



JIMMA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HARARI PEOPLE

(C.1875-1991)

BY

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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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KEY TO THE TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

Most of the personal names, place names, name of different objects have been written in the Harari and Amharic languages. Also names of songs, names of different types of baskets and other intangible cultural practices have been written in Harari language. Still names of houses, tools, names of different crops and names of dress are written in the Harari language.

I. The seven sound of the Ethiopian alphabet are represented as follow

1 st order	በ	Bä
2 nd order	ቡ	Bu
3 rd order	ቢ	Bi
4 th order	ባ	Ba
5 th order	ቤ	Bē
6 th order	ብ	Be
7 th order	ቦ	Bo

The sound of Harari language has been represented by the following Amharic alphabets.

II. palatalized sounds are represented as follow:

Examples			
ከ	Kä	ከራቡ	Kärabu
ቤ	Gē	ጌኡሱ	Gē-usu
ቻ	Čča	ዲንቻ	Dinničča
ሻ	Ša		
ሻ	Šu		
ባ	Bā		
ነ	Nā	ነደባ	Nādāba
ደ	Dā	ደርባ	Dārbi
ፍ	Fā	ፈቀር	Fāqār
ሻ	Ši	ሻናዊ	šinawi

III Glottalized sounds are represented as follow:

		Examples	
ጮ	Čä	ጮርጮር	Čärčär
ጮጌ	Ča		
ጣ	Tä	ክርጣት	kirtät
ቃ	Qä		
ቄ	Qē		
ጮጊ	Či	እንጮጊ	Inči

ABSTRACT

This thesis entitled “A Cultural History of the Harari People (C.1875-1991)”, attempts to explore the cultural history of the Harari people in Harar city. This was because the study conducted on the cultural history of the Harari people in the city of Harar was not enough. Harar is located in the Eastern part of Ethiopia 525 Kilometres away from Addis Ababa. In the city, there is a historical wall known as the Jogol Gimb (Jogol wall) which was built in 1552. The Harari are the earlier people of the city of Harar, and they maintained a strong relationship with the neighboring people for many centuries. From ancient time up to 1887, Harar was ruled by 72 Emirs. Among these the most known Emirs were Emir Nur Mujahid (1552-1566) and Emir Abdullahi (1885-1887). The former was known for building Jogol Gimb for defensive purpose and the latter was known for his effort to defend Harar from Menelik’s conquest though he was not successful. Based on information from informants, written documents, Harari cultural centre and Harari National Museum the thesis attempts to explore the main cultural practices of the Harari people (1875-1991). The Harari traditional houses (sar-gar and darbi-gar) were mostly constructed from wood, soil, grass and stones which contain different seats (nadabas). Basketry was the most known Harari cultural practice of women and mainly used for decorating their houses, as container and provided other services. The most known Harari traditional foods are hulbat (stew) and Ukat (Harari bread). Finally, the thesis has also explored other intangible cultural aspects of the Harari people like music, afocha, religious and traditional holidays celebrated in different times and places. During the past, it was difficult for Harari boys to marry. This was because boys were asked to prepare large amount of money and expensive jewellery which was impossible to fulfill for the families with less income. This was a major obstacle for both boys and girls. Until recently, Harari boys had no right to select girls for marriage instead their parents choose girls for their sons. Nowadays this situation is completely changed. The Harari women have special dress which they worn for special occasions. This dress is black on one side and red on the other side. They worn the black side for mourning and red side for wedding and other ceremonies.

PREFACE

This study is conducted to understand the major culture of the Harari people and how they maintained their culture for a long period of time. It particularly focuses on the Harari people's wedding style and their traditional Music and food. The Harari people's traditional dressing style and basket work have also been dealt with.

Harar is located in the eastern part of Ethiopia, 525 kilo meters away from Addis Ababa. Its altitude is 1800 meters above sea level. Harar is one of the oldest cities in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. It was also one of the centers of ancient civilization in Ethiopia. Harar was a center of Islamic learning and a center of trade .In the city of Harar, there is a historical wall which is known as Jogol Gimb. This historical wall was built by Emir Nur Ibn Mujahid in 1552. The wall helped for defensive purpose. From ancient time up to 1887 seventy two rulers ruled Harar one after the other. Harar maintained its independence for a long period of time until it was occupied by Egyptians in 1875.

In this study I used different sources .These are unpublished sources, published sources, oral informants and archives. Qualitative method has been largely used to explain the data and reconstruct the cultural history of the Harari people. . This study has three chapters .The first chapter contains introduction of the study area. The second chapter contains the intangible cultural practices of the Harari people. The third chapter contains the tangible cultural practices of the Harari people. The study is focused on the major culture of the Harari people. Therefore, it is important in creating better understanding about the cultural history of the Harari people. The study also helps as a reference for who want to study further on the cultural history of the Harari people.

Harar is located in eastern part of Ethiopia, 525 kilometers away from Addis Ababa. Its altitude is 1800 meters above sea level. Harar is one of the oldest cities of Ethiopia. Nowadays, Harar is the capital of Harari People Regional State.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Origin of the Harari People

The Harari people according to linguistic classification are one of the Semitic speaking peoples of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa. The Semitic speaking people including the Harari are among the earliest peoples in the Horn of Africa with successive interaction across the water bodies between Africa and Asia.¹ Harar is one of the areas in the Horn where human beings have been living probably in open areas and caves since pre-historic period. The rock-arts in various parts of this region are the main evidences for the age-old existence of human kind.² The existing knowledge based on oral evidences and the archaeological findings indicate that the Harla were the earliest people in the Harar plateau. But it is among the Harari that this process of survival and transformation of identities exist. Oral tradition among the Harari asserts that they are the descendants of the ancient Harla people about whom many legends have been told in relation with the ruined houses, Mosques and other constructions over eastern Ethiopia.

The Harari elders trace their origin to seven main Harla groups. These are: ‘Gidaya’, ‘Awari’, ‘Wargar’, ‘Gaturi’, ‘Adus’, ‘Hargaya’ and ‘Abogn’. As Braukaper concludes, the archaeological findings in the Harar plateau show that, the Harari are the descendants of the Harla people, who are the earliest people, known in the area and that no one existed in the area following Harla, but the Harari.³ Therefore, it is obvious that the name Harari is derived from Harla. This implies that the place was named after the people. Harari has become evidently the name of the people. They call themselves, *Geyusu* (People of the city) while the Amhara and Oromo call them ‘Adare’.⁴

In the course of time, Harar and the Harari people began to play a vital role for over five to six centuries in the overall life of the peoples of the Horn of Africa in general and in eastern Ethiopia in particular. The Harari people were intensively involved in religious teaching and extensively in local long distance trade and in the cross-border trade.⁵ Review of their multifaceted interactions with the peoples and communities in the Harar plateau, and survey of the settlement pattern in Harar and beyond are certain to assist in and contribute to the construction of the history of the Harari and Harar.

A Semitic speaking Harari type people once occupied a large strip of land between Chercher Mountain, the middle Awash and the eastern escarpment in the region of Jijiga. When Abadir (Umar Al-Rida), the ancestor of the Harari, reached Harar in the early 13th century, he was acknowledged as religious father and received by the peoples of Harla, the Gatari and the Argobba, who were Muslims.⁶ Concerning the Gatari, it is said that they were Arabs and they came from Hadramout (Yemen) in the late 7th century. Supporting this point, Braukamper wrote that Abadir was not a Muslim pioneer, because the Harla and Gatari were already Islamized before he arrived.⁷ Because in the end of the 9th century the Sultanate of Shewa had been founded. That means, Abadir was not the pioneer missionary of Islam but he and his followers were responsible for the strengthening of the institutional framework of the religion. He apparently became the first saint in the Harar plateau to whom a particular cult was devoted.⁸ In order to understand the identity of the Harari and their history, it is necessary to know about the city of Harar. This is because the city of Harar was the centre for the identity, culture and self image of the Harari in Harar and those who live outside.⁹

The most important manifestation of this fact is that, the Harari associate every aspect of their life with the city of Harar. They call Harar, Harar-Gey (our home) and their language Gey-Sinan (language of the city) and themselves Gey-Usu (people of the city). The European and Arabic terms for this people, i.e. Harari is also another indicator of the people's strong link to that home city of the Harari, Harar. The life history of Harar's most respected ancestral father, Sheikh Abadir is another example of this connection between Harar and the Harari.¹⁰ According to Harari tradition; the Sheikh came to Harar from Arabia with his followers at the beginning of the 13th century and settled in Harar. Though Abadir is considered as the first saint of the Harari, Harar was the home of numerous Shrines dedicated to different Saints. The anthropologist, Camilla Gibb, identifies some 272 Shrines of saints; i.e. 232 male and 40 female saints.¹¹

The protracted conflict between the Christian and Muslim states in medieval times ended through the intervention of the Oromo against whom the two struggled for their very existence from the mid 16th century, onwards. The Oromo slowly overran the territories taking advantage of the exhaustion of the two states.¹² The Harari people are one of the Semitic speaking people who live with the Argoba people in nearby area. According to Richard Burton, the Harari people live in the eastern part of Ethiopia separately from the Amhara, the Tigre and the Gurage people. At present, the people settle between the Oromo, Somali and the Afar people.¹³

The surrounding Somali and Oromo call the Harari ‘Adare’. The word Adare was the common name given to the people who live on the Harar plateau in the 16th century. These people were the Semitic speaking people and Muslim communities. They were the Harla, Gaturi and Argobba. The Harari nationality is different from other Semitic speaking nationalities in different aspects. These people are different in their settlement from the neighbouring people. The Harari call the city by saying Gey (Our home).¹⁴

1.2. Historical Background

Today, Harar is the capital of the Harari People's National Regional State. It is one of the nine regional states of Ethiopia. Harar is located 525 kilometres east of the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, at an altitude of 1800 meters. Harar is one of the centers of ancient civilization in the Horn of Africa. Harar belongs to one of the oldest Ethiopian cities. There are different interpretations in terms of the history of Harar. One of the versions is that Harar was founded by Semitic-speaking people approximately between the 6th and 9th centuries. From this time onwards Harar gained great attention as a metropolitan city.¹⁵

Until about 1887 Harar was successively ruled by more than seventy emirs who possessed their own territories, state machinery, political and social systems. Besides, the emirs had well functioning financial and economic systems. They also used their own currency. The 16th century was considered as the ‘golden age’ of the successive emirs of Harar. Harar is inhabited by Semitic and Cushitic speaking people, whose languages belong to the Afro-Asiatic super family language. Historical accounts show that, Semitic speaking people might have migrated in the ancient times from Southern Arabia around 1,000 B. C and settled in the present day of Ethiopia.¹⁶

It was hypothesis that the name Harari was derived from *Harla* people. This implies that the place has got its name after the people.¹⁷ The history of Harla, according to folk tradition goes back to the time before the introduction of Islam to Ethiopia. The people and their kingdom were both called Harla.¹⁸ It is a widely held belief that, the history of the city of Harar goes back some 1200 years. According to tradition, it was then that, in order to defend them selves’ seven clans of the neighbouring villages: Gidaya, Awari, Wargar, Gaturi, Adus, Hargaya and Abogn founded the present day Harar.¹⁹

Although the settlement of the town dates now more than a millennium, Harar's prominence and glory came later, when it began to play a major role as a trading town. In the 16th Century, Harar's position of power grew tremendously when Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim Al-Ghazi, nick named "Gragn" (1503-1543), head of the sultanate of Adal, tookover three quarters of the Ethiopian territory.²⁰ In 1552, his successor and nephew, Emir Nur Ibn Mujahid, took the responsibility for protecting the city from the danger of the Christian kingdom and the approaching Oromo groups. The famous wall of *Jogol*, which has become Harar's main identifying feature, was built during his reign to protect the city. This made Emir Nur one of the undying popular figures among the Harari people. For Harar, the wall with five gates has become the gateway to the outside world and facilitated controlling those who would enter and leave the city for trade. The construction of the wall made the city virtually impenetrable for the Oromo warriors.²¹

Based on the information from oral and written documents, the Harari lived temporarily in a series of settlements in seven different villages prior to the foundation of Harar. These were: Eskhanti gey, Tukhun gey, Hassen gey, Harawe gey, Ruqiya gey, Faraqa gey and Samti gey. But due to their exposure to various natural disasters and other factors, the Harari left these villages, one after the other until finally they founded today's Harar which satisfied their major needs.²²

