia. It also served as a gathering ground for both Christians and Muslims from the Christian highland and other parts of Ethiopia. Merchants from Shawa used to come to Harar and do business with their Harari partners. Forefather of Jalalle, Sheik Muhammad Saleh, and Asma Georges, who commonly known as Alaqa Atsme was some of the merchants who participated for a long period of time in the Shawa-Harar trade connection.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴Yusuf Ahmed, *An Inquiry into some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Emirs of Harar* (1825-1875) Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of the University College of Addis, p.394.

¹⁷⁵Alan Richard Caulk, 1977, pp.370-371.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*

2.6. Trade activities and Export-import goods

Other products were either sold or exchanged at the Harari local market. The coffee of Harar is well-known in the market of Europe to require description.¹⁷⁷ Chat was another commodity that either consumed locally or exported to Aden. Part of its product export to foreign countries, by using different mechanisms to prevent its possible exposure to the atmosphere. The other trade items which were brought to the Harari market by the Hararis and Oromo. Locally woven clothes, which surpassed the produce of England's manufactures in beauty and durability, ear-rings, bracelets, wax, butter, honey, mules, sorghum, wheat karanji, a kind of bread used by travellers-ghee and all sorts of tallow were also brought to Harar and then exported by the Harari merchants and others to different parts of the world.¹⁷⁸

The Oromo west of Harar were the suppliers of part of the coffee, tobacco and safflower which the town's merchants sent to the coast. Others hunted elephant in the valleys south of Harar and brought the ivory to the Amir, who monopolized this trade; in exchange, they received cloth imported from India or perhaps the finer variety which was woven in the town from locally grown cotton. Besides ivory, ostrich feather and musk were commodities monopolised by the royal family.¹⁷⁹ In addition, skin and hides, including that of animals like lion and leopard, goats and sheep, cows and oxen, donkeys, mules, horses, ostrich feathers, ivory, civet and other agricultural products were brought to Harar market likewise either for local consumption or to be sent to abroad. Copper, zinc and lead, beads and coral-collared silk thread, salt, rice and sugar, paper, gunpowder, rifles were some of the major imported commodities to Harar either for immediate consumption or export to Abyssinia (Ethiopia).¹⁸⁰ Hence, iron and sewing machines were also for the first time imported to Ethiopia by the Harari merchants, which helped to put Harar on an advantageous position to those who used manual labour to produce cloth as it enabled the Harari to produce quality cloth in greater quantity and even export it to other parts of Ethiopia.

2.7. Taxes, Tax Payers and Collectors

Harar had been engaged in export and import trade activities and consequently prepared the region for both goods which were imported and exported. Harar attained the privilege of managing and collecting taxes from both exporting and importing business activities. Hence, taxation on different goods by different

¹⁷⁷Richard Burton, 1966. pp.192-193.

¹⁷⁸Pankhurst, 1965, pp.53-55.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰Informants:-Murad and Jundi.

merchants was a customary in the region of the study area. Therefore, paying taxes at different gates was obligatory for merchants of different people when they were passing through any of the five gates.¹⁸¹

Moreover, the Oromo farmers who have been farming on the land of the Emirs at some thirty miles north-east of the town who have been ploughing the land of Emirs were seem to have been the Emir's tax-paying subjects. As already mentioned above, the *garad* or the *damin*, who were included in the administrative hierarchy of the Emirate of Harar, were responsible for collecting taxes and tithes. Therefore, this smooth alliance of the Emirs and the powerful Oromo chiefs played a prominent role and convinced the development of Hararis' economy.¹⁸² But contrary to the desired idea some times when some Emirs tried to impose an extra tax on people, the Emir's wealth was becoming decreased. What led Egypt to occupy Harar had been discussed by many scholars including.¹⁸³ Some of the reasons stated by many scholars were the Egyptian intention to build an empire that encompassed the whole Nile basin and the Red Sea. Although, Egyptians had tried to convince the Harari people as if they came to modernize Harar region, their coming adversely affected the taxation system of the region.¹⁸⁴

2.8. MARKET RELATIONS AND TRADE ROUTES

After the period of its contact with the surrounding Oromo people Harari was depended on the supplies provided by the later (Oromo) for the survival depended on the convenience of its market for the dominant Oromo, one must ask what these pastoralist invaders may have needed from Harari markets. Therefore, many evidences have shown that the basic commodities needed from the Harari people by the surrounding Oromo were include cloth and Salt, which were imported from different countries as jotted down in the above part. Initially, in the Harari-Oromo trade, it was almost certainly a sumptuary item, no a necessity.¹⁸⁵ In addition to importing from Salt, however, as the most important source of sodium, is essential to human survival, and its control by the Harari may well have been the key to the city's survivals. Still a trade good in the Harari's open market, the salt in early Harari trade came from costal evaporating particularly at Zeila rather than from the Danakil.¹⁸⁶ Although Lake Ayele, some thirty-five kilometers north of the city, is rich

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.10.

¹⁸² Alan Richard Caulk, 1977, p.372.

¹⁸³ Sylvia Pankhurst, 1958, p.13.

¹⁸⁴ Caulk, 1977, p.22.

¹⁸⁵ Seitz Volker, *Arabic Town Records and the Economic and Population History of Harar during the 19th Century*. A Paper Prepared for the Conference on Harari Studies Organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, June 1975,

¹⁸⁶ Informants: - Kasim and Usman.

in mineral salts, in fact long recognized by Oromo herdsmen.¹⁸⁷ Throughout the pre-industrial world, market centers, which provided local access, to salt often formed the basis of later urban developments, and control of salt trade was often a basis for centralized political power. A certain political pattern seems to emerge where salt was plentiful, the society tended to be free, independent and democratic; where it was scarce, the one who controlled salt also controlled the people. Hence, controlling the trade routes and trade items reflects controlling of power. Thus, Harari's local monopoly on salt as being a basis for the "market convenience" which permitted their unique survival among all of the early Muslim principalities faced with Oromo.¹⁸⁸

2.9. Harari farming and landholding system

Harar is located in the centre of an agricultural area, and has been dependent on it, until these days. The surrounding agricultural area is called *gey-fagay*. It is indicated in the circle below. The circle has been used to serve for different agricultural activities. Thus, different ethnic groups used agricultural land that encircles the town of Harar over a long period for multipurpose. These activities have bonded peoples of the region together. This land allocation for different purposes will be shown in the following figure. According to many evidences, the land that encircled the town of Harar has been used for different economic activities. Thus, the people of Harari have allocated their land for multipurpose. Therefore, this indicates that the cultivation of crops was also the major economic activities of the Harari people.¹⁸⁹

As we can understand from the above explanation, the nearest land represents the town itself called Harar Gay or simply Gey by the Harari people, Hararge by Amhara, "Adare", by Oromo and Harar by Arabs and by all Europeans. The town's people formed the inner circle. This circle or Gey Fagay extended for a few miles from the foot of the town wall and formed a belt around the city. It has based on the crops cultivated this circle (*gey-fagay*) may be divided into two areas: the garden area and the grain cultivation area. Some of the fruits and crops have been cultivated for centuries in this circle but others are introduced during the coming of the foreigners since 1876.¹⁹⁰

Therefore, Harar was famous for its fruit, which it brought to market in a great quantity, as commercial commodities. The consumption of fruit with friends, neighbor and family members is widely known among the Harari people. This culture is recently, either decreased or abounded among the people of the

¹⁸⁷Yusuf Ahmed, "An Inquiry into some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Emirs of Harar (1825-1875)" Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of the University College of Addis Ababa, 1961, p.37.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid*, p.37.

¹⁸⁹Abdullah Ahmed, *The History of The Harari and Harar*, 1998.p.71.

¹⁹⁰Moktar Mohammed, *Notes Sur le pays de Harar*1876, p.369.

study area and its surrounding people. The commercial crops produced for exporting purpose like coffee, safflower, chat, tobacco has been produced for export purpose.¹⁹¹

It might be a controversial question for those who have not seen the area nearby the town, did Harari people have land or not outside their wall. The outer circle as indicated in the above figure that is commonly known as *Gaffa* land and very wide was partly occupied by the Harari people. This circle is thinly (sparsely) populated, mostly by Oromo, who are hard-working farmers and further divided into different classes. The villages, which have consisted of scattered huts here and there, were existed in this circle.¹⁹² Thus, the life of the farmers who have been lived in the circle was based on the farming. When we consider the activities of the family members, usually, children look after the cattle while their elders work in field. Dura or Sorghum (*akhi*) was the principal crop cultivated in this circle or area. Peasants cultivate the land around their villages because in this circle large areas left fallow (uncultivated). Until the turn of this century, when large number of Harari men became intensively has engaged in trading, their major activity was agriculture that regarded as their most important occupation.¹⁹³ Then, as today, Harari farmers (*harasi*) practices plough cultivation, employing the typical ox-drawn (Ethiopian type implement *harasa*) in producing Sorghum, which they call it *akhi*, to the neighboring Oromo it is *bisinga* and to Amhara, *misela*.

Harari agricultural implements include the hoe (*hakafa*) and the sickle (*manca*). By using these instruments, the Harari people have used to produce different types. Like (*dagussa*), barely (*gus*), chick peas (*sumbura*), beans (*baqela*), lentils (*missir*), potatoes (*dinnicca*), onions (*senkurta*), garlic (*tumma*), fenugreek (*hilbat*), peppers (*barbari*), sugarcane (*alasanakor*), banana (*muze, gem*) cotton (*tut*). Cash crops are coffee, tobacco, chat (*qaleb* as a *hasawa asa*) and others.¹⁹⁴

Although, formerly growing, of Chat had been restricted to only the town dwelling of Harari, but now a days this plant stimulant is grown by both Oromo and Argoba for local consumption and for trade. The people of Harari are also familiar with the practice of irrigation agriculture, especially for cash-crop production, most of their fields in *Gey harasi* land is contoured with small terraces (*gadab or katara*).¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹Informants: - Tamrat and Girma.

¹⁹²Informants: - Adulmennan Hussein and Abduro.

¹⁹³Abdullah Mohamed, *Some historical remarks about the Gates Harar presented at the first national conference of IES* (Addis Ababa, 1989), p.6.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵Ahmed Yusuf, *An Inquiry into Some Aspects of the ceremony of Harar* Ethnological Society Bulletin University (Addis Ababa, 1960), p.25.

Water is channeled from streams and springs into a deep reservoir (*kuri*). The communal ownership rights over which are shared by all farmers in the district who contribute towards its construction.

The responsibility for distributing water for individual fields rests with *malaq* literally “water official”, a non-hereditary office holder chosen among from those sharing rights in the *kuri*, he need not be landowner, however. Harari store their grain in deep earth granaries (*ekhi gada*) sunk in the courtyard of their homesteads, where there is hard soil containing heavy deposits of clay.¹⁹⁶ These granaries narrow at the top and becoming increasingly wider, which probably 2-4 meters at the midpoint. The opening is covered with logs or flat stones, having a conical shape with steps carved into the side. Crops which had been produced in Harar and its surrounding areas were coffee, sorghum, maize different vegetables, *Chat* whose cultivation has possibly become a more important source of income since 1830s. Therefore, the consumption of *Chat* in Harar province as well as in the whole of Ethiopia has spread out and highly increased.¹⁹⁷

Hence, in economic terms the townsmen had been implemented their ability to organize trade with their neighbors of new comers. Another means of economic income of the Harari people in the 1870s were renting house, cattle rearing and their products, trade, land (gardens) related incomes are the prominent ones for the people of the study area. In addition to the above mentioned economic activities and means of economic incomes for the people of the study area (Harar) and its surrounding areas. There are also different economic activities, which have been carried out in the region of the studying area.¹⁹⁸

2.9. Agriculture and other zones of economic activities

Agriculture during the 19th century Harar was a centre of commerce and agriculture and metropolis of the small Emirate (Kingdom). This large and rich kingdom in the past was started to decline at the beginning of the 19th century. This decline was because of different factors like lack of strong army to defend its territory and the decline of their economy as the highland Christian rulers dominated their trade routes.¹⁹⁹

Once ownership right was granted nothing would stop the Hararis, who were not dependent exclusively on rain water to cultivate their farm, from being hard-working. They were skilled also in irrigating their land using water that was collected from streams and springs into the reservoir called “*kuri*, which is a wide and shallow basin enclosed with easily available materials like mud, piece of wood and herbs to hold water

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷Richard Burton, 1966, p.192.

¹⁹⁸Trimingham, 1965, p.97.

¹⁹⁹Informants: - Fatima and Baedeker Hamido.

from the stream.²⁰⁰ Using springs or streams or rain water, they cultivated fruit trees, coffee, chat (the mild narcotic plant also known as *khat* or *qat* and some plants producing condiments and certain commercial crops like *wersi* (safflower). Some crops like lemons, a sour orange-like fruit (suffrage) and other fourteen types of grapes, opium poppy, pumpkins and cotton were introduced in the region by Egyptians. According to many evidences the other crops which cultivated in the Harari region are especially plantations like Coffee, bananas, citrons, limes, cotton and sugar cane.²⁰¹

During the reign of Emir Hamo (r.1146-1160) of Harar, land measurement is standardized based on the *garib* (1296 square meters). This form or unit of land measurement varied from inside the city and nearby it. Thus, the landholder in the region could transmit for his children especially the elder son. In theory *gaffa*, the Emir, who freely exercised his right to chiefs (*damins*) of tribal sections, to military as well as religious leaders, owned land.²⁰² Accordingly, most hereditary chiefs of clan held large tracks of land, which leased some portion of it to tenant farmers.²⁰³

2.9.1. Division of labor among Harari people

Traditionally, work is dividing for men and women among the people of Harari. It is not restricted throughout their life. Therefore, men's work includes most of the activities like cultivation, harvesting, threshing, and other field works. As it has been discussed in different parts of this paper the economic activities of the Harari people varied from time to time as well as it was a mixture of many activities which had been performed over a long period of time.²⁰⁴ Since the nineteenth century many Harari people particularly men have turned to trading and silver as well as gold smiting. Where as its women were tied with household activities like cooking food, looking after children, basketry work and to some extent participated on the repairing of walls.²⁰⁵

The agricultural products of the Harari people were for personal consumption, especially different types of Sorghum, which cultivated by support of irrigation. Nevertheless, farming had a long aged phenomenon in this region; however, it was only for the purpose of consumption. Nevertheless, this was not absolute throughout the all regions and whenever of the studying period, rather farmers had used to produce crops

²⁰⁰*Ibid*, p.384.

²⁰¹Yusuf Ahmed, *An Inquiry into some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Emirs of Harar (1825-1875)*, Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of the University College of Addis Ababa, 1991, p.25.

²⁰²Paulitschke, 1888, p.237.

²⁰³Ahmed Zakaria, *Harari Coins, Preliminary Survey*, Journal of Ethiopian Studies (Addis Ababa, 1991), p.25.

²⁰⁴Informants: - Suleiman and Chaltu Rashid.

²⁰⁵Azais and Charmperd, 1931, p.8.

both for consumption as well as for export purposes. Hence, coffee and Tobacco were the major agricultural products that took the first place of exporting. Hariri farmlands are even extending outside the Wall or the *Jugole*, encircled the city of Harar, and used to serve for many purposes.

2.9.1.1. Tourism and its economic importance

The other means of incomes for the Harari people are that the attractive sites in the Harari region. Of these attraction areas the wall or Jugole of Harar that has more than two centuries age, attracts many tourists to the region. Many scholars of foreign countries and even from different parts of Ethiopia visit this historic walled city of Harar.

Many people entering the city annually, this in other cases increases a means of income generation for the people of Harari in particular and for the whole inhabitants in general. The other places or tourist sites, which attract the tourists, are the shrines of Harar, which are more than 82 in number and old aged ones. Hence, many Arab scholars were attracted to write about this internationally recognized city of Harar. Currently the city is registered to the UNESCO as the international heritage site of the world.²⁰⁶

The other unique and very important tourist attritional areas in the city of Harar are that the feeding of hyenas. In the evening the hyenas come out of the dark shade devour the garbage all over the city .Feeding hyena which is the ancient tradition of the Harari culture is interesting culture. The feeding of hyena now a day practiced in Harari. The practice of hand feeding of hyena occurs in the different parts of the gates of the city. If there is one place where hyena does not harm people, it would definitely, be Harar.²⁰⁷ *Enay Abida* Handcraft training center, which is located at the Emir *Uga* road adjacent to Harari culture Heritage and Tourism Bureau, is also other one. Moreover, some other places, which attract the interests of visitors in Harar, are the museum of the Harari National Cultural Centre, which was designed like a typical Harari house and contains examples of traditional arts and crafts. Annually many people visited it from domestic and from abroad.

The Harar Academy Hotel is at least clean and very pleasant one. Tourist Hotel in the new town, the Tewodros Hotel near Harar gate, the peaceful Dessie Hotel in east of the new town, Belayneh Hotel which, is near the bus station, the Ras Hotel east of the new town and some other places are the places to be

²⁰⁶Eike D Hecht, *Harar and Lamu A Comparison of Two East African Muslim Societies*, Trans African Journal of History (Kenya) vol. 16, 2004,p.26.

²⁰⁷Informants: - Teesside Getahun and his Wife.

remembered in the city.²⁰⁸ Most specifically if we look at the Enay Abida hand craft center, its historical building, which has built during Egyptian administration of Harar.

However, the ownership of this building changed so many times with the changing of administrators, but currently, Harari culture Heritage and Tourism Bureau took the ownership and renovated the building with financial help of the Spanish government and it become Enay Abida hand craft Training center. The center has a college status and gives in nine different types of cultural handicrafts by designing a curriculum for eatype.²⁰⁹

The walled city of Harar, the spiritual heart of Ethiopia's large Muslim community, was considered by Muslims, as to be the fourth-holiest city in the world. Harar was an important centre of trade and Muslim learning site throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Only Muslims were allowed to enter into the walls, and as a result, it became as a centre of sources of information. These events had brought grievances to the Christian world. After long time, Hararis or Harar lost their benefits and hegemony with the invasion of the high land Ethiopian empire. The walled city remains strongly Muslim in character and it is probably 90 mosques, many of them private, is said to form one of the largest attraction places in the world.²¹⁰

"The only up market hotel is the government-owned Ras Hotel on the Dire Dawa road", in the middle range there seems to be only Tewodros Hotel, and in the lower range are such names as Tourist, Assab, and National Hotels. "The prime attraction of Harar is the old walled city, which covers an area of about one square kilometer. It is roughly four-sided figure in shape, with five main roads radiating from the central square to the city gates. Coming from Dire Dawa, you enter the old city through Harar Gate, a main road lined with shops, bars and hotels to *Feres Magala* or the old horse market (square). To the left of this position, assuming that he/she entered the square from Harar Gate, to the *Fallana* Gate, which is one of the attraction places of the region. The hotel on this corner has been converted from the warehouse that was used by Rimbaud during the first year of his stay in Harar is also too. From this, the next road leads to Erer Gate, the gate through which Richard Burton entered Harar, and the site of the *chat* market is very attractive market place.²¹¹

Generally, all the above-mentioned places have a great role directly or indirectly, in the affairs of the Harari's economy serving as the income generating means, which in turn could help the general sustainable

²⁰⁸T M Vestal, *Ethiopia A post-cold war ...*, USA, 1999.P.156.

²⁰⁹Informants: - Sartu Ahmed and Miskia.

²¹⁰Brandt with sketch of the town plan, 1995, p p.179-181.

²¹¹*Ibid*, pp. 181-183.

economic development of the region in general and the town of Harar in particular. Because of the attraction a number of visitors come to Harar, hence Harar is most of the time called as the town love. Thus, leave alone human being Hararis could domesticate hyena and fed it. This will be indicatted in the figure bellow.

Figure.2. shows the close relationship between Hyena and Harari.



Source: Photography by Researcher

Figure.3. Showes how to feed Hayena



Source: - Photography from internet.

From this picture, we can understand that, there is good relationship between the Harari people and Hyena for a long period in the town of Harar and its surrounding areas, such relations even currently continued to be practiced. Thus, it was because of this relation that why we have said in the above part, Harar is only the area where Hyena does not arm people.



Source: - Photography by researcher.

Areas around the Arthur Rimbaud Museum House and its surroundings, which was called by the inhabitants of the city as *Makina Girgier* (the place where the tailors are working) together in groups, which have different members. It is also a place where many shops are found, fruits, and vegetables are usually sold. Because of these facilities if somebody goes to this particular place can get good satisfaction or recreation. Therefore, many people go to the area for the sake of recreation and visits

Table 5. The Photograph of Arthur Rimbaud Museum House



Source:- The Photograph of Arthur Rimbaud Museum House by researcher.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. THE HARARI AND OTHER PEOPLES OF HARAR IN THE 20TH CENTURY

It is clear that when new comers entered new place there must be changes in economic, social, cultural and political which could be either negatively or positively. Thus, when the case of Harari people is regarded in the same way the coming of different nations and foreign countries to the area whether peacefully or by conquest like Italians, Egyptians and Britain had adversely changed or affected the socio economic conditions of the region. As already raised above these changes could be positive or negative on the economic advancement of the Harari people. It is this condition, which will be explained in this chapter especially by taking into consideration the case of Italians, Egyptians and the conquest of Emperor Menelik.²¹²

The unification of Ethiopia under emperor Menelik II resulted in the conquest of Harar city and its people, which in turn brought different problems on the socio economic life of the people of the study area.

The major problems that the people of Harari faced because of MenelikII's conquest were varied from time to time starting from the beginning of the occupation. Of such problems the increasing of ethnic groups, i.e. the concentration of different nations and nationalities in Harar, the increasing of occupational force of Ethiopian highland Christians, which composed of Amhara, Sho'a Oromo, and the semen tor of Tigre, Gondar, Gojjame and Wollo.²¹³ As the number of people is increased because of the occupying forces and newly settled people, the trade interest also increased rapidly. Consequently, the former higher officials of the Harar region like *Damins*, *Grads* and others have lost their land to the new comers i.e., the Amhara, Shoa-Oromo and the northern soldiers. Therefore, until 1936 (the year when Italians occupied Ethiopia), the Harari people remained as tenants of the people to whom their land was given by the Ethiopian government.²¹⁴ Consequently, the arriving of all those new comers to the region of the studying area had adversely affected the socio economic life of the Harari people in particular and the eastern Ethiopian people in general for more than half a century. For example because of this problem, the time from the battle of *Challanqo* to Machew was very difficult for the Harari people. This period was 1887-1936, when

²¹²Informants: - Besheria Ahemed and Ziyad.

²¹³Gill Dennis *Issues of the Emirs of Harar: The coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland* (New York, 1991), p.1.

²¹⁴*Ibid*,pp.47- 8.

laws were changed in line with the change of governments where many of the old laws were replaced by the new laws to benefit the new comers or the administrators.²¹⁵

The new laws of government completely violate the right of the local people. Even some governors like *Bajirond Taklahawaryat*, who prepared new *Chercher* land laws, criticized the sovereignty of the government laws and began to support the side of the oppressed local people or the Harari and its surrounding peoples.²¹⁶ Thus, due to the good will and attitude of some local governors most Harari people benefited a lot. But contrary to this, majority of people forced to pay heavy taxes, some left their farming lands instead they were forced to raise cattle, forced to emigrate to low lands where they became herdsmen or working for nomads. Generally, the tenancy system of the new comers left many farmers with push jobs and caused serious economic difficulties in the region for a long period time.²¹⁷

3.2. Italian occupation and the population of Harar

It is clear that Italians made Harar town the regional capital for the four eastern provinces. This area inhabited by the Muslim Oromo who were from Bale, Arusi Eastern Borana and Harar itself. When we see the advantage and disadvantages of the Italian occupation, it could be interpreted from either multi directions, which affected negatively, or positively the socio-economic conditions or life of the Harari people. It is also the people of the surrounding areas included different ethnic groups like Oromo, Afar and Somalis had established a close social relationship among themselves for a long period and even still, it is going on.²¹⁸

Similarly to begin with, the Italian conquest had no another meaning rather than colonial domination and controlling the resources of the country and the horn of Africa. However, one that may be considered, as a positive consequence of Italian occupation was that, it abolished the old government laws (Land tenure) adopted rules by which land could be used in ways that are more modern. In the same way, a number of tenants gained the freedom of land use in this region. Therefore, the newcomers whether from domestic or from the abroad had to follow the newly enacted laws during the Italian Invasion of the region.²¹⁹ This somewhat modern form of administration had alleviated the land problem of the peasantry of the region.

²¹⁵Informants: - Abdalla Muktar and Sufian Umar.

²¹⁶Richard Pankhurst, 1965, p.58.

²¹⁷Informants:-Bushra Aliye and Hekirame.

²¹⁸Informants:- Junedy and Hamza

²¹⁹Pankhurst,1965, p.80.

Because, of the law many newcomers left Harar, local farmers were organized and supervised by Italian companies with qualified persons. These were considered as bright days for the farmers of Harar as it allowed many people who had formerly neglected returned to work Homeland. Thus, during the period of Italian occupation farming plantation and its marketing was highly developed in the region of Harar. Hence, there was no resistance against Italians from local population of Oromo, Harari dare and Somalis rather oppositions came from the former employees of the Ethiopian government. Relatively when we see the impact of the Italian occupation on the Harari people with other parts of Ethiopia, it was less harsh, rather Italians engaged in constructions of huge houses and bridges even beyond the region of the study area.²²⁰

Contrary, to this Italians occupation the people of Harari suffered from the serious of destruction, which created from the war with Christian highland Ethiopia. The war with Christian highland Ethiopia coupled with the Oromo raids had adversely affected the peaceful pursuit of the economic life of the Harari people. Nevertheless, the people of Harari had managed to maintained or retain its greatness as the centre of an urban culture based on trade, agriculture and industry. Thus, to restore such glory, throughout the first half of the 19th century Harari people had engaged in many economic activities and benefited a lot from it. The strategic location of their region, which connected their city, Harar with Ogden, Shoa as well as the coast: Zaila and Barbara.²²¹ From 1936 to 1942, the Italians invaded Ethiopia. In the subsequent period, due to various problems, Ethiopia and together with Harar has been subjected to famine, civil war, and economic decline, including for example land reform, which in reality decreased productivity of agriculture particularly during the imperial regime. These, conditions began to shift to the direction of peasant's advantages after the end of the dictatorial government of Ethiopia in 1991 and after this year, there was a slight improvement until the war with Eritrea. Now, Harar Jugol needs to rebuild its economy because of sustainable development.²²²

3.3. The Egyptian occupation of Harar and its economic consequences

Egypt began the period of an expanding, self-motivated state that experienced defeats in Africa by the Ethiopians and the Sudanese *Mahadiya* or *Mahadist* and met economic collapse at home. Consequently, Egypt lost its independence to the British. In 1875, the Oromo tribes were still independent and controlled Harar, but the Egyptian conquest accelerated the erosion of their institutions and weakened their military

²²⁰Informants:-Murad Ahemed and Nuria Tume.

²²¹Abdurrahman Yusuf Garad, 1978, p.12.

²²²Informants: - Kasim Mohamed and Ibsitu.

strength.²²³ Consequently, they occupied by the Ethiopians and remained under Christian domination. The Somalis also entered the period as free clans that dominated the areas between the coastland of the Ethiopian highlands. The Egyptian conquest of the Berbera, Harar, Zeyla areas was not strong enough to subjugate the Somalis. Nevertheless, it paved the way for more experienced colonizers like the British, Italians, French, and Ethiopians, who divided Somali lands up after 1885.²²⁴

The Ethiopians mainly lurked in the background of this study. In 1875; they still divided and faced strong rivalry for regional hegemony. In 1875 From Zeyla, an Egyptian force in the show of a scientific expedition, led by Muhammad Rauf Pasha, penetrated the southeast Ethiopian interior and occupied Harar on 11 October 1875. Muhammad Ra'uf Pasha left Zeyla on 18/19 September 1875 with an army, which was later reported to have totally, 1,200 men, and entered Harar on 11 October 1875.