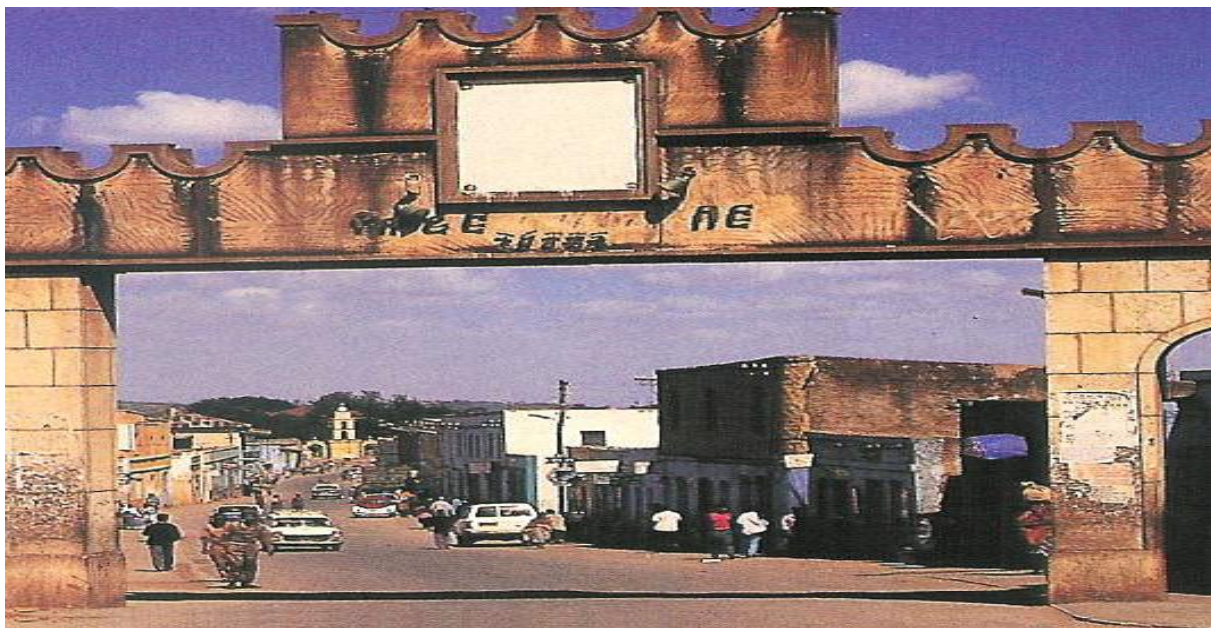
After Ahmed died at Woyna Dega in 1543, the Emirate of Harar made another attempt against the Christians, during this time under a new leader, Nur Ibn Alwazir Mujahid, the son of Ahmed's sister. Nur was recognized by the people of Harar. In addition, he was accepted by the widow of Ahmed as the "leader of the new conquest" and she asked him to devote himself to avenge the Christians who killed her husband Imam Ahmed before she agreed to marry him.²³ Nur identified himself with the city of Harar in a new way, strengthening its defences by building the wall which still encircles the city and he became its national hero. His initial campaigns against the Christian kingdom were unsuccessful and resulted in sacking of Harar domain and the city itself. But the blow was not long lasting and Harar soon recovered to take the offensive once more.²⁴

The existing written documents put the history of Harar as far back as the 14th Century. The chronicle of Amde Seyon (1314-1344), the expansionist king, reports that Harar was one of the cities which fought against the emperor in alliance with the Sultanate of Ifat. But it was very difficult for them to face danger at this stage because unorganized Harari community were not strong enough to

influence the surrounding population. Therefore, it seems that Harar emerged as an important entity in the region only in the 16th century.²⁵

Shortly after his remarkable Victory over his Christian opponents in 1552, he built a wall encircling the city with five gates. It seems that this wall was constructed initially by local engineers, possibly assisted by foreign builders. It was during the reign of Emir Nur Mujahid that Harar and its surroundings faced one of the worst famines in history.²⁶ The Emirate of Harar was a remnant of once powerful Muslim State of Adal which was disintegrated in a few generation after the death of Imam Ahmed and Emir Nur. After the shift of the political centre further to the plain of Afar, Harar paid a nominal allegiance to Adal until the rise of a new dynasty founded by Ali Ibn Dawud in 1647. Once again, Harar emerged not only as a regional capital influencing a larger territory extending from the Chercher highlands to Zeila, but also as a centre of a small city-state.²⁷

Fig. 1: Harar Ber (The main gate of the walled city)



Source: Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau

For centuries, Harar had served as political and administrative centre for the independent Emirate of Harar. During that time, the city of Harar represented the area which was enclosed by the irregularly shaped wall. It is significance to note that the 16th century was very essential for the emergence of urban society separated from the surrounding countryside by the wall that still encloses the city of Harar. The man who was responsible for the construction of the wall and the implication for the

preservation of the city's language and culture was Emir Nur Ibn Mujahid. Nur constructed the wall in order to save the city from being taken over by the approaching Oromo.²⁸

The wall could help to preserve the city's language and culture. For this reason, Nur became a highly respected leader of the Harari. He was regarded by the Harari people as "the Savoir of Harar". When the adjacent areas were settled by the Oromo, Harar was saved by its wall. Harar became the centre of Harari power.²⁹ The feature of the city of Harar became attractive because of the Mountains which surrounded the city. These mountains are: AW-Hakim (Hakim Mountain), AW- Abobakar (Abokar Mountain) and Vadawa Mada (W. Mountain). These Mountains play a great role in regulating the city's temperature. Accordingly, the Harari people lead a stable life.³⁰

According to different sources, Harar city state was founded by Emir Haboba. The existence of a favourable condition and basic resources created good opportunities for the people to settle in the area. The temperature and the favourable conditions of the surrounding mountains create a fertile ground for the surrounding environment.³¹

1.3. The *Jogol Gimb* (Jogol Wall)

At a time, the wall was built for defensive purpose, i.e., to defend the city from enemies coming from different areas. The wall has five gates. These are: Assumbari (Falana Ber); gate for salt traders, Argobari (Erer Ber); gate for the people of Argobba, Bedrobari (Buda Ber); gate for Black Smiths, Suktatbari (Sanga Ber); gate for ox and Asmadinbari (Shewa ber); gate for the people of Shewa.³²

1.4. The Strategic Importance of the *Jogol Gimb*

According to sources, when the wall was built it had its own five strategic inlet and outlet gates. These five gates were not built arbitrarily. Rather their constructions were based on reasons. That means the gates were built according to their strategic benefits which they could give to the people. At that time, the *Jogol Gimb* was assumed to give the following four strategic benefits. These were: defensive or war purpose, political purpose, economic purpose and social purpose.³³

At a time when the wall was built, it served as "granted defensive wall". The Harari built this wall for defensive purpose, i.e. to defend their city from enemies coming from different directions. The wall also served as traditional war training centre '*Bedriberi*'. The wall also enabled the Hararis to know the direction of their enemies. Besides, the wall helped the people to identify the types of their

enemies' weapons. In this way the Harari could follow their enemies' movement and kept the security and safety of their people.³⁴

The Jogol city-state enabled the Harari to administer the people who live inside and outside the wall. In addition, the gates helped to mobilize and organize the Harari for different purposes. Besides, these gates also helped the Harari to organize their culture and administrative structure. Moreover, the wall enabled the Harari to live in peace and unity up to the Egyptian administration of Harar.³⁵

The commodities produced in the country and outside the country were effectively governed through these gates. Through these gates, the import-export items were identified, i.e. the gates indicated that where the items were exported and from where the items were imported. And through these gates, from the import-export trade the necessary tax was collected by the existing administration.³⁶

It is obvious that the wall used for social purposes. As every one knows water is one of the basic needs of human beings. Thus, the gates were built at a place where people could get water and could use it fairly. At a time the gates would serve the Harari people as a centre of meeting. The gates enabled the Harari people to come together and discuss their problems. Through these gates the Harari people gave different solutions for their problems. Moreover, the Harari people discussed about their religion in these areas. They also used the gates as means to expand their religion.³⁷

1.5. The Independent Harar Emirate (1647-1875)

In the 14th and 15th centuries, there were two contending powers i.e. the Walasma Sultans at Dakar and the Muslim Emir of Harar. In the end, the emirs could win the struggle against the sultans at Dakar, who moved further to the west to establish themselves at AUSA. It was also in Harar that Imam Ahmed or Ahmed Gagn had his origin.³⁸ The Emirate of Harar, a fertile and climatically pleasant area was found in the middle of a largely desert region. Thus, Harar became from at least the 15th century, onwards, the site of Islam and the focal point from where the religion radiated to the surrounding areas. During that time, Berbera and Zeila served as the principal ports of Harar.³⁹

Fig. 2: Map of Harar



Source: Arthur Rimbaud National Museum

Harar, under Ali Ibn Dawud emerged as an independent city–state from 1647 survived until 1875 when the Egyptians deposed and executed Emir Mohammed and occupied it. The city of Harar is surrounded on all sides by the Oromo groups known as Afran Qallo (the four sons of Qallo). The principal Oromo groups surrounding Harar are: The Nole in the north, the Jarso in the east, and the Babile in the south and south east and Ala in the west. The Oborra live further west of Harar while the Ittu and Anniya live further west and south of Harar.⁴⁰ Since the 15th and 16th centuries, Harar was the principal Muslim city in the interior, which became a permanent centre from where Islamic religion radiated over southern Ethiopia. It was in Harar region that the Oromo first made contact with Islam. But the Islamization process of Harar region continued more systematically under the Egyptian occupation of Harar.⁴¹

It is apparent that, Harar had been governed for centuries by sultans, emirs and sometimes by Imams. It had been the tradition that whenever the power of the religious group was dominant, an

Imam could secure an upper hand and determine significantly both the internal and external political policies of Harar. In parallel, a powerful sultan or emir was likely to incorporate suitable social programmes within the administrative system.⁴²

1.6. Harar as a Trade Centre

In the 18th century, the city rapidly became an important trading centre and this was a time when Muslims monopolized Ethiopian trade, especially the expedition of caravans to distant lands. To be clear, Harar had become a major producer and exporter of coffee originated exclusively in Ethiopia, and it held this position until the mid of the 16th century, throughout the east.⁴³ Those were the days when the city was an independent emirate, an essential centre for all commerce between the Red Sea and North east Africa. This was due to its geographical position and its political importance as a city state situated among one of the two main trade routes linking North and south Ethiopia.⁴⁴

Although Harar city had been forbidden and closed to foreigners (Europeans/none-Muslims), in 1855 Richard Burton, who became the first European traveller to enter the walled city, reported in his travel account that Harar was basically a trading city. Harar held a strategic position as a cross road for trade up to the end of the 19th century, as accounts of other travellers or foreign traders such as Arthur Rimbaud witness.⁴⁵ Harar continued to be a prospering commercial centre under the dynasty of Ali Ibn Dawud which had distanced himself from the weakened Sultanate of Adal in 1647. Traders from various lands visited the city of Harar. Trade with Arabian Peninsula, the East African coast, Zanzibar and central Ethiopia kept Harar alive. Thus, Harar by virtue of its geographical location, developed as a commercial centre of the region. Since the city served as a meeting point of several East African trade routes, it maintained a long standing contact both with the interior and coastal regions.⁴⁶

The city of Harar remained a prosperous trade centre at a time of *Ras Mekonnen* and continued serving as a trade passage. The city also made trade contacts and benefited from profitable trade. Therefore, this increased the interest of both *Ras Mekonnen* and his successors towards the city of Harar. The struggle between *Ras Tafari* and *Lej Iyasu*, the successors of Emperor Menelik, was not only for political power but also for control of the commercial revenues of the province of Hararge.⁴⁷ Although Harar continually had become a cultural and commercial centre of the eastern region, it remained remote and hidden to the foreigners, especially non-Muslims. Even Burton was only able to enter the city by disguising himself as Muslim. Harar used to export ivory, coffee, honey, gums,

woven cottons and many other articles while the import items included gun powder, paper, rice, beads and the like.⁴⁸

Fig. 3: Ancient Coins of the Harari



Source: Sherif Abdullahi Private Museum

At a time when the rest of Ethiopia used a bartering system of trade, Harar minted its own silver and bronze coins known as Mahalaq and Ashraf.⁴⁹ The city of Harar was confined to a much reduced territory, changed from being the capital of a militant kingdom into a mercantile city state.⁵⁰ It flourished as a major “entre-pot” for trade in slave, coffee and ivory. Although the emirs were not able to check the Oromo encroachments as well as the Somali, they assured their own prestige if not absolute authority. Emir Ali Ibn Dawud is remembered as having gift of clothes for the Oromo. Perhaps this tradition indicates the transformation of some of the semi-nomadic Oromo into crop producer nominally into Muslims and allied as customers with the town’s people. Emir Ahmed Ibn Abubakar was famous for his successful campaigns against Oromo, who had accepted nominally the overlordship of the emirs, but still independent, in fact lived only in a state of agreement with Harar.⁵¹