The Oromo, between Jildesa and Harar, only resisted the Egyptian invasion. The Egyptian khedive wanted Ra'uf Pasha to occupy more districts even beyond the state of Harar hoping that to control the plentiful resource of the region and its surroundings, but this did not happen. Redwan Pasha, who in his turn replaced in 1880 by Mohammed Nady, replaced Ra'uf Pasha in 1878. Thus; Harari's autonomy ended when Egyptians captured and administered it for about a decade. Moreover, an Egyptian soldier killed its ex-ruler, Emir Muhammad Shakur.²²⁵

Under the Egyptian occupation, Emir Mohammed was killed and the Emirate has officially abolished. A colonial administration was set up which employed, in descending order of importance, Egyptians, *ge usu* Somali, *Amhara*, *Argoba* and Oromo. This Egyptian's empowering of the people of the Harari and its surrounding areas was not for the sake of the native people but to facilitate their administration. A campaign of conversion and conquest of the neighboring Oromo have widely under taken.

In spite of massive taxes imposed on the population, the Egyptian funds could not support the troops in Harar. This, coupled with the occupation of Egypt by the British, led to the complete withdrawal from Ethiopia of Egyptian troops and the rule of war ended. The Emirate was briefly re-established after this period.²²⁶

²²³Bahru Zewude, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1885-1991, Second. Edition*, (London, 1991), p. 51.

²²⁴*Ibid.*

²²⁵Seven Robinson, *King of kings Tewodros of Ethiopia*, (Addis Ababa, 1976), p.317.

²²⁶Addis Hiwot, *Ethiopia from Autocracy...* (London,1975), p.7.

As some scholars stated that during the ten years of Egyptian rule, the population rose from 30,000 to 42,000 and stonework houses from 6,000 to 8,000 while the number of simpler huts fell from 2,000 to 1,500. It was clear that as one European man was settled in Harar and he was imprisoned by the Emir when he refused to renounce his Christian faith, but was saved when Menilek II entered Harar after his decisive victory over the people of the eastern Ethiopia at the battle of *Challanqo* on 6, January, 1887.²²⁷ Although, the capital of Harari people (Harar) is known in Ethiopian history as the famous walled city of Ethiopia, it was originally independent Emirate, which was also already indicated above the important commercial center had lost its status and independence, because of different invasions.²²⁸ Contrary to the attempts of some Harari Emirs, who given credit for erecting protective wall, particularly, Nur ibn-Wazir Mughid, loosing of independence was inevitable because of internal and foreign influences.²²⁹

Of numerous factors that led Harari to the loosing of their independence and advantage was the Egyptian occupation of 1875 took the first place. Accordingly, with the coming of Egyptians army the Harari Emirs lost their freedom of using their own coins like *mahallak*. Egyptians in the late 19th century were interested in expansion into eastern Africa particularly; Khedive Ismail had an eye focused on Harar on October 11, 1875. Thus, powerful Egyptian army of 1.200 advancing from Zeila and led by Ra, uf Pasha occupied the city of Harar without strong opposition.²³⁰

Economically, the Egyptians attempted to change the city of Harar in every aspects of life. The numbers of Egyptian troops were rapidly increased to over 3,400 due to the threats from the hostile Oromo surrounding the city. This increased number of occupying army in the city of Harar had adverse impact on the economy of Harari people. Hence, the demand and supply of the city (Harar) varied in the period of Egyptian occupations. Even Egyptians have tried to replace *mahallak* by piasters, which were the series problem to the Egyptian due to the scarcity of the pilasters that sent from Egypt.²³¹

Because of Egyptian occupation, the Harari people lost some of their indigenous crops, due to the introduction of new ones to Harar during their decade administration. Beyond economic consequences, the Egyptian invasion had a great impact on the social life of the Harari people in particular and on the

²²⁷Harold Marcus, 1975, p. 90.

²²⁸Informants: - Meymuna Abde and Muntiya Jemal.

²²⁹Gill Dennis, 1991, p.1.

²³⁰Informants:-bebe Yilma and Muluwork.

²³¹Informants:-Abdalla and Sufian Umar.

surrounding Oromo in general.²³² The surrounding Oromo suffered from series of problems as forced mass conversion to Islam, in which some of them fled their original homeland and others accepted Egyptian religion (Islam).²³³ This, cultural change in turn brought about the changes of agricultural products. The Egyptians occupation on one hand brought change on the economy of the Harari people and on the other hand, it brought the Oromo people of the surrounding area into the incorporation of economic and religious community of Harar.²³⁴

This change did not simply take place, but some prominent Oromo leaders attempted their best to overcome or reverse the violent rule of Egyptians. However, their resistance and claim was less success that, the Oromo lost their *gada* system of age-sets and forced to pay many taxes.²³⁵ The forceful of Egyptian rule affected the Oromo in general and the Harari people in particular. They attempted much to change all the customs and the norms of the people of the study area and its surrounding. This was because Egyptians worked hard and taxed heavily the mentioned people (Harari and its surrounding).²³⁶

The other challenges from the Egyptians, particularly on the Afran qallo clans were that the payment of tithe, which started of course by different Amirs of Harar and more extended by the Egyptians.²³⁷ The other effect of Egyptians decade rule over the people of Harari in general and on the surrounding Oromo in particular was the division (distinction) between those who were principally herdsmen and those who lived only by farming had entirely disappeared. The pastoralists had lost their freedom to hold up their settled classmen.²³⁸ On the other hand, during the Egyptian's occupation the imported cotton cloth and other manufactured goods made Oromo of the surrounding area dependent on the town's market. Besides, Egyptian's systematic taxing must also have brought the Oromo and some Harari people outside the town of Harar to the law courts and government offices.²³⁹

Generally, the coming of Egyptians resulted in the establishment in Harar of the fundamentals of a modern administration in place of more traditional Harari governments. The invaders divided the city into no fewer

²³²Richard Pankhurst, 1965, p.107.

²³³*Ibid.*

²³⁴Informants: - Zamzama and Abdurahim.

²³⁵Phillip Paulistike, *Gill Oromo* 2002, pp.233-4.

²³⁶*Ibid.*

²³⁷Informants:-Mussa Ibrahim and Wadhay.

²³⁸Palaulitschke, p.237.

²³⁹Informants: - Iskinder Ahemed and Hanisa.

than one hundred forty seven districts and began the registration of houses, gardens and property, and then in numeration of the inhabitants.²⁴⁰

Consequently, Harari's incorporation into Egyptian empire and the need to provide for large foreign garrisons highly affected the city's economy significantly. The administration of Ra'uf pasha, which was restless to strengthen his administration's finance, encouraged the Oromo's beyond the wall to expand the cultivation of coffee, their main crops and to improve animal husbandry. As it has been indicate above the forceful cultivation of cash crops had negatively affected the economy of the Harari people and the surrounding area.²⁴¹ The positive result, which May development or change gained from Egyptian occupation were many. Some of these changes are the communication between the city and the coastal area was solved, which was difficult during the time of the Emirs. The establishment of a series of military posts, in turn this secured the communication, commerce was rapidly increased, the number of caravans rose, the Slave trade which had flourished under the Emirs, was officially abolished, the considerable in exports, which cause to the decay of the age-old Harari handcraft industries.²⁴²

The locally manufactured of cotton cloth was collapsed in features of completion from cheap Indian and American textiles. The only handcraft production continued to flourish in Harari people was that the basketry, which was one of the unique characters of the Harari people. Thus, because of all the above reasons caused by Egyptian invasion, the Harari become trade oriented.²⁴³ The other positive result of the Egyptian invasion was that Egyptians embarked on the building programs. In Harar because of this program, many buildings are erected from fine stone. Buildings including the new mosque and the city's first hospital, some parts of the wall of the town were revised or renewed particularly its height was increased by Egyptians and new forts were erected at nearby each other, which was essential for the economic developments of the Harari people.²⁴⁴

Widely, when we see in terms of social and especially in economic term the impact of Egyptian's invasion of the Harari people in particular and the surrounding Oromo in general we could find a far-reaching economic consequence. Beginning their seizing of the city of Harar on October 11, 1875, Egyptian soldiers murdered many people including Emir Abd al- Sakur and his relatives; many fled the city, to refuge among

²⁴⁰Paul Harbor, p.588.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*

²⁴²Informants: - Miskiya Sufian and Tofik.

²⁴³Harbor, pp.213.

²⁴⁴Informants: - Zahara Umare and Zaytuna.

the neighboring Oromo's and Somalis.²⁴⁵ Despite the Harari accepting defeat, Egyptians faced strong resistance from the people of the surrounding areas like Oromo.

Because of this resistance the first Egyptian governor of the city, Rauf Pasha conducted several expeditions against them Oromo. However, Egyptians added reinforcement from the coast, Oromo was not easily crushed.²⁴⁶ To overcome the oppositions from Oromo the government of khedival steadily increased its garrisons, which was probably by the year 1884 estimated to be 3,411 Egyptian soldiers in the region of the study area.²⁴⁷ Therefore, the presence of this large number of Egyptians, which perhaps constituted a fifth of the entire population within the wall of Harar, had a significant impact on the economy of Harari people and their city (Harar). Gradually, this large number of Egyptian soldiers and garrisons when they have made the intimate relation with Harari girls they acquired the possession of the land which was the acute cause of the disputes between the occupiers and the occupied or Egyptians and Hararis respectively. This in turn caused a serious economic problem on the people of the study area (Harari) and the surrounding people.²⁴⁸

The Egyptians' rule, on the people of Harari and its surroundings, perhaps due to the desire of the invading force led to the major changes in the city's tax structure. These changes are increasing of custom duties, heavy taxation every camel entering and leaving the city was subjected to a tax of ten piasters and also for mule are too. Coffee passing in or outside of the gates had pay no less than twenty-five percent.²⁴⁹ Generally, the replacement of Harari coins by that of Egyptians' the burring of books of magic and shops, the discourage of chewing chat due to its heavy tax, the restrictions on the locally produced drinking are some of the major forcible actions done on the Harari and its surroundings by Egyptians.

Consequently, all these factors adversely affected the economy of the Harari and the surrounding peoples.²⁵⁰ Contrary to the above-mentioned problems caused because of the Egyptians, rule the Harari people gained relative advantage from the Egyptian administration. Some of such advantages are, Harari people experienced international postal system, gained great religious freedom than the days before, in which even the Roman Catholic missionaries were introduced to the town.²⁵¹ Hence, the granting of some

²⁴⁵Harbor, p.231.

²⁴⁶*Ibid.*

²⁴⁷Poultice, *Relazione Sulle Condizioni dell' Harar nel Gennaio*, 1886, p.583.

²⁴⁸Informants:- Meymuna Abde and Hindiya

²⁴⁹Paul Harbor, p.240.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*

²⁵¹*Ibid*, pp. 241-243.

rights for the people of the study area and its surroundings has great contribution in the economic development of the region.²⁵²

Generally, when the Egyptians' administration of Harar is concerned, they introduced the new currency by forbidding the circulation of Mart Theresa within the city, the foreign traders and many Oromo merchants escaped market of Harar. The competition between Martha Theresa and the newly introduced Egyptian currency affected the trade transaction of the region. Hence, the exchanging of goods became a serious problem, as Amir Abdullah's *mahallak* and Egyptians currency were contending each other. Therefore; with this, merchants had been confused to conduct trade activity. After the evacuation of Egyptians, all the above-mentioned economic problems that related to the currency circulation in Harar and the threats of the colonial powers together with the MenelikII's invasion have all a far-reaching impact on the economy of the Harari people.²⁵³

MenilekII's first step was the occupation of the Ittu Oromo in June 1885. The Emir accused the Christians living in Harar of co-operating with the Shoans, and for the Europeans conditions in the city began to deteriorate from the very beginning of the new regime. By July of the same year the situation was worse, the population grew uncontrollable, European traders became practical prisoners in their homes and shops, and the adjacent Oromo raided the town. In response to the growing instability and to ensure his constant rule, the Emir elected to follow a course of isolation, removal the city of all foreigners and hateful influences.²⁵⁴ By January 1886, the emir had restricted the commercial activities of the few remaining Europeans in Harar and introduced a new monetary system that impoverished the local population. In return for their Talers, Egyptian *ashrafis*, and *mahallaks*, the emir offered relatively valueless, thin dinars, made from tin silver and brass. The local Oromo and Somali isolated the markets in the city in rebellion against the emir's authority. The economy was completely collapsed.²⁵⁵ After the battle of *Chellenko* in January 1887, Emperor MenilekII occupied Harar and chased away Emir Abdullai. MenilekII and his troops appeared before the city has banned, if easily broken, gates on 8 January. Once again, Abdullahi refused an offer of being submission and fled into the Somali desert, permitting his uncle, the local *qadi*, to arrange the surrender.²⁵⁶

²⁵²Informants: - Fatima and Lyla.

²⁵³Takletsadik Mekuria, *Ahmed Giragn's Conquest* (Addis Ababa, 1966), p.96.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵⁵Phillip Paulitschke, 1886, pp.397-399.

²⁵⁶*Ibid.*

Abdullahi escaped with his wives and children into Somali country east of Harar. Before leaving, he dispatched a message to Menelik requesting him not to destroy the city. The following day Ali Abu Barka and other leading personalities came to the king to submit and appeal for his self-control. The Harari also sent two Greeks and an Italian, who have been imprisoned in the city to Menelik II's camp to ask for clemency for the population. They were well received, and returned to Harar with the message that Menelik II would act kindly and respect Islam.²⁵⁷

Bajerond Atnafe sent with thirty soldiers to take possession of the town and the emir's palace on 11 January a victorious entry was made. The town was practically abandoned. Menelik II imposed an indemnity of 75,000 Talers on the town, confiscated the property of the emir and of those who had fallen during the battle, and appropriated the weapons and ammunition he wanted from the European shops.²⁵⁸

The king stayed in the Harar area for about one month pacifying the region around the city, where order had broken down. He commissioned his first cousin *Balambaras Makonnen* to be military governor of Harar with the rank of *dajazmatch*. Makonnen was allowed a garrison of 3,000 men. Ali Abu Barka was appointed civil administrator.²⁵⁹ After the conquest of Harar, there was considerable discussion as to who should be left in charge of the lengthy pacification of the Harar province. Ras Dargé had refused to journey there but many of the Shawan nobility and Menelik II himself were in Harar. There was a meeting and it was decided to recommend to the Emperor the candidature (application) of a Shawnan noble that had previously been somewhat troublesome in the southern provinces. However, *Déjà match Girmamé* heard of this and having great influence with Menelik visited him late that same night and persuaded him not to trust a potential rebel with a governorate which would give him access to supplies of firearms from Europe. Instead, he proposed one of Menelik II's many relatives, *Balambaras Makonnen*, for this important position. Menelik II agreed and the surprised nobility only heard of the Emperor's change.

3.4. THE HARARI RELATIONS WITH OTHER PEOPLES

The Harari have experienced living with different people, like even the aggressors Egypt and Italy, Amhara, and in the beginning of 20th century with Oromo, Somalis, Indians, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs and Europeans. With these people, the people of the studying area had a close trade relationship.²⁶⁰ The relationship of Harari people with the Christian highland people was characterized as hostile one.

²⁵⁷*Ibid.*

²⁵⁸Informants:- Hikiram Abdullhi and Fouad.

²⁵⁹Harold Marcus, *Menelik II* (Addis Ababa, 1975), pp. 92-93.

²⁶⁰Burton, 1856, pp.16-18.

Most of the Harari men, who were as already indicated above engage in agriculture or trade where as women according to many scholars, performing household work. Many persons also engaged on the hand designing in the city notably “weavers”, blacksmiths, as well as gold and silver smiths. Because of the above economic activities and others, the people of a number Harari have made a close relationship with different people of both domestic and foreign. This was especially, based on commercial contacts. It was through these activities that the people of Harari have been come into contacts with different ethnic groups and peoples of the world over a long period.²⁶¹

Because of commercial contacts, many scholars of foreign countries, which mostly based on oral traditions, collected the land of Hrari particularly their city (Harar) was inhabited by a number of both foreigners and domestic people. Thus, Hrar became the place, where merchants of foreign and domestic conducted both export and import trade activities.²⁶² Though, many of the Harari people were engaged formerly in agriculture then after that gradually the town was changed to commercial centre of Ethiopia in particular and east Africa in general.

Because of such trade activities, Maria Theresa dollars were existing in the city, but “not plentiful as trade being carried on by barter. Instead the use of coin relied on the locally strike coin called *mahallak*, which was supposed to be one of the last parts of Maria Theresa.²⁶³ From the trade activities of the town, even the rulers (Emirs) were themselves involved in the commerce and enjoyed a monopoly in export of ivory, slaves, largely from Gangero, Gurage the Oromo country, coffee and elephant from different areas. Hence, this activity in turn brought into contacts the people of Harari and others over a long period.²⁶⁴

When it reached at its peak in the 16th century, there were several kingdoms in central and southern Ethiopia that fell under Oromo domination. These were the kingdoms of Bale, Fat agar, Hadia, and Dawaro. Today there is little evidence that these societies ever existed.²⁶⁵ One of these states except Harar reached a complex agreement without conflict with the Oromo during the subsequent three centuries. This resulted in the encapsulation of the city's society and in the beginnings of a transformation of the Oromo of

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² Gera Geta Haila Giyorgis, *Zenanu La-Leu Ras Makonnen* (Addis Ababa, 1965), pp.22-23, Trans.by Tesfa Yohannes.

²⁶³ J Borelli, *Ethiopie Meridionale* (Paris, 1890), p.238.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ Asmarom Legesse, *Three Approaches to the study of African Society*, (New York, 1973), p.8.

the region, especially the *Afran Qallo*; from independent pastoralists to agricultural peasants. This event managed by personal, political and economic arrangements between the elite of both groups in contact.²⁶⁶

Since, the Oromo people, who defeated by Egyptians only because of military superiority firearms and artillery, were influential around the city of Harar, the Emirs have used various mechanisms to smooth their relations with them (Oromo). They offered clothes either made in Harar by Hararis or imported from foreign countries. Especially, Emir Abs al-Shakur ibn Yusuf went with a friend to the *Jarso* and other Nole clans, taking bales of sheeting for the first time to these Oromo in order to deal in peace with them.²⁶⁷ These gifts of Emirs may have been a subsidy to free the way for salt and other caravans which must have arrived through the Nole country. Cloth imported by the Hararis initially as luxury but gradually turned into a necessity for the Oromo.²⁶⁸

Hararis also taught the advanced methods of farming to those who were settled and allowed them to sell their products to the town people. Moreover, they taught them and converted them into Islam.²⁶⁹ Generally, to win the Oromos' friendship the Amirs encouraged intermarriage and inter-adoption. Oromo chiefs and their lineages and commoners involved in such marriages and adoptions received special treatment and services when they came to Harar market.²⁷⁰ By doing so the Hararis created interesting relations with the Oromo, who turned into settled farmers and those who were semi nomadic pastoralists. They also maintained that the alliance with the Oromo who settled and turned into farmers. This peaceful relation has protected Harar from being invaded by semi nomadic pastoralists and other peoples. Therefore, townsmen have benefited a lot from the cooperation between farmers, traders and cattle breeders Oromo people.²⁷¹

Furthermore, Hararis empowered the Oromo in the administrative hierarchy under different titles like *malaq*, *garad*, and *damin*, by doing so they overcome the trouble when they passing the ports of Zeila and

²⁶⁶*Ibid.*

²⁶⁷Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1835* (Addis Ababa, 1968), p.57.

²⁶⁸Alan Caulk Richard, *Harar Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of African History*, 1977, pp.372-373.

²⁶⁹*Ibid.*

²⁷⁵Abbas Ahmed, *A Historical Study of the City-State of Harar, (1795-1875)*, Master Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History Department (Addis Ababa, 1992), p.50.

²⁷¹Alan, 1977, pp.372-3.

Barbara.²⁷² Thus, Harar was essentially a commercial town and a place of contact between the rich interior Ethiopia and the countries of the Gulf of Aden especially Arab countries and even beyond.²⁷³

3.5. Traders

The Harar were mainly farmers before they gave up their land and turned principally to traders. The reasons for such move were the loss of land to the Oromo in the 16th century, the Harari attraction by the profitable trade. Thereafter, trade became the occupation of the Harari people. Consequently, this made the Harari people born traders. Other peoples including Alla clans of the surrounding Oromo in the west and south, the Babile to the east and the Nole in the north and the Issa Somali in the lowlands northwards to the sea, were engaged in trading which in turn brought the Harari to participate on trading.²⁷⁴

The Gari and Bartari who pushed the Oromo back from the Jigijiga plain and mingled with them. The Ogden Somali who with another branch of the Oromo (*Anniya*) who occupied the headwaters of the Wabi Shebelle to the south of the Alla, shared an interest in long-distance trade and were fellow Muslims.²⁷⁵ When foreign merchants who were residing either in Harar or Eden were also engaged in import and export business. These included, Alfred Bardey a French merchant, Arthur Rimbaud, even whose name is in memorial as Arthur Rimbaud Museum houses in Harar, Mr. Pitten a British agent, Gaeta no Sacconi an Italian who engaged in whole sale trade.

There were also Indians and Pakistanis like Muhammad Ali who was doing a prosperous business in Japanese fabrics in which nearly all Harari women were dressed and whose house is still admired and then caused the Harari women to develop a certain basketry pattern named 'Muhammad Ali Gar.'²⁷⁶ Foreign merchants were also running local business. Armenians and Greek communities involved in the trade of modern medicine commonly known as Harar Indians, Syrians, Greek and Italians and several Egyptians who engaged in selling cotton cloth, clothing, glassware, brass and copper, drinks and preserves” Therefore, Harar served as one of the main links between the Red Sea/Indian Ocean coast and the Ethiopian highlands.²⁷⁷ Earlier when Harar was occupied by the Turku-Egyptians (1875-1885) there were

²⁷²Muhammad Hassan, *Menelik's Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its effect on the Political Organization of the Surrounding Oromo up to 1900*, in D.L. Donham and W. James (eds.), *Working papers on society and history in imperial Ethiopia. The Southern Periphery from 1880-1974*, Cambridge, African Studies Centre, 1980, pp.227-230.

²⁷³Abbas Ahmed, 1992, p.53.

²⁷⁴*Ibid*, p.49.

²⁷⁵Caulk, *Harar Town and Its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of African History*, XVIII, 1977, pp.370-371.

²⁸¹Hecht, 1987, p.2.

²⁷⁷Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1835* (Addis Ababa, 1968), p.1968, p.410.

3,000 Amhara Christians, 5,000 Somali Muslims, a handful of Arab, Turkish, Greek, Indian, Syrian, Italian and Armenian traders, and French missionaries all living among 25,000 Harari Muslims.²⁷⁸

This representation continued even during the reign of Haile Sellassie I for every race and belief seem to be represented here-Somalis, Oromo, Arabs, Egyptians, Indians, Greeks and Armenians. Then Harar, served as a point of cultural contact.²⁷⁹ Harar had, therefore, most probably developed a mechanism to overcome the difference in cultural, language and legal system of those merchants to enable them to communicate and do business. Harar and Hararis, therefore, have a reputation to bring together through trade and business people with different back ground and beliefs to prosper together as their prosperity depended on their cooperation.

Hence the benefit based on non-discrimination was mutual.To form their famous cavalry by acquiring horse from the Somali. The Harari's invasion was followed by a three-year's famine.²⁸⁰ This Oromo invasion had a great economic impact on the Harari people in particular and on the surrounding people in general. Although before his death Emir Nur reacted to the invasion of Oromo by building the city's wall as barrier between the two, contrary to his wish within a matter of teen years the City (Harar) reduced to the status of the isolated city.²⁸¹

3.6. Menelik's conquest and local leaders in Harar

As already indicated above, Harari and their city-state were fallen into the hands of Menelik II. The defeat of Harari, however, was not absolute. The army of the Harari people was not match to Menelik II's army. Menelik's superiority was, however, a superiority of arms i.e., was not the superiority of civilization.²⁸² The annexation of Harar by the force of MenelikII brought Harar under the occupation and control of administrators and settlers from outside of Harar and Harari people who were different in religion, language and in the manner of like indigenous inhabitants.²⁸³

The occupation of the Harari people by the forces of new emperor (Menelik II), who were different in many aspects from the local community, brought many problems of economic, social and culture of the

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*

²⁷⁹Abbas Ahmed, 1992, p.59.

²⁸⁰Tramingham, 1965, pp.93-4.

²⁸⁶Mohammed Hassan, 1973, p.5.

²⁸²Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1896-1974*, The Red Sea Press Inc,1995, p.43.

²⁸³Informants: - Mustafa Jabir and Ayub.

people of under the study.²⁸⁴ To mention some of the problems, which were created due to the occupation of Menelik II, people coerced to pay taxes to alien agents, loosing of freedom to follow their own traditions and other similar problems met the people of Harari.²⁸⁵

Therefore, after the battle of *Challenko* (6 January 1887) in the Emir of Harar was seriously defeated his allies of more than thousand were killed, the region came under the domination of MenelikII's administration. Few days later after the battle (Chalen qo) even the city's gates themselves invited the conqueror to come to their region.²⁸⁶ As already indicated, immediately after the Emir fled the city in the night of 8/9 January the town was occupied without further resistance. Then the city of Harar was highly looted and devastated by the forces of Menelik II. Although later on some kinds of agreement made between elders of the town and Menelik II in which the later (Menelik II) agreed to keep his men at the camp of mountain Aboker.²⁸⁷ This was resulted with the good diplomatic efforts of the Harari elders. The terms agreed between the two parties, i.e., the side of MenelikII and the elders of the town. The agreement or treaty that was made between the two granted the respect of the religion of the town (Islam) and its practices. On his side, MenelikII agreed to take taxes, which are equal to what had been paid during the period of Egyptian management.²⁸⁸

All the burdens of supporting an army of occupation and many alien administrators, paying heave tax and forced confiscating of property are the heavy yoke on the people of Harari in particular and on the surrounding people in general.²⁸⁹ The other impositions that the Harari people suffered from the conquest of MenelikII were besides heavy taxes, other dues on local farmers and traders, soldiers stole cattle of the inhabitants, the burning of houses that accompanied with tax raids, enslavements of captives, and mal administration.²⁹⁰

Moreover, large number of soldiers migrated with their families to Harar. They created problems of political malcontents, coercion and the threats of coercion on the people. Subsequently, they founded of armed outposts to the northeast of the town, around the first months of the occupation, the extending of

²⁸⁴Informants: - Tsehay Melesachew and Bogalech.

²⁸⁵Gera Geta Haila Giyorgis, *Zenanu La-Leu Ras Makwnnen* (Addis Ababa, 1965e.c), pp.22-23, Trans. by Tesfa Yohannes 5th year History department.

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*

²⁸⁷Borelli, *Ethiopie Meridionale* (Paris,1890), p.238.

²⁸⁸LRbecchi Brochette, *Nell Harar* (Millan, 1896), p.121.

²⁸⁹*Ibid*, p.125.