Harar was threatened by raiding bands of the movement of Oromo and internal disagreement, the rulers of Adal moved their residence down into the plain of Aussa on the lower Awash. The Muslim towns west of Harar on the plateau with their terraced fields were abandoned. Harar became an independent city-state under a dynasty founded by Emir Ali Ibn Daud.⁵² It remained independent until the Egyptian occupation of 1875-1885. After a year and half of renewed independence, it was annexed by Menelik in 1887. Like the Adal state at Aussa, Harar remained in uncertain position from the late 16th century onwards. The Harari praise the long-reigning Emir Ahmed Ibn Abubakar and his grand nephew, Emir Ahmed Ibn Mohammed, because their expeditions against the Oromo were

successful. Such campaigns might have helped the trade routes to stay open. Yet, the town's men must have benefited as much from co-operation between farmers, traders and cattle breeders as from war.⁵³

1.7. Relation between Harla and Harar

The name Harar itself was derived from Harla. The history of Harla according to folk tradition goes back to the time before the introduction of Islam into Ethiopia. The people and their kingdom were both called Harla. As far as historical sources are concerned, the Harla were probably the oldest population in the Harar plateau.⁵⁴ Between 4th and 16th centuries, they possessed a highly developed agricultural economy with urban centres and stone architecture. In fact, the name Harla was first mentioned in the historical accounts in the 14th century. The chronicle of Amde Seyon (1314-1344) cited Harla as a place that is located 12 kilometres away from Dire Dawa, on the road to Harar.⁵⁵

The chronicle states that, from that area Emperor Amde Seyon set out and went away leaving his troops hidden at the foot of the mountain, and when the king was on his journey, there came the people of Harla to his camp, but the king's soldiers fought them at once. On the otherhand, the same source indicates that, Amde Seyon's campaigns took place in Dawaro, which was then situated in the northeastern part of Harar plateau. Amde Seyon might have fought the Muslims as far as Jijiga. A Semitic speaking Harari type people once occupied a large strip of land between Chercher Mountain, the middle Awash and the eastern escarpment in the region of Jijiga.⁵⁶

1.8. Harar in the Beginning of the Last Quarter of the 19th Century

The beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century, marked the era of occupation of the city-state by the Egyptian army and it represented a break in the history of the city state.⁵⁷ It was apparent that the advent of Islam to the region consolidated the local states and hastened the emergence of new one. Islam as a new system of belief found teams and propagators among the Emirs and the Sultans while the Emirs in particular found in Islam a powerful ideology which also facilitated the emergence of literate classes.⁵⁸

1.9. Harar under Egyptian Occupation (1875-1885)

In 1875, the Egyptian army took control of Berbera and the port of Zeila and subsequently seized Harar, which had already been weakened. Then the Emirate of Harar which was occupied by the Egyptians could not fully survive.⁵⁹ During the occupation, the city saw cultural progresses, and was

visited by numerous foreign travellers, among which the very young French poet, Arthur Rimbaud. But after a decade, the Egyptians were evacuating from Harar. After that, the city got its independence which lasted only for two years.⁶⁰

The Egyptian occupation of Harar was the result of the visit of a Swiss born Werner Munzenger who served in the Egyptian army. Werner Munzenger visited the city of Harar and observed its every activity and collected every important information regarding trade.⁶¹ Then he sent a letter to Khedive Ismail about the general condition of Harar. In his letter, he informed Ismail about the revenue and taxes which were collected from Harar. The taxes and revenue from Harar, according to Munzenger could feed the Egyptian army and other camp followers. Thus, this information initiated Ismail to occupy and colonize Harar.⁶² During the last years of Egyptian administration, they began to oppress and exploit the surrounding Oromo people. As a result, the Oromo began to hate the Egyptians and some times, the Oromo attacked the Egyptian army to express their protest.⁶³ During that time, the Egyptians began to disturb the culture and religious activities of the Harari people. This condition embarrassed the Harari at Egyptian administration. As a result, the Egyptians were forced to withdraw from Harar. When the Egyptian withdrew from Harar, they assigned Emir Abdullahi to govern Harar. Partially; the withdrawal of Egyptian army from Harar was connected with the Mahadist movement in the Sudan. The revivalist movement in the Sudan also forced the Egyptian to evacuate from Harar.⁶⁴

Fig.4: Emir Abdullahi (the 72nd Emir of Harar)



Source: Harari National Museum

1.10. Reform of Emir Abdullahi

After he came to power, Emir Abdullahi introduced many reforms in the city of Harar. He forbade the entry of foreign citizens into the city of Harar without the knowledge and permission of the government. Hotels were closed and alcohol drink banned by the order of Emir Abdullahi. To protect females from rape, Emir Abdullahi ordered to wear ethnic-full trousers (gey-ganafi).⁶⁵

Although there were coins minted in the former times, Emir Abdullahi minted his own coins which replaced the former ones to promote trade. When his measures were intensified; foreign citizens who lived in the city of Harar were frustrated and disturbed. Emir Abdullahi continued to take another measures in different sectors and these gave him popular support and respect.⁶⁶

1.11. Harar during the Conquest of King Menelik II of Shoa (1887)

Emir Abdullahi fated to be the last of the 72 Emirs of Harar found himself in the complicated political situation. King Menelik of Shoa as well as the European countries such as France, Italy and Britain coveted the rich emirate. On the other side, the emir tried to reorganize the emirate and protect it from foreign aggression. However, the logistics and the time proved his effort futile.⁶⁷ Menelik of Shoa mobilized his huge army and conquered Harar in 1887. Menelik's army of 20,000

troops and the Harari and the Oromo with ill equipped 3000 foot soldiers met at Chelenko. In this battle the role of the Oromo was great. That means to block the aggression force of Menelik the Oromo fought in determination. Although the outnumbered army of the Oromo and the Harari fought bravely, Menelik gained the upper hand.⁶⁸ Though Harar survived many bad days, its effort for independence was finally brought down to an end. The town's identity from that moment had continuously been degraded. This was related with Menelik's conquest and destruction of the grand Mosque at *Farasmagala*. The mosque destroyed by Menelik was known as Sheikh Bazikh mosque. Finally the mosque was replaced by the Church of Medhane Alam.⁶⁹

During the reign of Menelik and subsequent regimes, the Harari were completely marginalized from any participation in public, government and main civic and economic activities. Many attempts were made to destroy their culture and historical identities. But in spite of this, the Harari population, which takes pride in its distinct and rich culture, has rejected the influence, and survived many attempts at assimilation to the days.⁷⁰ The conquest of Harar meant control of the trade routes leading to the coast and thereby securing the use of ports for Shoa. Yohanes' crushing victory over the Egyptians in the north and his expressed wish to send an army to conquer Harar might have influenced Menelik to do the same. It is obvious that, the evacuation of Egypt in 1885 provided Menelik with the moment he had been waiting for.⁷¹

Conquest of Harar provided very challenging case for Menelik's expansionism. So, he claimed it by historic right and acquired it through conquest. Annexation brought occupation by administrators and settlers from outside, who were totally different in religion, language and with their manner of life from the local population.⁷² According to sources the first Tabot (Ark) to cross the Awash River and to arrive in the city of Harar was the Tabot (Ark) that accompanied Menelik during his 1887 campaign against that city. This was the Tabot of St. George.⁷³ After the battle of Chelenko in January 1887, Menelik camped on Mount Abokar, a high ground overlooking the walled city. Mount Abokar is about 2 kilometres from the present Duke bar. This was the site where the Harari elders made the formal surrender of the city to Menelik.⁷⁴ The site is thus, associated with this event that marked the incorporation of Harar into the Ethiopian empire. In the city of Harar, there are still a number of statues in memory erected in the name of *Leul Ras Mekonnen*. Others include monuments of *Ras Mekonnen* memorial Hospital, which was later renamed *Yemisraq Arbegnoch metasebiya* Hospital and *Ras Mekonnen* Elementary School both are found in Harar.⁷⁵

Between 1887 and 1991, Harar served as an administrative centre of Hararge province and Harar *zuria awraja*. The year 1887 was a turning point in the history of Harar. King Menelik of Shoa entered the city of Harar on January 13, 1887. This marked the incorporation of Harar emirate and its surroundings into the Shoan Empire.⁷⁶ King Menelik made an agreement with the Harari people. Here King Menelik agreed not to intervene in the internal affairs except in the cases of murder of citizens. The new settlers agreed to tolerate Islam and the use of Sharia and to respect the land property of the Harari.⁷⁷ In such a way, a new administration system was established in Harar. Accordingly, the new governor *Dajazmach* (Later *Ras*) Mekonnen was made the Governor-General of the region.

Like other provinces, Harar *Awraja* was divided into districts, which in turn was divided into districts and sub-districts. *Abagaz* was the title given to governor of the *Awraja*. The major administrative establishments under Harar *Awraja* were *Wanbar* (Judge) municipality, *Majlis* and Diwan office (an office of public administration).⁷⁸ The court of Harar was responsible to deliver justice. It was usually staffed by judges called *Qagn Wanbar*, *Gira Wanbar*, secretary and cashier who collected money from the customers. The municipality of Harar was regarded as Harar *Awraja Mazagaja* bet. It was under the *Abagaz* of Harar *Awraja*. Its major functions were collecting taxes, administering justice and maintaining peace and security particularly of the out districts.⁷⁹

1.12. Harar during the Italian Occupation (1936-1941) and After

A few major urban transformations were realized during the Italian occupation within Jogol. The East-West Street was enlarged from Harar-beri to *Faras-magala* and a new building was erected on the place of the traditional commercial area. Outside the walls, a few public buildings were constructed in the western periphery part of a larger ambitious urban planning prospect designed by Italian planners.⁸⁰ Today, the people of Harar possessed a unique and marvellous historical heritage. This includes many aspects; such as the unique complicated mosaic of ties and obligations that provide a very high degree of solidarity, and which was not found among the Arab speaking and East African societies. The city is also traditionally known by the women's production of elaborately coloured basketry.⁸¹

The beautifully designed women's dress, somewhat similar to the Omani costumes, exceptional religious manuscripts, the concentration of shrines in and around the wall for which the city was justified and being called *Medinat-al-Awaliya*, (the city of saints). Numerous century old Mosques

like the Al-Djami Mosque and Umikoda and many more are located in the districts of Jogol. These are some of the rich heritages that the Harari people are proud of.⁸² Harar, later become the capital of eastern Ethiopian province of Hararge used to be easily accessible, even for a tourist not familiar with Ethiopia. Events of the past years such as the abolition of the Imperial regime of Haile Selassie I, generously proclaimed reforms and frequent upheavals all over the country. Some had only slightly affected the life in Harar until about 1976. For instance, the country's military academy having its head quarter there.⁸³

Unlike the drought catastrophe of 1985, the drought of 1973, which caused a severe famine in wide areas of eastern and north-eastern Ethiopia, did not reach the hills of Harar, though food prices there went up considerably.⁸⁴ The events since 1977, however, like the Ethio-Somali war did affect Harar. The town then overcrowded with refugees from neighbouring villages. It was cut off from central Ethiopia and from its military as well as food supplies by Somali troops. Beginning from the end of the hostilities, the road to Harar was opened again. However, visitors required a special permit at that time to go to the country outside Addis Ababa and outside the administrative region of Shoa.⁸⁵

The old city with its unique culture suffered heavily from natural catastrophes as well as from rapid cultural changes. Many old traditional houses within the city were destroyed. The younger citizens of Harar had developed a tendency to move out of the town to start a career elsewhere. Non-Harari, mostly from central Ethiopia, tends to move into the city of Harar and settled there.⁸⁶ But the Harari is conscious of the need to preserve their culture as well as their traditional houses. The traditional neighbouringhood clubs (*afocha*) which was a predominant feature of their social life is still functioning.⁸⁷

1.13. The Relationship of the Harari with the Neighbouring Peoples

1.13.1. Relations with the Somali

Up to the 16th century, the Somali have lived in close neighbourhood and land contiguity with the Harari people. In the economic activities, the Somali had been both merchants and transit agents. Also there is no doubt that, the Somali were part and parcel of the historical process in the Sultanate of Harar. Besides, the Somali played important role in its consolidation and reinforcement.⁸⁸

A major source for the reconstruction of the history of the Harari people and the city of Harar in the late 16th century also contains important information about the Somali people. The Somali have also continued to take part in the political, economic and social lives of the Harari and the city of Harar.