²⁹⁰Cerulli, 1931, p.79.

tithe (*asrat*) were among series problems, which followed by the terrible cattle disease and the great Ethiopian famine of 1888-1892.²⁹¹

Generally, all the above-mentioned problems, which resulted from either Menelik II's occupation or natural cases, had great impacts on the general economic conditions and developments of the Harari people in particular and the surrounding Oromo people in general. However, literate Harari continued to be employed after the battle of *Challanqo* (1887) as officials of different levels, i.e., in the Menelik II's administrative structure.²⁹² Moreover, the occupation of the region by the conquering forces of Menelik II accompanied by the soldiers raiding of villages, the greater reduction of the cattle of the area, trade, traders were driven away from the town, and others are the problems caused because of Menelik II's expansion.²⁹³

The letter sent from king Menelik to Amir Adullahi reveals that if the later (Amir Abullahi) was voluntary to accept the Menelik's occupation of the region, Menelik was also voluntary to share power to the Amir.²⁹⁴ But contrary to this question the Amir Abdullahi's response was that if the force of Menelik defeat his army and Harar came under the control of the emperor, he has to pay only tribute for the emperor, unless we have no place for the questions of the Christian highland. We can see this idea from the below letters that taken from different sources like Sheriff the Harar Museum and other institutions. Although Menelik II feared the existence of colonial powers who have already colonized the neighbour countries, his primary task was not to react against them, but to bring first the Harari Amir Abudullahi under his control as it was indicated in the letter he wrote to the Italian government.²⁹⁵

During and after the battle of *Challanqo* the soldiers and some of Menelik officials have looted the people of Harar city. The grainaries of the city, cattle of the peasants were all robbed by the soldiers of Menelik II. Thus, the administration of Menelik II was in other hand caused a serious problem on the economy of the Harari people.²⁹⁶ The Harari people lost their land although there was some kind of agreement between the Harari people and Menelik II, which gradually violated even by the administrators of in Harar. The people have lost their rights to learn and speak in their language, they were forced to surrender their military weapons like guns. As result of all these factors the people suffered from serious

²⁹¹ Arthur Rimbaud, correspondence 1888-1891 J. Voelmy, ed. (Paris, 1965), p.82.

²⁹² Informants: - Murad Abdullah and Aliye.

²⁹³ Harold Marcus, *The Life Times of Menelik II* (Addis Abeba, 1966), p.271.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Ethiopia from 1848-1966* Addis Ababa University Press, Addis Ababa, p.69.

²⁹⁶ Ragih Abdella; *The Kulub-Hannalatto Movement by Harari* (Addis Ababa, Nd), P.58.

economic problems. It was because of these problems that the Harari began to struggle for their right under the Organization called known as Kulub Hannollato movement.²⁹⁷

The violation of rights and the government's mal administration in the region of Harari even after the regime of Menelik II continued during the period of the imperial regime, which damaged the economic development of Harari people.²⁹⁸ The soldiers that Menelik had left in Harar have moved their camp into the town chasing part of the population engaged in looting of the people, looting the grain stores and raids. After the battle of Challanqo both inside and outside the town of Harar Menelik's administrators as it has been indicated above, continued to raids, stole cattle, tax raids, which were accompanied by burning of houses and enslavements of the people of the.²⁹⁹

Peaceful submission of the Harari Emir, before go to war, but on the side of the Emirs, Menelik II's letter initially got no good response. Rather they informed the emperor that they were ready for jihad. Nevertheless, when the war fought, many people were killed on the side of the Amir, a number of war weapons were handover to Menelik II and they finally defeated and their state was occupied by Christian emperor Menelik II.³⁰⁰ But Menelik II attempted to convince the Harari people by explaining that he had no intention to occupy their land but bring peace and security to that place and to keep it from the occupation of foreign aggressors. Therefore, Menelik II in his letter to king Umberto of Italy he explained that the same idea as he had no intention to stay in Harar for a long period. He explained that also after occupy Harar and its surrounding Oromo people he will rule according to their religion and customs including the surrounding Oromo people.³⁰¹

When they occupied Harar, they have no intention to destroying and looting the people. Thus, generally, he declared, "We have no intention of looting and destroying. Then after taking Harar, we will protect and govern every one according to his religion and custom. We will subdue (control) and pacify the route from Shoa to the sea. That was intended to do according to the letter of Menelik II there was intention to rule people in a violent way, contrary to this intention his soldiers looted cattle of urban dwellers, they burnt the

²⁹⁷Informants: Kalifa Yasira and Mumme.

³⁰³Mekuria Mekasha, *The Harar Protest* (Addis Abeba, 1992), pp.113-4.

³⁰⁴L. Robecchi-Bricchetti, *Nell Harar* (Millan, 1896), p.121.

³⁰⁰Informant: - Lubaba and Fatima Hassan.

³⁰¹*Ibid.*

houses of the urban dwellers, large number of war weapons were taken from people especially, which left behind Egyptians.³⁰²

The effects that results from the occupation of MenelikII on the Harari people and its surroundings area were very heavy in terms of economic as well as the social life of the people. Contrary to the emperor's intention, the people of Harar were chased from their dwellings, trade and traders were driven away markets becoming impossible in town, instead they were held in the remote areas of countryside. People suffered from heavy burdens of feeding the soldiers and different workers. At each gate taxes were increased on the trade commodities, hence the number of merchants decreased, as they feared these maltreatments of the new government.³⁰³ Consequently, when the number of the cattle in the area greatly reduced and the population of merchants declined considerably. All these problems have highly affected the economy of the Harari people in particular and of the surrounding Oromo in general.³⁰⁴

Menilek II's first step was the occupation of the Ittu Oromo in June 1885. The emir accused the Christians living in Harar of co-operating with the Shawn and for the Europeans conditions in the city began to deteriorate from the very beginning of the new regime. By July the situation was worse, i.e., the population grew uncontrollable, European traders became practical prisoners in their homes and shops and the neighboring Oromo raided the town. In response to the instability, and to ensure his constant rule, the Emir elected to follow a course of isolation, removal of all the foreigners in the city of and hateful influences.³⁰⁵

In a letter of 4 June 1885, MenilekII informed King Umberto of Italy and his other European relatives expressing his victory and happiness that 'without doubt' he would occupy Harar, and requested them especially king Umberto the protection against any interference.

3.7. HARARI'S COINS

In Ethiopian history, coinage is not a new phenomenon. Because Aksum, have issued coins, probably from the third century onwards. Prior to the 19th century the most common currency of Ethiopian history were essential items such as amole, pieces of cloth, iron and later cartridges.³⁰⁶

³⁰²Informants:- Naima Hassan and Jabir Kasim.

³⁰⁴L Robecchi-Briccchtti, Nell Harar (Millan, 1896), p.121.

³⁰⁴*Ibid*, pp.237-239.

³⁰⁵Informants: - Abdurrahman and Zeytuna.

³⁰⁶Informants: - Abdurrahman Hamid and Mumme.

By the 19th century, these items replaced by another medium of exchange called known as Maria Theresa Thaler for large transactions until emperor MenelikII started minting local currency around the end of the 19th century.³⁰⁷ Currency in Harar also begun to develop because of certain events in Harari history, which allowed the development of trade and things, related to trade for the mintage of coinage in the city. However, Majority of Harari coins were invasion imported from foreign countries some of them like mahallak were minted in Harar. To mention some of these events, the consecutive famine by which Harari and the surroundings experienced a devastating problem, particularly right after the death of Imam Ahemed ibn- Ibrahim al Ghazi, and during the reign of Emir Nur ibn Mujahd(1551-1567).³⁰⁸

After the recovery from the impact of these famines, since the food price is dropped, the Emirs begun to introduce the currency like *ashirafi*, *mahallak* and others. As evidences indicate *mahallak*, introduced by Emir Nur and even the name itself supposed to be from Egypt.³⁰⁹ In addition to using of Harari, coins in 19th century the economy of Harari people based most common form economic transaction called barter and Maria Theresa Thaler.³¹⁰ As far as the Harari coin is concerned, the volume of the currency was not definitely known. Nevertheless, the commonly known ones are *mahallak*, small copper and nominal coin 22 o f that are equal to one German or own and it resemble the diwani of Jidda, one side is inscribed in Arabic Characters La illahail allaha and the reverse side has the name of the reigning prince.³¹¹ One thing that made unique the history of coin age in the Harari region was that, in the region foreign countries have introduced different types of coins. Among many types of coins, to mention some, the British coins, the Turkish piaster, Indian ruppes, Italian lire etc until the Menelike II's coins introduced and gained acceptance. Therefore, from this we can understand that, since Harar was the major commercial centre different types of coin were more accepted in Harar than the other areas of Ethiopia. As a result, Harar managed to get a mixture of different currencies until after the Italy-Ethiopian war, a time when a more stable integral national currency was introduced.³¹²

³⁰⁷ Ahmed Zakaria, 1991, p.25.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.25.

³⁰⁹ Informants: - Jamal Yusuf and Fatima.

³¹⁵ Barker, *Extract Report on the Probable Geographical Position of Harar*, With some information Relative to the Various Tribes in the Vicinity, Journal of Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. XII (1842, p.87.

³¹¹ Ahmed Zekaria, 1991, pp.25-26.

³¹² Mainsoneve and Larose, *Experience Harar*: (Tokyo, 2015), pp.54-55.

Figure.4 Different types of Harari coins.



Source: Taken from Sheriff the Harar Museum

Harar as sovereign and commercial state used to mint its own coin. Because of this coin mintage, Harar was made one of the only two states next to Aksum to mint its own coin in the horn of Africa. The materials used to produce these coins are gold, copper and bronze.³¹³ The minting of coin in Harar according to the evidence from different sources, it was started during the reign of Abdu Shakur (1783-1794) who used gold coins. Currently several types of coins minted and used in Harar are discovered and their collections are present at Sheriff the Harar city private Museum and some others of them are at Harari cultural center dating from 706-1885(the year when Egyptian) were evacuated Harar or Ethiopia.³¹⁴

The other coins of Harari which had been used on the Somalia coast and stamped at the Harari mint perhaps it is peculiar to the place was asherafi. It made of silver and bears on one side the name of Emir and on its reverse La illahail allaha La illahail Allah. The coins had used by the Harari people in the city of Harar and its surrounding areas are changeable in the type and volume. The Egyptian occupation of the region under Ra, uf Pasha had also its own impact on the circulation of the Harari coins and the piaster are supposed to be legal currency, but were less effective.³¹⁵

As Harar had been geographically strategic and commercial center, so it linked the north and central Ethiopia with Middle East countries. There are many market places in Harar, which are found around the five gates of the Jugol, which still except Badri Bari market are functional. The coins, which had been used around these market places, helped Harar as independent and commercial center State to mint its own

³¹³*Ibid.*

³¹⁴Informant: - Ahemedteyib and Benti.

³¹⁵Informants: - Abulkadir Yusuf and Maftuha.

coins, made of the materials like Gold, copper, and bronze. Therefore, this made Harar one of the only two States next to Aksum to its coins in the Horn of Africa as already explained in the above parts.³¹⁶

When we consider the economic aspect, the main income of the Harari people in addition to trade and agriculture, the traditional Handcraft was also another means of income generation for the Harari people. Therefore, the people of Harari, especially women were known by colorful and artistic handmade baskets, ornaments, wooden households and different jewelries and precious stones. Hence, Harari people benefited a lot from such economic activities. In this regard, the contribution of the Harari women was so great that their clothing is direct reflection of their crafts and their colorful culture. Among many of these crafts, one was the basketry, which comprises an art, social value, economic opportunity, being self-employment.³¹⁷

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. The economic conditions and the challenges in the Harari region in 1970s

Although many changes and developments were prevailed in Harar in 1970s, i.e., even during the imperial regime but still many cases were unsolved. These developments, which, revealed in Harari region in the meantime were the creation of Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway. However, the railway was intended to run via, the city but it diverted to the mountain between Harar and the Awash River to save money. This in turn resulted in the creation of Dire Dawa, which is known as the second Harar by many people. The above developments are not only restricted to the economic developments but also included the developments of different socio-economic infrastructures.

These developments were also come into being with the efforts of both the foreign countries and the Ethiopian governments of that period. Contrary to some of the development that begun to develop in the region, many problems were left unsolved even after the great Ethiopian revolution, i, e.1970s until very recent time. The problems that begun to reveal in the first half of the twenty century, the time when there was power conflict between the group of *Ras* Tefari Moknneen and Leji Iyasu's group started.³¹⁸

In 1974, the DERG (the coordinating Committee of the armed forces) undertook many reforms including the nationalization of the land that was the new phenomena in the history Ethiopia until this period. This led to a new administrative division of the town and the region and to a change in the property law

³¹⁶Mainsoneve and Larose, 2015, p.54.

³¹⁷*Ibid.*

³¹⁸Informants: -Abudulmajid Kemal and Fayo Ahemed.

concerning land and dwelling places. The agricultural area surrounding the Jugole as well as a large number of traditional houses came under the authority of the federal State. In 1994, almost 40% of the houses were the property of the State. With this reform, the income of individual Harari people was highly decreased. Harar has been officially, registered as an Ethiopian national heritage since 1974. Then Harar Jugole had legal protection that protect Jugole and gave recognition as a center of Heritage site by UNESCO's Proclamation.³¹⁹

This in turn had contributed a great deal of economic importance for the Harari people and its surroundings.³²⁰ In recent decades, the historic town of Harar Jugole have been subjected to a challenging period, which marked by wars and famine, poverty, nationalization of private property, which was in large-scale seen during the dictatorial government of the DERG regime and caused the growing of popular pressure resistance. Because of this, the state of conservation of the buildings, which have worth value for economic development of the region, suffered from series of problems.

As the study of the experts has indicated that, there are gradual changes that are affecting the validity of the historic city, such as plastering the houses and changing doors from wood to metal.³²¹ The environmental contexts of Jugole have been retained particularly on the eastern side of the fortified city. There are also however problems in the surrounding area, which have directly or indirectly played great role in the economic development of the region, where the riverbanks are currently used as public dumping grounds.³²²

Following the recommendation by the World Heritage Committee at its 29th session, in 2005 of Harar, the State Party has responded actively involving a team of French experts in order to solve these problems. A contract has been signed, for the revision of the urban Master Plan taking into account the protection and conservation of the historic town with its surroundings, which was aimed to be completed by the end of 2009.³²³ If it will be effective, the city will get more income especially from the tourists sector. The properly protected buffer zone has been extended to include the completely agricultural landscape to the east of the walled city. The earlier ring road project has been abolished. It is noted that, the new town developed on the west side in the 1930s. Here the buffer zone is relatively narrow, but this part of the

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Jan Bender Shelter and Dawit Yehualashet, *Building a City of Peace through Inter-communal Association, Muslim-Christian Relations in Harar, Ethiopia, 1887-2009*, Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace, Vol. 4. Issue 2010, p.12.

³²¹ Sidney R Waldron, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar*: PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1975, p.62.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Abbas Ahmed, *A Historical Study of the City-State of Harar, (1795-1875)*, Master Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History Department, 1992, p.94.

territory is under planning control based on the urban Master Plan, which can be taken as a reasonable guarantee for the protection.³²⁴

The Jugole Heritage Conservation Office (JHCO), established in 2003, has been allocated the coordinating role in the management system involving relevant local authorities and central government offices. An action plan has been prepared for the conservation management of the historic town Harar.³²⁵ An archaeological survey of the context of the historic town has been carried out in 2005. There are three infrastructure projects related to renovation of the sewage system (which was to be completed in 2007), a new water supply requiring a pipeline of 75km, and the establishment of an appropriate solid waste management system.³²⁶

While the historic town of Harar Jugole is relatively well preserved, it has various problems related to lack of maintenance and repair that can affect the attractiveness of the city for Tourists. As it has been observed and indicated by Scholars, various risks regarding the gradual modification of the building fabric of Harar Jugole, for example plastering of external walls that used to be bare, replacing original wooden doors in metal, building in nontraditional materials. The development of the Harar region has been modest in recent decades due to a number of reasons. However, new perspectives are being presented, and it is vital to expect any decisions to avoid any negative impact on the economic and cultural landscape of Harar and the Harari people.³²⁷ It is necessary to examine the impact of proposed development on the traditional way of life and the traditional environment. The challenge is to provide a quality of life to the inhabitants that respect traditional values without sacrificing the essentials of modern economic facilities. The strategic decisions taken by the Harari authorities in 2005, however, are expected to counteract and mitigate the above problems over the coming years.³²⁸

Currently the State Party adequately responding to the recommendations that identified by the World Heritage Committee, and are expected to contribute to the sustainability of the conservation and the way of improving the economic development of the Harari people. The general management control and authority to ratify decrees and laws is with the Harari Council is currently working hard to improve the above-mentioned problems.

³²⁴*Ibid.*

³²⁵Wagner, *The Arabic Documents on the History of Harar*, Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 1974, p.218.

³²⁶Informants: - Bakiri Hmed and Najib Sultan.

³²⁷Barker, "Extract Report on the Probable Geographical Position of Harar: With some information Relative to the Various Tribes in the Vicinity," Journal of Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. XII 1842, p.88.

³²⁸*Ibid.*

4.2. The cultivation of different crops in Harar and its surrounding

The small coffee plantations round the city of Harar and in the Chercher Highlands give relatively high productions. The coffee vegetation, which usually numbers a few hundred for each plantation, is planted on very small terraces, and these have a width only a little more than one meter. As a rule, the trees remain not cut until they attain a great height after 15 to 20 years. According to various publications, coffee was introduced to Harar from Yemen.³²⁹

The Harar type of coffee shrub is a very rank grower. It is a good producer, and it has bronze-tipped leaves, which are sometimes very large. It is cultivated round the city of Harar and in the Chercher Highlands. Though very high yielding, it is particularly susceptible to leaf-rust (*Hemileia*).³³⁰

Harar is regarded as the most important centre of *chat* production in the world. In the plantations, typically the distance between trees is 1.5 m in the same row and 2.5 m between rows. Irrigation is unusual. The product was sold as branches about 40 cm long. "The origin of the cultivation and use of chat at Harar seems lost in legend. The Moslems of that city tell a story of its being revealed by an angel in answer to prayers by two saints who appealed to Allah for something to keep them. Awake during their long prayers. In Modern use, three hours after the morning meal are spent chewing *chat* during which time one individual consumes about 1/4 kilogram. After this, the farmers work for two or three hours at hard labor without any sign of fatigue. Again, in the afternoon following a rest period with food and drink, more *chat* is chewed in preparation for further work. The farmers say that if *chat* chewing is not followed by hard labor it then serves as disadvantages rather *chat* was cultivated chiefly for local consumption until the advent of modern transportation. Since the first consignment by air to Aden in 1942, exports have increased gradually. Generally, the cultivation of Chat has a great role in generating income for the people of the study area in particular and for the general income of the country in general.³³¹

A particular mention has to be made regarding the use of chat in Harar. It is well known that the leaves of this shrub are chewed and have an exciting effect on the nervous system. The use of Chat is diffused today among the Muslim of the southeast Ethiopia, particularly in the region of Harar, which is the main centre of its production. Its use has also spread among the Muslims of other regions of Ethiopia as the former States of the South-west Ethiopia. Therefore, the consumption of Chat is considered as assign of adherence

³²⁹Ethiopian Institute of Agriculture, Report on the (FAO) conference (Rome, 1961), p 211.

³³⁰*Ibid*,p.216.

³³¹*Journal of Ethiopian Studies vol III 1965 no 2 p.p. 14-15.*

to Muslims. Thus, now a day's chat has paramount importance in generating income for people of Harari in particular and for Ethiopia in general.³³²

4.3. Coinage in Harar and the First Bank in Ethiopia

In the history of the country Harar was one of the Ethiopian kingdom that able to mint its own currency as explained in the above parts of the study. Besides minting its own coins Harari have used to import different kinds of coins from foreign countries like Indian, Egypt, and Italy and from British itself. Harari also had its own coinage. The old Harari currency was the *Mahallaq*, a small copper coin 22 units of which were equal to a nominal coin called ashrafi and 40 units of the latter are equal to one German Crown. The *Mahallaq* which was derived from the Harari word Mahallk (to count) resembles the diwani of Jeddah; with one side inscribed in Arabic characters La illaha illa-Allah and the reverse was the name of the reigning prince.³³³ The combination of the phrase La illaha illa-Allah and the name of the reigning prince on the coin could be a reflection of the close alliance between religious institutions and the administration of Harar. In history various symbols are used by different countries on their coins.³³⁴

Payments by merchants were not, however, always made in those coins. Clothes either locally made or imported and salt could be accepted to secure passage for instance. The amole *chew*, salt bars, or blocks of salt piece of clothes or iron, gun cartridges, and Maria Theresa dollars were some of the media of exchange used in the earlier periods of Harar. Harari's currencies displayed at the Permanent exhibition of the Sheriff Harar City Museum opened on 24th December, 2008 take back the use of coins in Harar to 871 A.D. Harari coins were in the form of gold, copper or silver and were in use beyond the boundaries of Harar. They were in circulation in North East Africa. The circulation was also revealed in such areas as Ifat, Chercher, Zayla and Barbra.³³⁵ Harar coins were in use as far as *Ras Assayer* on the Somali coast, Mogadishu, *Challanko* the circulation of the Harar coins outside Harar could be taken as evidence of the strength and influence of Harari economy beyond its boundary. At the time other currencies were also in circulation in Harar. For instance Barker (1842:238) tells us Maria Theresa dollars were used as currency in addition to the Harari

³³² Informants:- Aisha and Zaytuna

³³³ Burton, 1966, p.191.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ Abbas Ahmed, 1992, p.56.

coins. Riyal *Qirshi* and other types of currencies were once in circulation in Harar.³³⁶ During the Turco-Egyptian occupation Harar had two currencies, Harari and Egyptian side by side.³³⁷

Furthermore, when the British rule ended Turco-Egyptian occupation and took over the administration of Harar they paid Indian rupees for those Hararis and Somalis; they trained to protect Harar when the occupation ended.³³⁸

We noted earlier that there were many foreign merchants doing import/export business. The Turco-Egyptian army was probably paid in cash unlike those who were either granted land or paid in kind for their service. It is, therefore, believable to assume ordinary money exchangers could not satisfy the existing demand for the exchange and supply of money. Therefore, the Egyptians founded the Egyptian branch bank referred to as the Egyptian Bank in Harar to provide foreign exchange service to those foreigners and Harari merchants engaged in import and export business and pay salary to their occupying army. In other case the coming of Egyptians helped the merchants of Harari and others to save their money in the modern Egyptian bank, unlike prior to that time, when people could put money in a secret place for instance burying it in the ground within ones compound; or trust the money with a friend or a *Qadi*.³³⁹

The Egyptian Bank as any other bank probably did the followings. Adjusted domestic credit managed a reserve of specie or foreign exchange with which stabilized exchange rates, lent out the savings of others and deposit money. Even after the British expelled Turco-Egyptian army and Menelik II occupied it, Harar continued as an intercontinental business and trade centre. One could save the money in a secret place for instance burying it in the ground within ones compound; or trust the money with a friend or a *Qadi*. Harar, even after the evacuation of Egyptians and Menelike II's conquest of it continued as an intercontinental business and trade centre. Thus, the coming of the foreign powers and merchants in other case had positively affected the economic progress of the Harari people.³⁴⁰

4.4. Market relations and trade routes

After the period of its contact with the surrounding Oromo people Harari was depended on the supplies provided by the later (Oromo) for the survival that depended on the convenience of its market for the

³²⁶Ahmed Zakaria, p.26.

³³⁷*Ibid.*

³³⁷Richard Pankhurst,1965, p.56.

³³⁹*Ibid.*

³⁴⁰Informants: - Bakiri and Sultan.

dominant Oromo, one must ask what these pastoralist invaders may have needed from Harari's markets. Therefore, many evidences have shown that the basic commodities needed from the Harari people by the surrounding Oromo were cloth and Salt.³⁴¹

Clothes were, too used as replacement for leather wraps-still worn by many Afars and some Borana Oromo. Initially, in the Harari-Oromo trade, it was almost certainly a sumptuary item, not a necessity. Salt, however, as the most important source of sodium, is essential to human survival, and its control by the Harari may well have been the key to the city's survival. Still a trade good in the Harari's open market, the salt in early Harari trade came from coastal evaporating particularly at Zeila rather than from the Danakil. Although Lake Ayele, some thirty-five kilometers north of the city, is rich in mineral salts, in fact long recognized by Oromo herdsmen.³⁴²

Throughout the pre-industrial world, market centers, which provided local access, to salt often formed the basis of later urban developments, and control of salt trade was often a basis for centralized political power.³⁴³ A certain political pattern seems to emerge where salt was plentiful, the society tended to be free, independent and democratic; where it was scarce (limited), the one which controlled salt also controlled the people. Hence, controlling the trade routes and trade items reflects controlling of power. Thus, Harari's local monopoly on salt as being a basis for the "market convenience" which permitted their unique survival among all of the early Muslim principalities faced with Oromo.³⁴⁴ The city developed as a major centre of commercial products that transported from and to Ethiopia via the port of Zeila by camel caravans. The Harari people are known for the quality of their handicrafts, including weaving, basket making and bookbinding. Hand-written Korans were also produced in Harar and circulated in the surrounding regions.³⁴⁵

4.5. The economic conditions and the challenges in the Harari in the 1970s

Although many changes and developments were prevailed in Harar in 1970s, i.e., even during the imperial regime but still many cases were unsolved. These developments which, revealed in Harari region in the meantime were not only restricted to the economic developments but also include the developments of different socio-economic infrastructures. These developments were also come into being with the efforts of

³⁴¹ Stitz Volker, *Arabic Town Records and the Economic and Population History of Harar during the 19th Century*. A Paper Prepared for the Conference on Harari Studies Organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, 1975, p. 9.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ Informant: - Mussa and Jamila Kedir.

³⁴⁴ Yusuf Ahmed, 1960, p. 37.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

both the foreign countries and the Ethiopian governments of that period. Contrary to some of the development that begun to develop in the region, many problems were left unsolved even after the great Ethiopian revolution, i, e.1970s until very recent time.³⁴⁶

The problems that begun to reveal in the first half of the twenty century, which was the time when there was power conflict between the group of Ras Tefari Moknneen and Leji Iyasu's group started. In 1974, the DERG (The coordinating Committee of the armed forces) undertook many reforms including the nationalization of the land that was the new phenomena in the history Ethiopia until this period. This led to a new administrative division of the town and the region and to a change in the property law concerning land and dwelling places. The agricultural area surrounding the Jugole as well as a large number of traditional houses came under the authority of the federal State. In 1994, almost 40% of the houses were the property of the State. With this reform, the income of individual Harari people was highly decreased. Harar has been officially, registered as an Ethiopian national heritage since1974.Then Harar Jugole had legal protection that protect Jugole and gave recognition as a center of Heritage site by UNESCO's Proclamation.³⁴⁷This in turn had contributed a great deal of economic importance for the Harari people and its surroundings.³⁴⁸In the recent decades the historic town of Harar Jugole has been subjected to a challenging period which marked by wars and famine, poverty, nationalization of private property, that was in large-scale seen during the dictatorial government (the DERG regime), and caused the growing of popular pressure resistance. For the reason that the state of conservation of the buildings, which have worth value for economic development of the region, suffered from a series of problems.