The Somali were predominantly found in the Suktat Bari. They engaged in occupations such as handicrafts, smithery, butchery and leather work.⁸⁹

1.13.2. Relations with the Argobba

Linguistically, religiously and politically the Harari and the Argobba peoples have been intimately related for centuries. The existence of ancient ruins of villages, Mosques, cemeteries of the Argobba Muslim population indicates that the Argobba settlements used to be more wide spread than at present.⁹⁰ The layout of Argobba villages also have features of a town and their construction system was more or less similar to that of the Harari. The Argobba settlement sites in the village of Koremmi and Umaradin were found some 20 kilometres to the southeast of Harar. There were striking resemblances between the architecture of the Harari houses, villages, walls and agricultural practices with those of the Argobba. Therefore, the link between the Argobba and the Harari were important. Thus, this indicates the existence of a long standing relationships.⁹¹ Indeed one of the five gates of the city of Harar is called Argobari “Argobba gate” named after one of the settlements of the Argobba. Harari manuscripts and oral traditions included many citations of the Argobba, referring to a period of Argobba emirs which proceeded the era of the independent Harar emirate.⁹²

1.13.3. Relations with the Afar

In the Adal Sultanate of Harar, also the Afar had considerable contribution and involvement until the split of the Sultanate in to two parts i.e. between Harar and Awsa. Then Ali Ibn Dawud founded his own dynasty in Harar. The Afar made up substantial component of the Imam Ahmed’s army. There were three major areas of inter-relationships with the Harari people. These were religion, trade and agriculture.⁹³

1.13.4. Relations with the Oromo

The new Emir, Abd-Al-Shakur Ibn Yusuf (1783-1784) went with a friend to the Jarso and other Nole clans, taking bales sheeting for the first time to these Oromo in order to strengthen their relation. The Harari have lived in a town which they rightly call a glow with saint.⁹⁴ The many shrines around the town have been under the care of the Harari families. These shrines were untouched by the Oromo movement. The Harari claim that, they taught the Oromo about Islam. When Harar was first visited by European traveller, Richard Burrton in 1855, the Oromo farmers from some thirty miles northeast of the town seem to have been the emirs’ tax-paying subjects. In addition to a tithe on the harvest, the emirs enjoyed rent paid in grain from landed estates. The Nole

Oromo were among the rent payers. Lands close to the walls were cultivated by the town's men themselves.⁹⁵

The Oromo are one of the people with whom the Harari had significant relations in all aspects for centuries. With the appearance of the Oromo expansion in Harar since the 16th century, the Oromo and the Harari entered multifaceted relations.⁹⁶ The emirs of Harar were connected with the elected officers of the surrounding Oromo by giving them land and titles such as *Malaq*, *Garad* and *Damen*. It was in such diplomatic relations that Harar was able to administer a region with an area of up to 20,000 kilometres square. The Harari and the Oromo lived together for centuries maintaining their own identity and working together, especially in religion, agriculture and trade. Up to know the Oromo and the Harari people inter married to each other. In addition to this they have also shared both happiness and sorrow occasions.⁹⁷

1.14. Harar as Islamic Centre of Learning

After Islam was introduced in Harar, it was established firmly there. Islamic learning centres were opened in large numbers. Through time the rulers of Harar started to propagate Islam both by force and peaceful means. So, Harar became the most important Islamic state and centre of Islamic learning. It also played an important role in the propagation of Islam in the surrounding areas including the Horn of Africa. This mission of propagating Islam was under taken mainly through the efforts of the emirs and Muslim preachers and to some extent by merchants as well.⁹⁸

Fig. 5: The Grand Jami Mosque, Harar



Source: Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau

In the middle of 19th century, Harar established good relation with Yemen as a result of which Islamic education was expanded in Harar. This attracted the surrounding people, particularly, the people living east and south of Harar.⁹⁹ They were moving to Harar to get Islamic education which reached its peak during the Egyptian occupation of Harar (1875-1885). This was because there were many Kabirs (religious teachers) in Harar. The Oromo people living west of Harar accepted Islam. Many preachers from Harar travelled to Zeila and Barbara in order to spread Islam.¹⁰⁰ It is apparent that Harar was the last remnant of an earlier wide spread Muslim culture with urban centres. According to the oral traditions of the city, which is in essential agreement with historical reports, Harar has been the sole representative of its way of life since the reign of Emir Nur (1552-1566).¹⁰¹

For at least four hundred years, the city functioned as an important regional centre of Islam and a vital market area. Both influences served to connect Harar with the internal Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa and indirectly to the outside world. Although the city followed the general patterns of the Muslim city, its social institutions conditioned by local ecological and economic influences have developed along their own path. It was until very recently that an intact Muslim city whose society

had developed in comparative isolation for four centuries. Therefore, by almost all criteria, Harar fits the models and concepts of the Muslim city developed by Islamicists.¹⁰²

At the end of the 19th century, the rulers of the Emirate of Harar, Emir Mohammed Ali and Emir Abdullahi established different policies to expand the religion Islam to the neighbouring areas. Emir Mohammed Ali (1856-1875) organized the Muslim preachers and sent them to the Nunu, Nole and Meta Oromo groups to convert them to the religion Islam.¹⁰³ Emir Abdullahi (1885-1887) made different campaigns to expand the religion Islam. In his campaign many Oromo of the surrounding areas were converted to the religion Islam. To expand the religion Islam, these two Emirs followed a peaceful method. But at time, when Egyptian occupied Harar (1875), they began to expand the religion Islam by force.¹⁰⁴

The Harari became an entirely Muslim community from the time they accepted Islam. With the acceptance of Islam by the people of Harar and surrounding area, the religion began to have strong base. The people had fully accepted and assimilated Islam into their culture. Immediately they devoted themselves to teach and spread Islam to the neighbouring peoples. It was known that Harar had been spreading Islam even long before the time of emir Haboba, the first king of Harar.¹⁰⁵ Such a role of Harar had been strengthened with the appearance of *Aw-Abadir* into the life of the people. With the establishment of Quran Gey (through formal schooling curriculum) by *Aw-Sofi Yahya* with the support of *Aw-Abadir* and expansion of other Islamic learning centres and the subsequent emergence of great Islamic scholars, Harar's scope of Islamic propagation and teaching was expanded to the extent of spreading it regionally as well as internationally.¹⁰⁶

It could be said that it is unlikely to find the Harari emir who did not involve himself in propagation of Islam. Even some emirs became great figures both in spreading as well as in protecting it. Among these *Aw-Abadir*, Sultan Sabraddiin, Sultan Sa'daddin, Emir Mahfuz, Grad Abogn, Imam Ahmed, Emir Nur, Emir Sadiq, Emir Abdash-Shakur, Emir Abdal-Karim, Emir Abdullahi are worth mentioning.¹⁰⁷ *Aw-Abadir* was the great father of the Harari who in his religious knowledge as well as diplomatic skill, laid a sound foundation that enabled the establishment of a strong Islamic Harari state and later empire. These early Sultans, in addition to their efforts of expanding Islamic learning and teaching process of Harar to international level, spent most of their reigns in defending their people and religion against the *Atse's* aggression.¹⁰⁸

Imam Ahmed and Emir Nur, more than any of the others took the lion's share. These two leaders besides taking care of the Islamic propagation within their surrounding peoples and pursuing international scholarly relationships, they managed to penetrate into the hinterland of the Christian kingdom and spread and teach Islam there. The emirs of the Ali Ibn Dawud dynasty were known for teaching and spreading Islam among the newly arrived and rapidly expanding Oromo.¹⁰⁹ It was during this period that Harar emerged as one of the four Ribat (The Holy city) of the Islamic world. Hence, Harar was responsible to propagate Islam in east Africa. This was symbolized by the existence of different 'Awaches'. One of them is 'Abadir'. In recognition of Harar as the centre of learning for Muslims in the Horn of Africa, a number of places were allocated for her scholars.¹¹⁰

As Trimmingham puts, Harar has done more to spread Islam over southern Ethiopia than any other agency. Historians in numerous writings had reported on the coming of Islam to Harar ever since the 7th century and since then Harar had been involved in propagating the religion in the Horn of Africa. The role of spreading Islam by the Harari had its own effects in producing Ulama (higher level of religious intellectuals) and in establishing traditional education system wherever they reached.¹¹¹ The important consequence of Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim's under taking was to intensify the contacts of the state of Harar with the Muslim world. The Islamic education, as cultural relation of people to people, was very influential and strong as unforgettably shown by the numerous Ziyaras (Visits) that had attracted scholars in particular to the Awach in Harar.¹¹² At the popular level Wollo Muslims use the name of a number of Harari Holy-men, the most prominent of who was Sheikh Abadir. Muslims of Harar and Wollo were historically linked through different types of interacts that created a complex network of association, such as ritual deeds, religious orders and visits to *Awach*.¹¹³

The earliest contacts between Harar and Wollo could be traced as far back as the 16th century, when Harar was flourishing as the political centre. During the course of the campaign of Adal's military, Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim into the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, he and his commanders left a number of preachers in various parts of the region to propagate Islam among the indigenous population. Thus, these influential persons from Harar made a lasting impact in the Wollo region is apparent in the fact that the names of some of these teachers have been preserved in oral traditions.¹¹⁴ For example; the name like *Garado* is derived from *Garad*, the title which was given to the local rulers of Harar. Similarly, near the town of Kombolcha on the road to Dessie, there is a small settlement consisting of only a few villages that is known as *Shàshabir*, is also derived from the Harari Sheikh Sabir. He was believed to have accompanied Imam Ahmed and to have remained

in the locality, which was subsequently named after him. In fact, ‘Qadiriya’ was among the earliest and most influential Islamic sect of teaching between the two related regions.¹¹⁵

The *Qadiriya* order was first introduced into Harar in the late 15th century, by the Yemeni spiritual Abubakar Abdullah Aal-Aydraus. Then Qadiriya was brought to Wollo from Harar. For the educational training the Harari students were sent to Islamic learning centre in south Wollo. It is worth to note that Harar and Wollo were centres of advanced Islamic studies and the sites of numerous Shrines that have attracted scholars and pilgrims from allover the country and beyond.¹¹⁶ The contribution of Wollo and Harari scholars in the introduction, propagation and the consolidation of Islam was strong. That means the scholars of the two regions spread the religion to other parts of Ethiopia. This and other events indicate the existence of strong relations between Harar and Wollo.¹¹⁷

NOTES

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³*Ibid*, p.29.

⁴*Ibid*, pp.29-30.

⁵*Ibid*, pp.30-32.

⁶Meftuh Zakriya, የከተማ ባህል መፍለቂያ ሐረር ጀጎል (*The Origin of Urban Culture Harar Jogol*), Harar, 2000, p. 24.

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⁸*Ibid*, p.25.

⁹*Ibid*.

¹⁰Ibrahim Mulushewa, “A History of Harar Community”, MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2009, p.1.

¹¹*Ibid*.

¹²*Ibid*.

¹³*Ibid*.

¹⁴Abdullahi Ahmed, “የሐረሪ እና የሐረር ከተማ ታሪኮች” (‘History of Harar City and the Harari’) Halef Printing Press, Harar, 1998, p.36..

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¹⁶*Ibid*.

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¹⁸Meftuh, p. 24.

¹⁹ Revault and Santelli, *A Muslim City of Ethiopia*; Harar, Paris, 2004, p.14.

²⁰*Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

²¹*Ibid*, pp,16-17.

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²⁵Abbas Ahmed, “A Historical Study of the City State of Harar”: MA thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1992, p.8.

²⁶*Ibid*, pp. 11-12.

²⁷*Ibid*, pp. 12-14.

²⁸Ayele Feyisa, “A History of Harar Town”: MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2009, pp.1-2.

²⁹*Ibid*. p.2.

³⁰Meftuh, p.34.

³¹*Ibid*. p. 40.

³²*Ibid*, p.45.

³³*Ibid*. p. 52.

³⁴*Ibid*.

³⁵*Ibid*, p.53.

³⁶*Ibid*.

³⁷*Ibid*.

³⁸Alem Eshete, “The Establishment of the Capuchin Catholic Mission among the Oromo of Harar.” Paper Prepared for the Conference on Harari Studies Organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 1975, p.3.

³⁹*Ibid*.

⁴⁰*Ibid*, p.4.

⁴¹*Ibid*, p.5.

⁴²The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.42.

⁴³*Ibid*.

⁴⁴Revault and Santelli, p.23.

⁴⁵*Ibid*.

⁴⁶*Ibid*, p.16.

⁴⁷Abbas, p.3.

⁴⁸Hecht, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁹Revault and Santelli, p.17.

⁵⁰*Ibid*, p,16.

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⁵³Richard Caulk, “Harar Town and its Neighbours in the 19th century”, *Journal of African History*, Vol.18. Addis Ababa, 1977, p.34. .

⁵⁴*Ibid*, p.35.

⁵⁵Meftuh, p. 24.

⁵⁶*Ibid*.

⁵⁷*Ibid*, p.25.

⁵⁸Abbas, p.1.

⁵⁹*Ibid*, p.5.

⁶⁰Revault and Santelli, p.17.

⁶¹*Ibid*.

⁶²The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, “የሐረሪ ሕዝብ ጸረ ጭቆና ትግል በጨለንቆ ጦርነት ላይ ያተኮረ” (Anti–Opperssion Struggle by the Harari People Focused on the Battle of Chelenko), Harar, 2003, p.11.

⁶³*Ibid*.

⁶⁴*Ibid*.

⁶⁵Abdullahi, p.30.

⁶⁶The Harari Culture,Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.13.

⁶⁷*Ibid*, p.14.

⁶⁸Revault and Santelli, p.17.

⁶⁹*Ibid*, p.18.

⁷⁰*Ibid*.

⁷¹*Ibid*.

⁷²The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.42.

⁷³Richard Caulk, “Menelik’s Conquest and Local Leaders in Harar”, A paper prepared for the Conference on Harari Studies Organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 1975, p18.

⁷⁴Moges Wolde Giorgis, “A History of *Leul Ras Mekonnen*”, BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1997, p.2.

⁷⁵*Ibid*.

⁷⁶*Ibid*, p.5.

⁷⁷Ayele, p.2.

⁷⁸*Ibid*, p.3.

⁷⁹*Ibid*, p.7.

⁸⁰*Ibid*.

⁸¹ Revault and Santelli, pp.18-19.

⁸²*Ibid*, p.19.

⁸³*Ibid*.

⁸⁴Hecht, p.4.

⁸⁵*Ibid*.

⁸⁶*Ibid*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p.5.

⁸⁸*Ibid*.

⁸⁹ The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.32.

⁹⁰*Ibid*, pp. 32-33.

⁹¹*Ibid*, p.33.

⁹²*Ibid*, p.34.

⁹³*Ibid*.

⁹⁴*Ibid*.

⁹⁵Caulk, p.35.

⁹⁶*Ibid*, p. 36.

⁹⁷The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.35.

⁹⁸*Ibid*, p.36.

⁹⁹Abdunasir Edris, “Traditonal Islamic Centres of Learning in Harar”, BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1992, pp.2-3.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid*, pp.5-6.

¹⁰¹Sidney R. Waldron, “Harar: *The Muslim City in Ethiopia.*” Proceedings of the fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Chicago, USA, 1978, pp.1-2.

¹⁰²*Ibid*, pp.4-6.

¹⁰³Abdullahi, p.40.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵The Harari Culture,Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.238.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid*, p.239.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid*.

¹⁰⁸ Revault and Santelli, p.39.

¹⁰⁹The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.239.

¹¹⁰ Revault and Santelli, p.40.

¹¹¹The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.240.

¹¹²*Ibid*, pp. 240-241.

¹¹³*Ibid*, p. 241.

¹¹⁴Hussein Ahmed, “African Study Monographs. *Harar-Wollo Relations Revisited: Historical, Religious and Cultural Dimension*”, Department of history and Heritage Management, Addis Ababa University, 2010, p.112.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 114.

¹¹⁶*Ibid*.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*, p. 116.

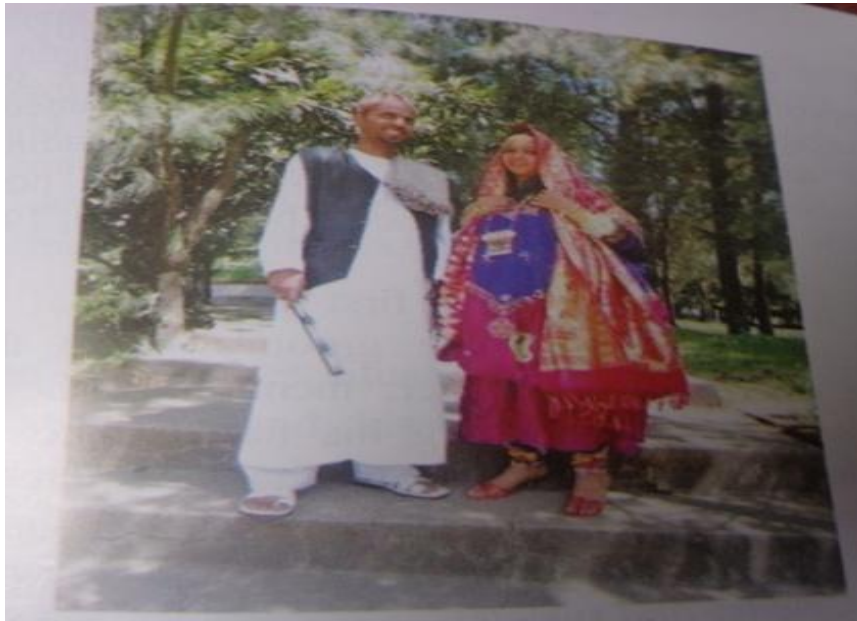
CHAPTER TWO

2.THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THE HARARI PEOPLE

2.1. Marriage

Birth, marriage and death are remarkable realities in a society although their societal interpretations differ in different cultures. Accordingly, in the Harari context, *afocha*, discharges responsibility of the wedding ceremony on many occasions. Wedding events comprise, *kusha-chat* (the proposal ‘*chat*’), *zegen* (engagement and dowry), *selit* (mother’s honey ball seed), *ayach karabu* (mothers’ ritual day), *anqer mahatb* (the grand Saturday dancing), *Mawlud* (fathers zikri in praise of the Prophet), *arouz Megba* (the proper wedding), *arouz Mewta* (emerging from honey moon), go up to the *gufta megad*.¹

Fig. 6: The Bride and Bridegroom



Source: Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau

Participants in the varying phase of the marriage ceremonies were: *ahli*, (a family network) *gelach*, *meriganach*, *afocha* and *mugad* all discharge their respective duties. At the request of the boy's (bridegroom) to be family, the girl's family (prospective bride) appoint the date for the presentation of *zegen* (engagement). On the eve of the appointed day, the boy's family accompanied by relatives and outstanding men of the neighbourhood, solemnly proceed to the girl's house, where they are warmly welcomed.² On the *zegen* day procedurally the first activity to be taken place was the official request by the bridegroom's group for the marriage of the other party's daughter mentioning the name as a bride for their son again mentioning his name. After the consent is reached by the two parties, the engagement of the brides from the two families would be announced by the *Qadi* (religious judge). Then a representative of the bridegroom's group would forward the gifts (*chat*, ring, clothes, money and sweets). The sooner the date approaches both families send invitation to kin and close friends called *arouz mawalal*.³

The girl's parents expected to prepare a dowry, which expose them to additional expenditure. The girl's parents are imposed socially to prepare different materials that the bride took to her new house. Hence, the burdensome in expenditure on both parties had become an issue impossible to be resolved by a single *afocha* consistently. Therefore, this had to be intervened, and the responsibility falls on the shoulder of *pan-afocha*, (the meeting of the representatives of the *afochas* from five gates) .⁴

The inflexible position of the Harari women, presumably fanatic as conservative on marriage issue, compelled pressure from above. Otherwise, few said, deep rooted sentiments widespread and common challenges were seldom to be resolved by scattered individual *afocha*. The mind setup of Harari, in addition to the notion to reform the prevailing traditional and cultural events were considered as a threat to erode the self identification of the Harari.⁵ In the Adare family, the contract of marriage began with the formal engagement. The boy might have been attracted by a girl he met on the street or his family might have selected him a certain girl. The young man goes in search of her and if necessary he may even drop into her house with some trifling excuse. Such as having gone astray, or asking the residence of such and such a fellow in the neighbourhood.⁶

By such means he would make contact with the girl, but would not allow his real purpose to be perceived. If he was satisfied by her posture complexion and her manner of answering questions that he asked, the boy would agree that his family should arrange his betrothal to the girl. The family at first sent elder men or women with the suggestion to the girl's family. The girl's family inturn may reject or consent the request. If the girl's family agreed, the elderly messengers are given a day up on

which the boy's family may bring a pile of 'chat', as an official promise of engagement. The chat is brought on the morning of the appointed day. Then the girl's family adds some more of their own chat, and distribute it among all their neighbours and kins-men to announce the act.⁷ *Ayach Karabu* (mothers traditional wedding song) on Saturday morning, *zegen karabu* (females song) in the afternoon and when the darkness fall down the *anqer mahtab* would take place by the mothers and youngsters. The other activity, that took place on Saturday night called *tunsus*, which declares the beginning of the ceremony. Thus, the invited young men come in group playing both modern and traditional songs mainly praising the bride and bridegroom as well as their parents and relatives plus friends.⁸

On Sunday morning, the main *afocha* (mens') discharges its duties separately. The guild (*afocha*) members and other men pass the day in reading aloud the Mawlud, biography of the Prophet. Drum is beaten with *zikri* and *dabal* (traditional dance) throughout the morning session to terminate at lunch. Then the lunch would be served both for invited guests as well as the poor. In the afternoon the bridegroom would come with his friends walking behind the elders to collect the bride. The elders of the two sides sit in line face to face to be followed by blessing and witnessing the legality of the marriage.⁹

The ceremony is concluded as the bride accompanies the waiting bridegroom and departs her family to their new home, along with basic furnishing objects (Pillows, basketry, carpets, etc). This process is called *arouz magba*. In the olden days the situation was different. The bridegroom would stay at home and his friends go to the bride's house with decorated mule and put the bride on the back of mule and brought her to the bridegroom's home.¹⁰ She would be accompanied by her brother shading her with an umbrella on the right side. The bride's friends at the back and the bridegroom's friends in front singing *awqahatey* (oh the daughter of honoured father) dancing *dabal* (traditional dance) led to the bridal house (*arouz-gar*) to hand her over to the bridegroom who was anxiously waiting for her. The married couple spent their day swarmed by their friends and occasionally, they are visited by the bride's girl friends.¹¹

My informants told me that, on Monday morning, the bride's close friends (*Hinnaa-gelach*) visit her in order to congratulate her new life by bringing her cosmetics and suitable clothes. The occasion is known as *baqal-mouz*. The informants added that in the second morning *inaay-gabata* came from the bride's family.¹² The *inaay-gabata* partially goes to boy's family and respected guests and neighbours enjoy the *inaay-gabata* in the traditional service in anticipation. According to the informants, Thursday is the *arouz Mawta* day (end of bridal days) and among the events that follow

the *gufta megad* ceremony was unique to the Harari. A bride surrounded by her friends and parents sit on stool and bend to hair dresser in *arouz-gar* ceremony.¹³

As soon as the ceremony starts the chorus began in songs in accordance with the actions when the hair dresser divided the bride's hair along the centre of the head. Then combing and so tying the hair with string, signifying and instructing the bride on her forthcoming life. This ceremony was accompanied by music and songs in *Memsas and melhad*. Then the bride was Oriented to the new objective reality in family responsibility.¹⁴ The Harari *balechu* (Wedding) from the *zegeen karabu* up to the *arouz-mawta* took place for a maximum of eight days (Thursday to Thursday) and minimum of four days (from Saturday up to Tuesday).

Dressing cultural dresses; the bride and her close friends go around homes would invite important people to attend her wedding ceremony. As she politely invited people, she was given a glass of milk and various sweets at each house. The event symbolizing and wishing peaceful and prosperous family life for the new couples.¹⁵ Two or three days before the actual wedding day, the ladies committee (mothers' *afocha*) would began the ceremony by singing and dancing in both houses throughout the night. This would prepare the *afocha* for full wedding activities as well as the relatives (near or far) time for full participation. The bride and the groom actively participate with mothers at this occasion.¹⁶ The bridegroom happily gallop on the shoulders of good friends, who are determined to make the occasion colourful and dynamically warm and joyful. The bridegroom whips unmarried men to remind them to get married as soon as possible to form a peaceful and sustainable family life. At the bride's house, besides singing and dancing a ceremony known as '*Qalam Masber*', the writing of Quranic verses on a board and breaking the pencil by the bride is done. This ceremony is accompanied by elderly personalities. The events symbolize the bride's understanding of her marriage in Islamic tradition, and the elderly persons bless the couples to have peaceful, joyful and sustainable marriage entrusted in Allah (God).¹⁷

My informants told me that, on the wedding day the bridegroom's father friends and *afocha* members would go and took the bride from her parent's home. While leaving her parents' home, the *afocha* members observe, witness and count the various household objects she had prepared for her future home. The main items are *mekhada* (Pillows), *kelim* (thick blanket), kettle, bowls and related household materials to enable her to start new life.¹⁸ Before the bride and the bridegroom are left alone for the night, a married (not divorced at all) woman would make the bride to lick honey.