As the study of the experts has indicated that, there are gradual changes that are affecting the validity of the historic city, such as plastering the houses and changing doors from wood to metal.³⁴⁹ The environmental context of Jugole has been retained particularly on the eastern side of the fortified city. There are also however problems in the surrounding area, which have directly or indirectly played great role in the economic development of the region, where the riverbanks are currently used as public dumping grounds.³⁵⁰

Following the recommendation by the World Heritage Committee at its 29th session, in 2005 of Harar, the State Party has responded actively involving a team of French experts in order to solve these problems. A

³⁴⁶Informants: - Abdulmajid and Zakaria.

³⁴⁷*Ibid.*

³⁴⁸Jan Bender Shelter and Dawit Yehualashet, "Building a "City of Peace" through Inter-communal Association, Muslim-Christian Relations in Harar, Ethiopia, 1887-200," *Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace*, 2010, p.12.

³⁴⁹Sidney R Waldron, 1975, p.62.

³⁵⁰*Ibid.*

contract has been signed, for the revision of the urban Master Plan taking into account the protection and conservation of the historic town with its surroundings, which was aimed to be completed by the end of 2009.³⁵¹ If it will be effective, the city will get more income especially from the tourists sector. The properly protected buffer zone had been extended to include the completely agricultural landscape to the east of the walled city. The earlier ring road project has been abolished. It is noted that, the new town developed on the west side in the 1930s. Here the buffer zone is relatively narrow, but this part of the territory is under planning control based on the urban Master Plan, which can be taken as a reasonable guarantee for the protection.³⁵²

The Jugole Heritage Conservation Office (JHCO), established in 2003, has been allocated the coordinating role in the management system involving relevant local authorities and central government offices. An action plan has been prepared for the conservation management of the historic town Harar.³⁵³ An archaeological survey of the context of the historic town has been carried out in 2005. There are three infrastructure projects related to renovation of the sewage system (which was to be completed in 2007), a new water supply requiring a pipeline of 75km, and the establishment of an appropriate solid waste management system.³⁵⁴

While the historic town of Harar Jugol is relatively well preserved, it has various problems related to lack of maintenance and repair that can affect the attractiveness of the city for Tourists. As it has been observed and indicated by Scholars, various risks regarding the gradual modification of the building fabric of Harar Jugol, e.g. plastering of external walls that used to be bare, replacing original wooden doors in metal, building in nontraditional materials. The development of the Harar region has been modest in recent decades due to a number of reasons. However, new perspectives are now being presented, and it is vital to expect any decisions to avoid any negative impact on the economic and cultural landscape of Harar and the Harari people.³⁵⁵ It is necessary to examine the impact of proposed development on the traditional way of life and the traditional environment. The challenge is to provide a quality of life to the inhabitants that respect traditional values without sacrificing the essentials of modern economic facilities. The strategic decisions taken by the Harari authorities in 2005, however, are expected to counteract and mitigate the above problems over the coming years.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹ Abbas Ahmed, 1992, p.94.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ Wagner, *The Arabic Documents on the History of Harar, Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Ababa, 1974), p.218.

³⁵⁴ Informants: - Bakiri Ahmed and Sultan.

³⁵⁵ Barker, 1842, p.88.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Currently the State Party adequately responding to the recommendations that identified by the World Heritage Committee, and are expected to contribute to the sustainability of the conservation and the way of improving the economic development of the Harari people. The general management control and authority to ratify decrees and laws is with the Harari Council is currently working hard to improve the above-mentioned problems. The Centre for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCCH) was established in 1976.³⁵⁷ It is responsible for the register, the definition of conservation policies, support for restoration work, and decisions about grants, permits. The local authority and the *Kebele* act as administrative offices in the process.

A Master Plan for the Preservation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage in Ethiopia is also attempting its best in this regard. This has integrated by a restoration and training project prepared the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Addis Ababa (2001).

Following the recommendation of the World Heritage Committee in 2005, the State Party has taken the following actions:

A contract was signed in December 2005, between the local authorities Harari National Regional State and the Federal Urban Planning Institute (FUPI) for the preparation of the revised urban master plan to be completed in 2009. The work is expected to be carried out in collaboration with the French Ethiopian Cooperation Program and the Jugol Heritage Conservation Office (J.H.C.O). The project for an asphalted ring road around the old town has been cancelled in December 2005. At the same time, the buffer zone has been extended to cover the landscape area on the east side of the historic town.³⁵⁸ In the buffer zone, only agricultural activities allowed. New constructions can only consist of simple camp in earth and wood for agricultural use. All waste must be removed from this area, and waste disposal areas will be strictly controlled. J.H.C.O. will identify four levels of protection: principal monuments, important historic buildings, contextual urban fabric, and 'out-of-context buildings. The last category contains buildings of no architectural, urban or typological interest; these can be replaced in agreement with J.H.C.O.³⁵⁹

This office will work as a flexible link between the Regional Government and the representatives of the administrative and social structure of Jugole.

The office will be responsible for the elaboration of a project for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage and a project for the enhancement and sustainable development of the city of Harar in terms of economy and cultural aspects. These two projects will run parallel and mutually reinforce each other. A new

³⁵⁷*Ibid.*

³⁵⁸Informants: - Sheik Kamal Najib and Abdultaha.

³⁵⁹Informants: - Mustekiya and Shartu Umar.

archaeological survey of Harar was conducted in December 2005. Accordingly, the main source of funding comes from the government. However, there has been cooperation between the local authority, the Urban Development Support Service, and the German Technical Organization, which is aiming to the improving of financial base to bring sustainable developments. The funds expected to be used for the improvement of the facilities of the new Heritage Conservation Office.³⁶⁰ In recent years, there has been collaboration with French universities to carry out an inventory of Harar involving local architects in the conservation work. In 2003, the first architect settled in Harar to open a practice there.

4.6. The power conflict between *Dejzmach* Teferi and *Lij Iyasu* in Harar and its consequence

Before mentioning the conflicts between *Dejzmach* Teferi and *Lij Iyasu*, it is important to understand the geopolitical situation of the northeast Africa. This is because the situation what have been occurred at that time had adverse impact on the economic development of the country in general and of the Harari people in particular. This was directly related with the domination of the area by the colonial powers like Britain, France and Italy. These big powers had hidden colonial ambition towards Ethiopia from the time of Emperor MinilikII, with who they tried to get diplomatic relation by signing different fake treaties. In which the Italian case could be best example. In similar case within Harar, there have been colonial interventions in the conflicts between two opposing groups, the group of *Liji Iyasu* and the group of Teferi Mekonnen. Finally, the conflict of two contradictory groups resulted in the decline of economic development among the Harari people.³⁶¹

In addition to these, many other reasons caused economic decline of the Harari people in 1970. Some of the problems are the Ethiopian revolution, instability, the Somalia attempts to invade Ethiopia many others factors negatively affect the economic condition of the area under the study. In addition to the above-mentioned problems the 1970s, world politics also contributed great for the economic decline in Ethiopia and in Harar in particular. Among these problems, the major ones are the 1974 Ethiopian, which came into being from January to November that caused the decline of economy in Ethiopia in general and in Harar in particular. Therefore, as we know that the 1973/4 World politic was in a very crisis and unstable in which we can take the case of Arab-Israel war of 1973 as best example. This in turn caused the increase of commodity price in Harar and in as a whole Thus, in Harar in 1970s trade activity was not effective to fulfill the interest of the Harari people. Because of the 1970s disturbances and instability, many people of

³⁶⁰Stitz Volker, 1975, p. 231.

³⁶¹Leonard Mosey, *Haile Sillasia, Conquering Lion* (London,1964), p.61.

the study area particularly the peasant have displayed from commercial farming. Despite this, there are considerations that make active participation of the working class in the popular uprising of the 1974.³⁶²

³⁶²Addis Zemen, N.342, February 24, 1974.1974.

Conclusion

Generally, the people of the study area had faced many problems created because of its administrators of both foreign and domestic origin. Economic activity has had special role in the history of humankind. It has had affected the social behavior and way of life. States and peoples are mainly interacted because of economic affairs. People have passed through many economic developmental stages from very early period to the recent time. In similar way, the dynamic nature of economic change has brought some changes on the Harari people and their surroundings. The foreign administration era and the Christian domination of the region as well as the restrictions of economic rights of the people of the study area, Harari, had a great impact on the smooth run of the economic development of the people. The restriction of rights of the population of the region was an obstacle for the sharing of resources fairly. When the Derg seized power, it came up with some reforms that would be benefit to the peasantry of the study area. However, it has not fully answered the questions of the Harari people in particular and other Ethiopian peasantry in general. The problems are mostly created because of the Derg's policies and strategies such as villagiazation and resettlements were carried out without the interests and consent of the people.

This research significantly provides the readers with the ups and downs of the economic histology of the Harari people from the from the time when they were occupied by the foreign country(Egypt) up to 1970 by discussing the aspects of different economic activities of the people. It provides understandings about the popular interaction, challenges of invaders and the economic policies of the region's administrators beginning from the time of the Emirs to the imperial period 1970.

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I. Unpublished Documents

1. Archives

Table Showing the Appendixes and its explanation

No	Title	Its explanation and contents	Date
Appendix-1	MenelikeII's occupation of Harar and its Surroundings	It explains the way in which MenelikeII invaded Harar.	On 2,January,1887
Appendix-2	MenelikeII's declaration of to Euro	Menelike II sends his satisfaction of invading Harar and its surroundings.	June 2, 1887.
Appendix-3	Menelike II's victory over Harar.	The Emperor Menelik explains difficulties defeating the studying a	On 2,July,----
Appendix-4	Receipts of entering the gates of Harar jugole	It shows the payments by traders while th entering the Jugole gates.	On 2,August,1920
Appendix-5	Receipts show the type of coins merchants.	It indicates different names of coins and gates.	December 1887.
Appendix- 6	Similar with Appendix 5 but in Ara		
Appendix-7	Harari's coins	Indicates different types of coins in.	

Appendix-5



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List of informants

No	Name of informant	Sex	Age	Place of interview	Date of Interview	Remark
1	Abay Aseffa (W/o)	Female	79	Harar	2/03/2016	She is also government employed teacher, told me a very much important issues about the importance of Social Organizations in economic affairs.
2	Abdisa Lemma (Obboo)	Male	66	Harar	2/03/ 2016	He was a merchant and the inhabitant of the city, told me very crucial points helped me to conduct the research in the study area about the five gates.
3	Adam Ali (Ato)	Male	81	Awaday	2/03/2016	He is a farmer and also has a shop from his long experience he told me the geographical situation of the Harari region is not favorable for all types of crops for instance teff.
4	Abebe Mekonne (Ato)	Male	65	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He was a merchant and attentively responded to my interview, which helped me to conduct the research.
5	Abdurahmn Mussa (Ato)	Male	40	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is a government employed officer responded to my interview and gave me most important idea about the interactions among different ethnic groups living in the out of the region on the areas of commerce and devotional activities.
6	Ahemed Kabira (Ato)	Male	64	Harar	4/03/ 2016	This respondent gave the same idea to me.

7	Abdulla Ali (Ato)	Male	78	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is the inhabitant of the town told me about the town as it had been the center of trading.
8	Abdulla Suleima (Ato)	Male	69	Harar	4/03/2016	He is also one among the merchants living within the town of Jogule.
9	Asha Mukta (W/o)	Female	74	Harar	4/03/ 2016	She knows the number of Mosques within the town of Jogule told me the distance between the Mosques.
10	Anisa Yusuf (W/o)	Female	85	Harar	5/03/ 2016	She is the owner of large plantation agriculture but lives in the town.
11	Asha Ibro (W/o)	Female	85	Harar	6/03/ 2016	She is a merchant responded to my questions carefully and explained that, the Oromo used the town of Harar as their main market
12	Abulkerim (Ato)	Male	66	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is one of the merchants living in Harar told me very good information about how the relation of the Harari and Oromo people was started.
13	Adam Mumme (Ato)	Male	72	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is one of the merchants living in Harar told me very good information about how the relation of the Harari and Oromo people was started.
14	Arabo Jamal (W/o)	Female	86	Harar	6/03/ 2016	She is inhabitant of Harar town. She told me the last time when Harari and Oromo clashed.
15	Abdulla (Ato)	Male	77	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is wealthy man told me how some Emirs like Emir Muhammad purchased their alliances of Oromo i.e. Emir Afran Qallo at the expense of the city's economy and the city's economy.
16	Adulmennan Huss (Ato)	Male	65	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is professional teacher knows deeply about the ethnic compositions within different circles of the Harari region.

17	Abduro Shitto (Ato)	Male	69	Harar	6/07/03/20	This teacher also presents similar information with above case.
18	Abdalla Muktar (Ato)	Male	75	Harar	5/07/ 2016	He has a shop gave me information that when laws were changed in line with the change of governments. .
19	Abebe Yilma (Ato)	Male	58	Harar	7/03/2016	He was government-employed teacher gave me detailed information about Egyptians.
20	Abdalla Muktar (Ato)	Male	55	Harar	7/03/2016	He is ordinary a farmer, I saw him buying Chat told me that Egyptians have tried to replace <i>mahallak</i> by piast
21	Aisha Tofik (W/o)	Female	89	Harar	7/03/2016	She had been living in Harar engaged on trade. She responded to my questioner heartily provided me with very much important issue about some benefits that Harari people gained from the Egyptian occupation.
22	AnisaJemal (W/o)	Female	84	Harar	4/03/ 2016	She is a merchant and the inhabitant of the town told me how the importance of economic for the Harari people
23	Belete Legessie (Ato)	Male	52	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is also a teacher interacted to my interview forwarded me information about Geys, which were components of Harar town with their economic activities
24	Badir Shafiyi (Ato)	Male	76	Harar	5/03/ 2016	He is a teacher gave me good explanation about names of different Gates of Harar in different languages and their economic importance of the Gates.
25	Batulla Kedir (W/o)	Female	59	Harar	6/03/ 2016	She responded the same idea with the above person.
26	BesheriaAhemed (W/o)	Female	77	Harar	7/03/2016	She is one of the merchants in the region knows clearly about the coming of different nations and foreign countries to the area.