According to the Harari tradition this would symbolize the blessing of her family life to become sweet and delicious as honey, fruitful and blessed with children.¹⁹ A day later after the public wedding ceremony, the bride joins mothers club marking her new status, ‘woman hood’. With an elaborate ceremony, the mothers stylize the bride with a new hair–do and cover with *gufta* and *nazi* (a set of decorated hair cover). The new custom outfit stylized by a new hair–do marks the beginning of motherhood.²⁰

In the happening of historical phenomenon of the pan *afocha*; the *firmatch* (the meeting of the *afocha* from the five gates) subsequently decided and passed resolution on some issues regarding the wedding ceremony of the Harari. Accordingly, *firmatch* (pan-*afocha*) decided the limited amount of money given to the girl as a dowry from bridegroom. Previously the amount of money which the bridegroom is expected to give to the bride was very high. This had been taken as an obstacle to the bridegroom to marry.²¹ According to *pan-afocha*, *wahachi*, a girl married for the first time might be given the limited amount of money by the bridegroom. And also *gufta*, a widow to marry for the second time might be given small amount of money. The pan-*afocha* limited the amount of pillows, dress, trousers and shawls that the bride took to her new house as a dowry from her family instead of the original forty pillows, she now took only twelve. This was done so that no poor bride family should suffer economic embarrassment.²² The decision comprised items to be given for the bride, and the procedures contained in marriage ceremony to be minimized to some extent. In the mean time the pan-*afocha* explicitly stated and incorporate clause of penalty for those who violate the decision. Everyone who opposed this law or part of the law, would be discharged from his *afocha* and he would not be permitted to join any other *afocha*.²³

In the marriage custom of the Harari, there are seasonal duties and right on both the girl and boy in the arrival of *Ramadan* (the fasting month). The girl would prepare a dish of *Buntur*, small spherical frayed biscuits in honey then she sent it to the boy. The boy together with his friends, having emptied the dish and sent it back with a note of one birr enclosed in it.²⁴ On the arrival of *Arafa*, the biggest Mohammedian festival at the end of the year, the girl sent a black cloth which a boy must return by adorning it with special decorations. Thus, these events would signify the exchange of gift and dowry between the two parties. The engagement being sealed and a new relationship arise between the two families and between the young couple. After that the girl began to hide from him perhaps to arouse his curiosity. This amazing play of hide and seek went until the wedding day. Nowadays this situation has already been improved and completely changed.²⁵

There were certain preconditions for a man to engage in marriage. Actually the purpose of marriage is usually taken in the first case as the satisfaction of sexual needs and production of offsprings. The second purpose is obtaining social recognition and mutual assistance. Accordingly there are many different customs, laws, beliefs and rituals among different societies to achieve this aims.²⁶ Therefore, marriage practices among different societies also vary. The Adare are among those who have a unique culture and marriage practice. The Adare society, along with other Muslim societies practice polygamy, but the proportion of men with more than one wife was very small.²⁶ It is apparent that the Adare are among the smallest ethnic groups in Ethiopia. However, they have maintained their identity despite the great contacts with the Oromo, the Amhara, the Somali and the Argobba. The identity maintenance can be justified by the way of life.²⁷ The engagement of marriage in the Adare ethnic group is made by the wishes of the couple. According to my informants, before the Italian invasion when a boy reached for marriage the family particularly his father would select a fiancé to his son. A house was built by his father and all the furniture is given to the boy for the wedding ceremony.²⁸ Even though the father selected a fiance, the boy used all possible means of obtaining the girl whom he is attracted for. Boys used to choose fiancé in a house where girls were knitting things for sale. After choosing a girl, the boy would inform his parents and her. Then the father or the mother of the boy asked the family of the girl. If they approved, the boy's family took a pile of *chat* to the house of the girl's family.²⁹

The process of taking a pile of *chat* to the house of the girl is the indication of an official promise of engagement. The *chat* has taken in the morning and the girl's family gathered relatives and the *afocha* to announce the act. If a boy is believed not to have a good behaviour especially, if he was not respecting the family of the girl, he was not allowed to marry the girl.³⁰ If the girl decided to dissolve the engagement, she always goes with her friends to the work place of the boy. Hence, the boy told his parents the break up of the engagement. Then the parents took back suit of clothes. In general before the invasion of Italians the couple had no absolute right in selecting partners. However, after the invasion of the Italians this situation has been changed.³¹

2.1.1. Mate Selection for Marriage

Among the Adare people, young boys and girls are not allowed to commit premarital sexual relationship and there was strong supervision over them not only by their families but also by the whole community around. Let alone a person is found committing sexual intercourse, if he was even seen chatting with a woman, he would be punished in public. Such punishment or disapproval by the

community affected not only the person committing such socially disapproved act but also affected his family. This was because people may think that the boy might commit such an offence due to the failure of parents to look after their son.³²

Consequently, this boy would not have a chance to meet or get a good fiancé that he was going to choose. Actually young Adare people feel guilty when they are observed in any obvious and open spaces with any one of the opposite sex of the same age and capable of performing sexual intercourse. Hence male and female adolescents have limited places and opportunities to become acquainted with each other.³³ For instance, in some holidays such as *Arafa (Haji)*, *Mowulid* (the birth of Prophet Mohammed) and other occasions especially wedding ceremonies provided some good opportunities for them to meet, discuss and even become engaged. When we come to the process of choosing a wife in Adare society, while boys have limited right to choose from among the opposite sex, girls are totally denied this right. A girl is obliged to agree to her parents' choice. In early days; girls were nominated for marriage during their childhood.³⁴

The practice has existed for a long period of time with the assumption that since the girl has never experienced any hardship. The society thought that, the girl could easily adjust to her parents' choice. This implies that girls were forced in one way or another to marry without their own consent. Though boys have a little more opportunities to choose their partner than girls, they could do nothing without their parents' agreement. And parents would agree with the choice of their son if and only if she fulfils those criteria which made her acceptable by the community and the entire society as well.³⁵ Such as whether she is within a pure ethnic group of Adare, whether her behaviour is good or not, whether she is respectful and well mannered, etc. Her parents in turn, need to know more about the boy before they promise him to their daughter. The girl's parent would try to explore his up-bringing as well as the background of his family. Furthermore, they try to know whether he is the son of Adare ethnic group or not, a farmer or merchant, and if he is a farmer how much he produces; and if he is a merchant how much his income is.³⁶

As my informants told me that, during the early days, if a person was a farmer and own a large farm land producing an average amount of production, he was highly needed better than that of a merchant. However, nowadays said the respondents, the demand to a farmer have decreased throughout the Adare people. All such questions are taken into consideration by the girl's parents. After considering all these factors, they decided to promise their daughter to the boy.³⁷ Otherwise if

the boy could not fulfil the above criteria such as ethnic, social and economic necessities they refused to accept the question. However, if the two parents agreed in all the above mentioned issues, then the mother of the boy together with some of her neighbours took Pile of *Chat* to the house of the girl. The informants added that, this process indicates the official promise of engagement.³⁸

The marriage in the Harari context would assume definite prerequisites. The economic accommodation that comprises the dowry and other expenditures the bride took with her on to priority of the agenda of the *afocha*. The Harari have unique, notion and approach concerning marriage. The process in the ceremony and the communicative objectives in provision were unique. The Harari culture concerning marriage was ideal and typical. The Harari marriage in fact presupposes men, money and material.³⁹ The entire procedure and substances totality challenged the will and determination of people socially and economically. On the marriage issue the *afocha* sent two representatives to consult and discuss up on the process of marriage and to solve many problems regarding marriage. The financial aspect, the duration of time and the highly engaging procedural events even kept women in kitchen for many years. The material conditions that the bridegroom accommodate for the bride was considered large to the affordability in fact rarely accomplished by the middle class man. But nowadays, this situation is totally changed and many other obstacles regarding marriage are solved.⁴⁰

In the Harari culture, immediately after the engagement, the couple would remain for more than two or three years without seeing each other. The two parents also began to respect one another and visit each others' houses on holidays and thereby a strong relationship is created between them.⁴¹ When the month of Ramadan comes friends of the girl come and visit the boy's home carrying a type of food called *Buntur*, which is limited only to their culture. The boy (bridegroom) eats this food together with his friends and then put some money on the object which the girls brought with the *Buntur* and return it back to the girl's home. When the holiday '*Arafa*' occurs, the boy is still expected to buy or prepare *Kush Buruk* (women's dress made of cotton). This dress implies that the girl is engaged to someone. If he is a farmer, during the time of harvest, he would send a *quintal* of sorghum to the girl's family home. In this way their mutual interaction and relationship progresses until the wedding day.⁴²

It is expected that, when the families of the two partners meet, they should show respect for each other. To keep this rule, the boy would never pass near the house or village of the girl, and the girl

did the same. If one of them violated this rule, he or she could be considered a hypocrite who looks down on the family members. In spite of the fact, such kind of belief has lost acceptance through time with the development of society. Even if the rule has lost acceptance, to some extent the girl's parent use it as a pretext to cancel the marriage agreement.⁴³ If the boy violated the rule simply by passing around the girl's home, the girl's parents expressed their objections. But if they are interested in their relation to continue, they exempted their objections instead they ask for compensations to be paid by him. For these compensations the boy should buy two types of gifts these were a goat and ear-rings to the girl's family.⁴⁴

Due to the presence of such custom particularly in a society where a girl did not have an opportunity to choose a husband, she is interested in using such custom as an advantage to ignore her partner whom she did not like. She used different ways in order to show hatred for her future husband i.e. she might wander usually around his work place or where ever he spent the day. If he felt nothing about the girl's wandering around him, she also looks for another means. Again if this also didn't make him feel angry, she would start to express her feelings by insulting him.⁴⁵ She, even show her displeasure to his family too. Parents who observe such bad behaviour of the girl began to discuss the case with their son and decided to break their relation off with the girl. But until the cancellation of the engagement, the girl would continue disgracing his family where ever she meets them. After that the boy's parents send orders to the girl's family to cancel their agreement. In this way the girl made herself free from the previous dark life and feel comfortable, looking to the bright future and waiting until she is engaged to the one whom she love. Nowadays, there is no such condition in the Adare /Harari/ wedding process. This was the event of the past days. That means at present the wedding process is highly improved and changed with the society's development.⁴⁶

According to the Harari culture, at harvest time the boy's family would sent two sacks of corn. In return, the girl's family would express their gratitude to the boy's family by presenting a bottle of diluted honey and milk. This cycle would continue till the wedding day which is concluded with the presentation of the dowry. At the request of the boy's family, the girl's family would give appointment for the presentation of *Zegen*. On the eve of the fixed day, the boy's family accompanied by relatives and outstanding men of the neighbourhood kindly march to the girl's house where they would politely welcomed.⁴⁷ According to my informants, engagement gifts in the emir's family or rich family would include: two *atlas* (Kinds of dress)-red or blue silk dress, four knitted (ጥልፍ) trousers, *waquri* (Necklace), two shawls and one hundred birr. On the otherhand,

engagement gifts in the Sherif's family or poor family would include: one *atlas*, *shinawai*, knitted or decorated trousers, yellow trousers, *waquri* (necklace) and hundred birr.⁴⁸

The eldest person among the group began to present the gifts one by one. The dowry itself varies but generally consists of two gowns (women's dress for special occasion), two lighter robes, a pair of trousers, a valuable necklace in the shape of a bee-hive called '*Waquri*' and hundred birr in cash. The respondents continue to explain that the boy's family depart and the things are left in the girl's home where they would remain on display to all relatives and friends for several days.⁴⁹ Several loads of wood passed from the boy's to the girl's family, heralding the advent of '*tunsus*' i.e. the beginning of the wedding ceremony. This particular performance or occasion on the wood was all done by the boy's friends. They went to the nearest forest with donkeys, chop the wood and brought it to the girls' family.⁵⁰

2.1.2. Preparation for Wedding

The issue on the table of the inter-association, the pan *afocha* concern was the *tunsus* (the pre-wedding music or dance event of girls and boys like a party). The '*tunsus*' is performed for two days in the boy's house and three days in the girl's house. However, the *tunsus* had a tendency of insecurity. It was a rival platform for the *mugad* (group). The *mugad* roam the whole night from house to house where ever there was *tunsus*. No formal invitation was presumably necessary to attend *tunsus*'s house.⁵¹

Among Adare people there was what culturally known as '*tunsus*' which refers to the overall preparations made by both the families of the boy and the girl. The necessary tasks for this preparation took place or began nearly three or four days before the actual wedding day and it was this period of time or interval that the Adare call *tunsus*. Wedding houses are called '*Balachu gars*'. In relation to this, the bridegroom is known as *Arouz* and the bride is called *Arouzit*.⁵² These are the Harari terms applied in the wedding ceremony. In times of *tunsus* all the necessary preparations are to be completed. Dancing occasions as well as different decoration tasks had taken place during these times. The *tunsus* ceremony was given serious consideration especially by the young boys and girls of the Harari people. However, some families were not interested in such ceremony to be held. In spite of the conservative sentiment of these families, youngsters give a serious attention to this occasion to take place during their wedding.⁵³

As mentioned above, tunsus began three or four days before the wedding day. But the calling of neighbours and other far relatives started as early as a week before the wedding day. Invitation was made both by oral and wedding cards. Actually using a wedding card was not part of the Harari custom or tradition and this was only begun after the revolution of 1974. As a result, the preparation of such cards have become the best and preferential way of today's wedding occasion and other parties in the Harari people.⁵⁴

2.1.3. The Bride and Dowry

According to informants, a day before the bride's-price is presented, the family of the girl would call relatives and friends as well as the female group which sometimes called as '*afocha*' (an association formed to help the members). From this *afocha* association three women selected for their capacity at entertaining people bringing a bottle of diluted honey and milk. It was through the presentation of these diluted honey and milk that the girl's family expressed their gratitude for the two sacks of sorghum sent by the boy's family.⁵⁵ The presentation of honey and milk is made a day before a bride wealth is presented. The respondents also told me that, the *afocha* members eat food in the house of the girl and no ceremony is held in the boy's house. In the Harari society a dress made of nylon was very expensive and costs up to 500 birr, without jewellery and ornaments. Here one can easily identify the similarity and difference in the features of marriage performance between the early and recent days.⁵⁶ The presentation of the bride-wealth, spouse selection and other marital ceremonies were completely different in both periods. In contrast, the culture of '*Chat*' taking to the house of the girl's family before the engagement took place and other ritual considerations were somewhat similar in both after and before the revolution. This indicates that, there were improvements in the culture of the Harari.⁵⁷

As it is mentioned before every individual was organized under an association called '*afocha*'. Since *afocha* is formed under sex differentiation, the calling of guests was accomplished both by the mothers and fathers of the couples. The mother calls her female *afocha* to come to the wedding house so as to help her and the father also does the same.⁵⁸ Here it is obvious that the *afocha* plays a significant role during the wedding and was responsible for the organization of all required preparations. Each day before the wedding day belongs to specific work. Wednesday:- in the past, the bride together with her friends, used to go to a nearby river in order to wash clothes on Wednesday. This day was termed as the day of washing. On this day the purpose of the bride's

friends in going to the river was to clean all the clothes that they would wear in the wedding ceremony.⁵⁹

Wednesday was considered as the day on which the bride once and for all go to the river with her friends, and hence her friends refresh her memories of the past, in which she had passed. Because of this she weeps and made herself ready for the coming of new life. After they had finished or accomplished their tasks all of them return to their homes. On their way back home, the bride took special care so that the parents of the bridegroom do not see her.⁶⁰ After the bride and her friends arrived at home, they eat delicious food made of *injera* and *Wot* prepared from meat. On this particular day mothers are supposed to prepare porridge. Interestingly enough, they distributed the porridge to the boys of her neighbourhood whom she addresses them as her brothers. The porridge is made only on this day for this special occasion. The bride with the help of her friends sent the porridge to those youngsters, whom she approaches as a sister.⁶¹ Friends of the bride who have delivered the porridge to the youngsters put the food in the house of the youngsters and return back. After they have received the invitation, the youngsters began to participate in all activities required for the achievement of the wedding ceremony. On the same day (Wednesday), the youngsters visited the bride's home. There, they eat the remaining porridge and after chatting for a while, they leave the bride's home.⁶²

Thursday: on Thursday all the invited boys and girls of younger age groups appeared for the wedding preparation. Dancing and other needed preparations set out and people become busy on this day. The dancing programme being set out on this day would continue until Saturday and the youngsters passed the night dancing till dawn.⁶³ In the Harari (Adare) society it was customary for dancing programme to be held at different rooms without the limitations or without rules as to who should be placed in which room to dance. Therefore, a person who is interested in dancing could go to any of the dancing room he prefers. In the former times young boys used to visit any wedding houses and dance without being called or invited to come.⁶⁴ Such open opportunities for youngsters had created a serious problem for the security of the people in the wedding house. This was due to the fact that young people coming from different neighbourhoods try to retaliate if there had been conflicts sometimes in the past. However, gradually such problems have disappeared due to the fact that nobody appeared at wedding ceremonies unless he is invited to do so. In addition, elders who were elected and given the responsibility to mediate and follow certain cases or problems in the society have contributed for the disappearance of such problems. This was made possible by

informing parents to control their children especially younger ones not to go to wedding houses or places without being invited to appear.⁶⁵

The other major problem arising at wedding occasion was that young Harari (Adare) people are not allowed to drink alcohol when they go to dancing places as this is strictly forbidden by their religion. However, sometimes people of a young age group who came to dance drink alcohol considering it as advantageous for them to avoid fear and shame. The traditional dancing style of the Harari people is completely different from the other ethnic groups of the surrounding area such as the Amhara and the Oromo.⁶⁶ Through time the modern dancing style has taken over the traditional one due to the fact that active participants on dancing ceremonies were young boys and girls and their inclination or tendency was usually towards the modern one. In the Harari culture, boys and girls dance together forming a circle. According to my respondents, such dancing style might have been an imitation from Arabs some times in the past.⁶⁷ At the end of the dancing, they often sing religious songs for a while and terminate the dancing programme allowed for this day. I was interested to ask why religious songs took place in the end, and my respondents told me that they have always to thank 'God' and pray for him to bless them. In addition to this they said that when they dance they usually drink alcohol which is religiously forbidden. Thus they had to pray and beg forgiveness from God.⁶⁸

Friday: on Friday morning the *afocha* members come together at the wedding house. This was because for the purpose of helping the family with any work to be performed. Another ceremony was also held at night on the same day. This was a ceremony aimed at recalling or refreshing some memories of the past. They celebrated this memorial ceremony by dancing. Usually the type of dancing used by the Harari people was somewhat modern in style and this is now replacing the older traditional dancing style of the people.⁶⁹

Mothers on their part join after completing their work sometime in the middle of modern dancing. They interrupt youngsters who are dancing around and try to show the traditional dancing in a very attractive manner. This kind of intervention by mothers had its own mission; in that mothers and elder people have to transmit the older dancing system of their own culture to newly emerging generation.⁷⁰ Saturday: This day was mostly known as 'Bedar' in the Harari language and the entire *afocha* members become busy in order to finish their work once and for all. The *afocha* of the boy's father, by wearing traditional clothes and singing religious songs arrived early in the morning in the house of bridegroom. The females' *afocha* on the otherhand prepared meal and did this while

singing, dancing and blessing the parents of the bridegroom. And the female afocha of the bride's mother also prepared food at the house of the bride.⁷¹

2.1.4. The Wedding Ceremonies

On the eve of the wedding ceremony that is on Saturday an ox , sheep and goat are made ready to be slaughtered. A small sized injera is also prepared. On Saturday morning the relatives of the bridegroom took the intestine of a slaughtered ox to a river and washed it. According to the Harari culture this is done to indicate the readiness of the bridegroom to lead a new life.⁷²

On Saturday night married and unmarried women relatives of the bridegroom took food to the house of the bride. When they reached around the house of the bride and join the relatives and friends of the bride, they sing traditional songs together. The bride is rubbed with *henna* (That is a leaf producing a reddish dye when rubbed) on her feet and hands. This action told that the girl belongs to the bridegroom and his relatives.⁷³ In the wedding customs of the Harari a girl arranged her schedule a week before the wedding day. These schedules are the following; on Monday she would wash her clothes with her friends, on Tuesday she would visit the houses of her relatives and neighbours announcing the washing of clothes, on Wednesday she would request her relatives and friends not go to farming and working places and on Thursday she would call friends to see her. After completing the above tasks by wearing her best traditional dresses she invited her guests by going to every house.⁷⁴

According to my informants, the elder relatives of the bridegroom arrived in the house of the bride around four o'clock in the afternoon. Then the older relatives of the bride read the biography of the Prophet. In the meantime, the bride's maid received four mattresses, very thick mat and leather mattress filled with leaf of coffee used as tea.⁷⁵ The respondents said that, by wearing black clothes and hiding her face in the middle of the bride's man and bride's maid the bride be taken to the new house by a mule. The bride's man is called *Aruz Melak* where as the bride's maid is known as '*Henna gill*'. These were the Harari terms applied in wedding ceremonies.⁷⁶

2.1.5. Ceremony of Departure from the Home of Her Parents

Among the Harari, wedding days usually held on Sunday and this day is called in the Harari language as '*Aruz magba*' i.e. the day on which the bride leave her parents home. On Sunday morning elders are selected from the neighbourhood and invited to the ceremony and they read the biography of the Prophet as well as sing religious songs. After a while, there was a program called

Nika. Nika, an Arabic term to refer to signing agreement between couples for marriage. The couples put their signature with the help of elders acting as representatives of both sides.⁷⁷ Accordingly, the boy would list all the property he previously had and these properties were registered by the respective representative friends of the bridegroom who come to witness the ceremony. The marriage took place at the house of the *sheikh*, where both parties are represented by their kinsmen at the arrival of the boy's friends leading a well decorated mule. Nowadays the Harari do not use mule in the wedding ceremony. This is because they have already started modern wedding style.⁷⁸

The girl entirely covered with a robe and she put on the mule and is shaded by a colourful umbrella. She is driven to her new home by the boy's friends who sing and jump in front of her while her bride's maid follow her singing. After reaching the new home, the bride is carried into the inner parts of the house; there she awaits the bridegroom.⁷⁹ At night in the new house, '*Gufta*' is accomplished to the bride. This indicated the legal marriage of the girl and she is called '*hattam*'. The bride stayed for a year in the house. It was the girl's family who provided all furniture and necessary things for the newly married couple. Besides, meal was provided to her by her own parents. The couple spent three days in the bride suit during the honeymoon. The family of the bride sent a brazier, bottle for putting chewing gum.⁸⁰

The female *afocha* presented a particular food called '*Inay-Gabata*'. If the bride was virgin, the food was eaten by the relatives and friends of the bridegroom if not it was given to a beggar or dogs. After their honeymoon, the bridegroom was visiting his family and close relatives. He leaves a conical basket in the house of the families closest to him to denote that he expected an invitation at the end of the honeymoon. But nowadays, the above stated process in wedding ceremony has lost popular acceptance. The people begin to follow the modern types of wedding ceremony.⁸¹

2.2. *Afocha* (Self Assisting Communal Organisation)

Afocha was/is communal organizations formally concerned with weddings and funerals. Each man is expected to join to a male *afocha* and each woman is expected to join a woman's *afocha*. *Afocha* was/is viewed by the Harari as the most important institution in the city's society. The *afocha* have great importance in maintaining the Harari way of life in both their formal and informal aspects. *Afocha* membership was not limited to specific '*toya*' or quarters or any other arbitrary boundaries.⁸² *Afocha* was/is an exemplary that sets the highest standard of human character and social interaction. The fundamental principle of *afocha* was characterized by its commitments of applying the high

degrees of intimacy, moral commitments, emotional depth and social unity. Most of all, it shows its complete accountability to God. The identity of the *afocha* equally centres up on the principles of consistent balance and unity of purpose, principle of feelings, solidarity, positivity and exemplary conducts.⁸³

Implementation of self-control in life with in the community, balance in support of the needy with practicability were also the duties of the *afocha*. Some of the core principles of *afocha* as its high principle were transmitting spiritual and traditional politeness for generations to keep sound morality. *Afocha* commitments showing mutual fulfilment, self-realizations, peace, compassion, hope and comfort were its main features in the Harari society. Furthermore, Moral charity spiritual elevation and peacefulness were its major elements including peace and human stability.⁸⁴