27	Baderia Ahemmed (W/o)	Female	55	Harar	5/03/ 2016	She is government-employed officer working in Harari Court gave me coherent idea about the advantage irrigation helped me to conduct the research.
28	Demise Getache (Ato)	Male	57	Harar	1/03/ 2016	He is working in the Harari Cultural and Tourism Bureau. He told me that the coming of foreign countries was a cause for the gradual change of the Harari culture.
29	Fatima Ali (W/o)	Female	55	Harar	1/03/ 2016	She is one amongst the merchants of the town and told me the most important facts about Harar town.
30	Foyez Mohamed (Ato)	Male	62	Harar	1/03/ 2016	He is government-employed officer working in Harari Agricultural Bureau and responded that political instability created problem.
31	Fatima Hassan (W/o)	Female	65	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She knows very well that as a result of Menelik II occupation many people were killed. .
32	Fatima Idiris (W/o)	Female	74	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She specified that the granting of some rights for people of the study area and its surroundings.
33	Fatima Idiris (W/o)	Female	73	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She is the inhabitant of the town and gave information about the contribution of Egyptians to the economic development of the region
34	Fakia Ahmed (W/o)	Female	60	Harar	5/03/2016	She is a merchant living in the town responded to my questions carefully and gave me very important explanation about Harar.
35	FayoHusseina (W/o)	Female	82	Harar	6/03/ 2016	She is old aged person gave me detailed explanation to my questions as Harar had been a market place.
36	Eskinder (Ato)	Male	49	Harar	5/03/ 2016	He is also government-employed officer working in Harari Court gave me coherent idea helped me to conduct the research.

37	Fatima Mussa (W/o)	Female	53	Harar	4/03/ 2016	She is a merchant told me that as many Mosques of Harar town have been built in the period between the 11 th century and 13 th centuries.
38	Fatiya (W/o)	Female	88	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is also a merchant and dweller of the town told me a very important idea about the economic importance of the existing Mosques and Churches.
39	Fatima Idris (W/o)	Female	65	Harar	2/03/ 2016	She is old aged and merchant and responded to my questions and told me that the land policy of the Deressa era.
40	Fatima Abdulqadir (W/o)	Female	66	Harar	5/03/ 2016	She is dweller of the town lived in it for more than 100 years. She told me how the forces of Emirs kept the security and peace of the town that helped the sustainability of the town.
41	Gemechu Abdula (Ato)	Male	54	Harar	5/03/ 2016	He is the inhabitant of the town reacted to my interview heart fully and forwarded me with important issue, which helped me to conduct the research on the study area.
42	Girma Saleh (Ato)	Male	66	Harar	7/03/2016	He is government employed teacher gave me very coherent idea.
43	Getahun Alemu (Ato)	Male	80	Harar	7/03/2016	He is government employed person responded to my interview and gave me very much important information that is essential to conduct the research. Especially he told me about the advantages and disadvantages of Italian occupation.
44	Hora Tullu (Ato)	Male	77	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He was government- employed he interacted to my interview he artfully and gave me ideas about the Galla which were the components of Harar town.
45	Hanisa Feysal (W/o)	Female	55	Awaday	5/03/ 2016	She is government employed working in Harari Culture and Tourism Bureau gave me coherent idea about the materials from which the Harar town was built.

46	Hekiram Abdella (W/o)	Female	68	Harar	7/03/ 2016	Although her idea was similar to that of her brother, she forced taxation and land Policy of Christian highland caused serious economic difficulties in the region of study area for a long period of time.
47	Hindiya Ahemed (W/o)	Female	81	Harar	7/03/2016	She is a merchant provided I with very important coherent idea about the economic problem of the Harari people.
48	Hikiram Abdulla (W/o)	Female	78	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She is the owner of restaurant and inhabitant of the town gave me important issue about the confiscation of property of the Emir and of those who had fallen during the battle of <i>Chalanqoo</i> by Christian force.
49	Hanisa Jemal (Ato)	Female	70	Harar	7/03/2016	She is Chat trader presented almost similar idea with what Ato Iskinder Ahemed give did.
50	Hikiram Abdulla (W/o)	Female	78	Harar	7/03/2016	She is a dweller of the town mostly spent her timeservicing in Mosque. She told me that the burdens imposed on Harari People like confiscated the property of the emirs and the peoples by the administration of Menelik II.
51	Ibrahim Yuya (Ato)	Male	77	Harar	2/03/ 2016	He was also a merchant and told me similar case with idea of the above person.
52	Iftu Jamal (W/o)	Female	67	Harar	4/03/ 2016	She knows why the Mosques within the Jogule located at similar distances and the Mosques are not only constructed for religion purpose but also for economic affairs.
53	Ibrahim Yuye (Ato)	Male	69	Harar	5/03/2016	He is government- employed officer gave me very good information about the economic relation of Harari with the Oromo people, especially how the Emirs incorporated some Oromo officials into their administration.
54	IbsaJundi (Ato)	Male	65	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is the dweller of the town knows very well the trade commodities which had been traded to Harari market either for consumption or for the foreign market.

55	Jabir Mussa (Ato)	Male	58	Harar	1/03/2016	He is also merchant living in Harar responded to interview told me as Harar had been the center of trade
56	Jemal Dawud (Ato)	Male	59	Harar	4/03/2016	He is a merchant and inhabitant of the town told me essential issue about the residential patterns of the Harari people.
57	Jabir Muhamma (Ato)	Male	78	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is government–employed told me most critical issue is how the Harari people have accepted Islam religion.
58	Jamal Harun (Ato)	Male	55	Harar	6/03/2016	He was one among the farmers of Harari people know very well although there had been conflicts between Oromo and Harari people to hold large tracks of land from Harari people.
59	Jemal Murad (Ato)	Male	62	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is living in Harar reacted to my interview and gave me very good explanation about how the <i>Arfan Q</i> Oromos defeated Harari and controlled trade routes.
60	Ibsitu Ahemed (W/o)	Female	61	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She justified that the above economic problems Ethiopia suffered from the Italian occupation.
61	Iskinder Ahemed (Ato)	Male	69	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is government– employed working in Harari Culture Heritage and Tourism Bureau mentioned that during Egyptian occupation, cotton cloth and other manufactured goods made Oromo of the surrounding area dependent on the town’s market.
62	Kalifa Yasira (Ato)	Male	71	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is the inhabitant of the town told me that because of the MenelikII’s administration, people have lost their rights to learn and speak in their language, they were forced to surrender their military weapons like guns.
63	KasimMohamed (Ato)	Male	75	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He knows very well about the Italian occupation of 1941-1942. In the subsequent period, due to various problems

						Ethiopia and together with Harar has been subjected to famine, civil war, and economic decline.
64	Kamal Hussein (Ato)	Male	88	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is self-reliant person forwarded me with essential information about the way in which the two people have been lived by peace.
65	Kebede Afata (Ato)	Male	56	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is government employed officer working in administrative office gave me very critical idea about different units (gays) of the town who had a close economic relationship.
66	Kado Hamza (W/o)	Female	60	Harar	4/03/ 2016	She told me similar idea with the above person. Particularly if there is religious tolerance, it is good opportunity for the economic development of a given area.
67	Lyla Abdella (W/o)	Female	68	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She is voluntary to give me what she knew about Egyptian occupation in terms of economy.
68	Lejalem Bekare (Ato)	Male	70	Harar	4/03/ 2016	He is government-employed working in the court Harari Regional State told me that how the external invasion caused for the changes of social institutions Churches, <i>Affoshas</i> and others.
69	Meymuna Abde (W/ro)	Male	78	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She is the inhabitant of the town responded to my questions heartily and gave me very much important information.
70	Meymuna Abde (W/o)	Female	76	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She is a member of <i>Affoshaa</i> Association in Harar, she gave me clear and coherent idea how a large number of Egyptian military and garrisons began co-relationships with Harari girls.
71	Mussa Ibrahim (Ato)	Male	78	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is one amongst merchants of the Harari people responded actively to my questions and provided me with important issue about the challenges of Egyptians.

72	Muluwork Wadajohu (W/o)	Female	67	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is also government-employed teacher, provided with critical idea about the influence of the Egyptian occupation on the economic developments of the region.
73	Mustefa Jabir (Ato)	Female	77	Harar	7/03/2016	He had been government-employed teacher a mentioned that the annexation of Harari by the force of Menelik brought Harar under the occupation and control of administrators.
74	Murad Ahemed (Ato)	Male	56	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is government employed, but he was not voluntary to give the specific name of his office. During the period of Italian occupation, farming Plantation and its market was highly developed in the Harari region.
75	Muhammed (Ato)	Male	88	Harar	7/03/ 2016	This person with the above person gave similar idea about the region.
76	Muktar kasim (Ato)	Male	66	Harar	7/03/ 2016	He is government-employed working in administrative office gave me detailed information about the source of salt which is one of the trade commodities.
77	Miskiya Jamal (W/o)	Female	66	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She knows very well what kinds of relation had been existed between the Harari and the surrounding Oromos based on the economic terms.
79	Leila Omar (W/o)	Female	82	Harar	8/03/2016	She is a merchant responded to my question actively and gave me detailed information about the relations among traders of different region and areas which is a good advantage for trade advancement of Harari people.
80	Mohamed (Ato)	Male	81	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is government- employed officer presented very good information about the economic relation of Harari.
81	Mohamed Ahamed (Ato)	Male	69	Harar	6/03/2016	He is the owner of Hotel in Harar reacted to my interview and gave me very good explanation about how the Arfan Qallo Oromos defeated Harari and controlled the region.

						rade routes.
82	Muktar Idirs (Ato)	Male	88	Harar	6/03/2016	He is a merchant and gave me brief explanation, about relation of Oromo and Harari people.
83	Muktar Abdo (Ato)	Male	68	Harar	5/03/2016	He was one among the farmers of Harari people know very well the manner and background that enabled Oromo people to be defeat.
84	Mohammed (Ato)	Male	78	Harar	4/03/2016	He is a merchant and dweller of the town told essential idea about the coexistences of Churches Mosques despite the religious conflicts between Christianity and Islam.
85	Mohammd Zakariya (Ato)	Male	66	Harar	1/03/2016	He is a merchant living in the Harar town and told that the contribution of Harari Social institutions <i>Affocha</i> for the development of Harari's economy.
86	Nega Sisay (Ato)	Male	68	Harar	2/03/2016	He is a teacher in his profession gave me coherent very good idea helped me to conduct the research, about the economic contribution of the Social Organization of the Harari people.
88	NefisaAbdi (W/o)	Female	63	Harar	4/03/2016	She told me the period when the Mosques were established in the town of Harar.
90	Murad (Ato)	Male	86	Harar	6/03/ 2016	He is Shop owner knows very well about commodities, which had been brought to Harari market.
91	Nuria Tume (W/o)	Female	68	Harar	7/03/ 2016	She is a merchant and told me the impact of Italian occupation by comparing the Harari people with that of the nearby Peoples like Somali, Oromo and Afar.

92	Naima Hassan (W/o)	Female	69	Harar	8/03/2016	She is a merchant responded to my question voluntarily and provided me with essential issues he needs to conduct the research.
93	Redwan Mumm (Ato)	Male	54	Harar Town	1/03/2016	He is the town's dweller told me the role of social organizations and institutions was not only wedding and funeral ceremonies.
94	Rumia Ibrahim (W/o)	Female	68	Harar	4/03/2016	She told me the period when the Mosque was first established in the town of Harar.
95	Rashad Amin (Ato)	Male	88	Harar	5/03/2016	He is the religious Father lived in Harar for more than half a century told me how the forces of Emirs.
96	Rashad Amin (Ato)	Male	88	Harar	5/03/2016	He is the religious Father lived in Harar for more than half a century, Emirs kept the security and peace of the region that is essential for economic progress.
97	Rashid (Ato)	Male	88	Harar	5/03/2016	He lived in Harar for more than 45 years told me how the forces of Emirs kept the security, peace and economic stability of the region.
98	Sufian Umar (Ato)	Male	78	Harar	7/03/2016	He was a merchant told me that, the change of law in the region with the change of the administrators where many old laws are replaced by the new ones.
99	Sufian Umar (Ato)	Male	66	Harar	7/03/2016	Similar information was given by this person with that of the above person.
100	Mulyman Fouad (Ato)	Male	57	Harar	7/03/2016	He is private employed person told me that because of the Christian highland invasion a number of rights were violated in the region.
101	Sartu Ahmed (W/o)	Female	58	Harar	7/03/2016	She is also working in the same office forwarded similar information about the feeding of hyena at different gates of the Harar.

GILOSSARY

AFAAN- Language

AFOSHAA- Social institution for weeding and funeral ceremony

AFRAN (ARFAAN) - The four ones

AGRI-AGRI – Indoctrinating youth in military warfare

BOKU- Leader of Gada

DAMIN- Clan leader

DOGIN – Leader of the Gaffa (Uncultivated) land

EKHI GADA- Granaries of crops

ENAY ABIDA- Handcraft Training Center in Harar

FERES MAGALA- Horse market

GAFFAA- Uncultivated land

GARAD- Chief a village

GAY FAGAY- agricultural land surrounding the city

HARASI- Harari farmers

KATAARAA- Terraces of crops

KURI- Water reservoirs

MALAK- Chief of a quarter

MALAQ- Water official

PUCTA SUNTA –Good ethics of business activity

QADI- Leader of record office

QUFUL GOITA- A person who is responsible to close and open the gate

SHASHS- Cloth that women put on their head

ZAWAYA- A prayer Hall

DEJAZIMACH- Feudal military title

BALAMBARAS-Feudal Ordinary Administrator

QADI- Age based intimates (friends) among Harari people

DECLARATION

I, Dessalegn Kenea, do hereby declare that this research paper is the result my own findings except where stated; and that this paper has not been presented or submitted to any other University or institution for a degree or similar award.

Student's Signature: _____