Afocha has been involved in all community activities for ages; and also it has been involved in disseminating knowledge and information of families. Most of all, the *afocha* was/is known for teaching spiritual principles and the high standards following the laws of God. These points and other activities made *afocha* a unique and practical community for centuries. *Afocha* was/is the source of intellectuality to hold cultural countinuity.⁸⁵ *Afocha* involved in many activities in addition to wedding and funerals. The *afocha* members used to participate in economic and social affairs. According to my informants, the *afocha* was/is also able to support weak and sick peoples. The respondents said, if an individual unable to treat himself / herself due to economic weakness and lack of money, the *afocha would* treat the individual by giving him/her the needed money. The *afocha* also actively participate in the government programmes like developmental projects. That means, at a time of drought which occasionally occurred, the *afocha* participated in the process to overcome the problem.⁸⁶ The problems which the respondents told me, were natural and human made catastrophes. They also participate in humanitarian activity such as, charity. In the previous time, the activity of *afocha* was only limited in wedding and funeral ceremony. But nowadays, in addition to these *afocha* was active in other activities. That means, *afocha* is active in creating peaceful co-existence between the societies. If there was conflict between neighbours or individuals, the *afocha* was responsible in resolving various problems which happened between the neighbours or individuals.⁸⁷

Afocha is always on the side of the community action. One of its dynamic commitments is the continuation of the existence of society's virtues through marriages. Mothers' *afocha* equally

participate and play a role socially and in passing knowledge about family life, morally correct behaviour and advising the young ladies who form the core of a family. In the Harari society, it was said that a young lady inherit qualities that reflect her mother's real behaviours and virtues.⁸⁸ *Afocha* was one of the cultural institution of the Harari people. The activities of the *afocha* and its decisions were formal. The members of *afocha* were also formally registered. In the eyes of others, *afocha* is considered as *idir* in Amharic. Though it was similar to *idir*, *afocha* had its own qualities and differences from *idir*, by its various activities and strengthes.⁸⁹

In the eyes of *afocha* members, wedding and funeral ceremony have equal weight. According to the rule and regulation of *afocha*, without any tangible reason no one of the *afocha* member could be absent from wedding and funeral ceremonies.⁹⁰ There were many activities that the *afocha* members perform in the society. For instance, if a conflict arised between the neighbours, it was the responsibility of the *afocha* to settle the conflict and gave the resolution and brings peace. If the two parties denied bringing peace, the *afocha* had the power which enabled them to force the two parties to bring peace.⁹¹

As my informants told me, in the Harari culture an individual (Mature enough and married) without *afocha* was considered as carless and also who do not give attention to the communities custom and culture. Thus, in the Harari culture every individual become *afocha* member after he/she get married.⁹² The *afocha* leaders were/are the elders with full ethics and who have enough knowledge about the institution. These leaders stay on their power until they show weakness and lost popular support. At a time when these leaders lost popular support, they were replaced by the new leaders who elected by the people. The *afocha* obtained their income from monthly/weekly contribution of the members. That means the members monthly or weekly contribute some money that serve as the *afocha's* capital. From this capital the *afocha would* give the necessary money for the mourning family. And also the *afocha* support the sick and weak members from their deposit.⁹³

2.2.1. Pan-Afocha (Firmatch: Assembly of the Afocha Leaders)

Firmatch were assemblies to be called inorder to alleviate threats to the social order to protect the inner realm of the Harari society. They were those who signed a petition in the pan-*afocha* or *afochas* of five gates. These pan-*afocha* assemblies were called under conditions which demand immediate decisions.⁹⁴ As historical event pan-*afocha* assemblies were announced from *Jami Mosque*, the main Mosque in Harar, after the prayer of Friday, when a majority of the city men all

come together. When people wanted to abolish the type of *tunsus* where young men and women were found in socially unacceptable activities, the *afocha* of five gates took council and decided to expel from *afocha* any one who violated the regulation which the pan-*afocha* setup.⁹⁵

The inter-*afocha* assembly declared the banning of the *tunsus* as well as the extravagant expenditures in weddings. But economic changes around *afocha* made difficult its implementation. Such as the expenditures to discharge wedding requirements as well as mourning rituals. No less the mourning ceremonies were in need of finance to slaughter oxen.⁹⁶ The *firmatch* presented a document to the community to reform the Harari culture, which was an important example of the ability of inter-community association. The *firmatch* presented a document to control the behaviour of their own people and address social and cultural issues. The significance of *firmatch* was that: first it created highly conscious personalities, rightly considered as brave speakers and core organizers and second, although some resistances were obvious especially, on some youth groups, the *firmatch* implemented the regulation consistently.

Firmatch was an education movement in its modernity, it initiated new educational curriculums. In addition, *firmatch* was politically influential movement. *Firmatch* attempted the development of cultural practices and had passed resolutions for different issues.⁹⁷ The *afocha* was the largest contributors of material supports to the collection of different material culture. Women's *afocha* donated not only intricately designed antique textile items but also jewellery belonging to the Harari elite. The women *afocha* also contributed mass of everyday items ranging from baskets and wooden bowls to gourds and wood work.⁹⁸

The *afocha* association was organized on the basis of neighbourhood. In principle all Harari must become membership in an *afocha*. It was/is the association that performs all the necessary activities for the deceased, washing the corpse and dressing it in a shroud and digging the grave. On other occasions, such as marriage of a member's son or daughter, the *afocha* meet to recite the *kuran* and to read the *Mawlud* prayer.⁹⁹ Each *afocha* elects its head from among its members. The head was in charge of the treasury which is built up by admission fees and by the regular payments of dues. In the former time this dues range from Eth.0.25-0.50 cents monthly. The income was also obtained from the payment imposed for violating the *afocha* rules; this might be Eth.15.00 birr, for example, for failure to participate at an association funeral. Nowadays, the monthly due for *afocha* is

improved because of the development of society's economy. Serious transgression of the rules can result in expulsion, which made it difficult to rejoin another *afocha*.¹⁰⁰

Men and women belong to separate *afocha* but a wife automatically assumed her husband's membership after his death. If she remarried the former membership of her deceased husband terminated, and both she and her new spouse must rejoin. For about two years, the newly married young couples were free from regular attendance of the organized *afocha* funerals and prayer meetings.¹⁰¹

2.3. The *Mugad* (Volunteer Youth Association)

The *mugad* was dynamic, energetic and complex multifaceted traditional association socially and culturally. The *mugads* were peculiar and important elements to sustain the Harari artistic aspects. The *mugads* of Harar were permanent groups formed by both boys and girls of the same age (above 15 or 16 years) who were from the same neighbourhood. In some cases, the *mugads* remained and existed as an entity, after marriage of the individual, who had been friends. Currently, there are few *mugad* members of the former time. That means people in late eighties now still remained together as friends.¹⁰²

Male and female groups have their own separate friendships. However, a particular male *mugad* may form a loose relationship with distinct female *mugad*. This was the age in which the *mugad* accepted the obligation and responsibility to protect the society from trouble to the extent of sacrificing life. The Harari belong to only one small group of one another. Friendship was formed in early youth primarily among the neighbouring children of the same age.¹⁰³

An identifying feature of the Harari *mugad* was the age-related interest of being fond of extremely promoting the Harari musical art. They performed publicly in organized musical teams with selected solo vocalists. According to the recent study, starting from 1950, a wide collection of recording testified the productiveness of *mugad* in composing and performing both local traditional songs and poetry, and the modern music, particularly, inspired by international collection of musical works. The types and contents of their music were distinct. There were specific songs for their occasions. But they picked one from the common songs such as one which praised their unity and love that existed among them.¹⁰⁴

The number of *mugad* groups were said to range from a few members to fifty or more. As with the *afocha* association, each *mugad* took its name from its own city gate and adapt such names as Assmaddinberi, Asumberi, Argoberi, etc. Some others took the name of ancient warriors and adapt such names as Shenanach, Debisach, Rorisach, Melesayach, and so on. *Mugad* associations met throughout the year for social gatherings at which both sex groups intermingle freely without the supervision of the elders.¹⁰⁵ The most important occasions were the religious feasts of *Eid* and *Arafa*. For the entire festival period, boys and girls would stay away from home in separate assembly houses which were selected for the event. During the day, food was exchanged, at night the sex groups engage in offensive songs and contest through dancing. Traditionally *mugad* social events served to provide a meeting ground where young men could select a prospective spouse. For this purpose the *tunsus*, pre-wedding celebration was performed by *mugad* groups.¹⁰⁶

Another activity of boys' *mugad* was the holding of mock battles in which boys display the qualities of manhood. The battles would demonstrate fighting skills and courage which were fought with sticks and war shields; in these battles serious injuries often being sustained. War games were played especially during the Islamic New Year celebration known as *Hijira*.¹⁰⁷ Durri Mohammed clarifies that, *mugad*'s songs as praise and gratitude to God, deals with devils of our life. *Mugad*'s songs also address to beloved friends and finally, songs of sadness for evil deeds committed during the day. Further, the qualities that characterize the Harari *mugads* were: their respective generations' desire for holistic developmental change expected and inevitably determined the need to learn fighting skills, to internalize courage and determination and discipline.¹⁰⁸

2.3.1. The Girls *Mugad* (Volunteers Youth Association)

The girls' *mugad* were significant in the Harari society for the role they played in promoting the Harari cultural aspects. They had considerable contribution in the production of Harari artifacts. They made mat, the grass works, the needlework as well as the basketry. With these productions the girls' *mugad* represent the Harari artifacts by creating, designing and producing to attract people locally and internationally.¹⁰⁹ The girls' *mugad* in particular, the Harari girls in general promote the Harari culture. They dance and sing in pairs, in groups and at a time in parallel line with boys during occasional '*Hafla*'. The performance earns them a little amount of money as an award in *metabq* especially, when they perform in extraordinary stage show called *hafla*. In addition they also earn income in *tunsus*, by blessing the bride and the bridegroom.¹¹⁰

The girls' *mugad*, in particular and the Harari women in general were producers of the Harari cultural antiquities. At home, after completing the kitchen affairs, the Harari girls prepared several kinds of handicraft products. Such as; *mot* particularly grass product of commercial object. The Harari products by now turned into unique products, fond of tourists reflect the Harari cultural level.¹¹¹ According to informants; the Harari girls' job in the making of artifacts was magnificently great effort in fine art, despite the laborious and time consuming nature. The artistic cultural antiquities of artifacts from grass products has the substantial role in preserving art in addition to income that economically sustain the girls, the family and the community as a whole. The respondents said that, more than anything else, the performance of girls would maintain the Harari identity. The girls' performance also define who the Harari was and paints the image in the manifestation of the society both culturally and artistically.¹¹²

2.4. Harari Traditonal Music

Harari poem in traditional, spiritual and modern songs were substantial and cover a wide range from *Halas*, *Mesalah* to the hot rhythmic music. *Dabal Assumesa* separate category in the integrated Harari performing art within the *ada-feqer* chanted by individuals and in group further solved the issue of gender in public appearance. The performing art in music was often conducted in wedding houses, *Eid* and *Arafa* celebration, *Zegen Karabu* as well as *Qalam-masbar*. These were ideal events of the traditional dance.¹¹³ The participants in wedding ceremonies were from both sexes. On the otherhand, the Harari mothers (*ayach*) and fathers (*awach*) perform the Mowlud separately. As a general norm; girls and boys with *gelach* and *merignach* act separately. *Gutti Halas*, an integrated dramatic music informally took place in *Arafa* celebration and *tunsus-gar* (wedding houses). In the *Halas* actual performance, a circle of *mugad* was established and a *Halas* girl was requested to sit at the centre of the circle. As soon as the girl was in the middle, the poet singer started in *salley Mesta* as instructed by one of the friends *tali* (begin).¹¹⁴

Fig. 7: Daf (kishkish) and a pair of wooden blocks (kabal)



Source: Harari Cultural center

In fact salley-songs were performed in solo; whatever song a single person performed is often called salley. The solo might be performed for entertainment or as an accompaniment to specific activities or peculiar emotional conditions. In *maslah*, two boys face a girl in classical dance and were rarely performed in wedding houses and Arafa song, unique dance. *Maslah* is accompanied with musical *kabal*, wood plate, *däf* (tambourine) on the audience side, and three persons, two men and a lady who dance in a slow motion. The *dabal*, the drum music, spiritual in the performance of *Mawlud Zikri* in which male adults dance mostly in wedding ceremonies is rendered emotionally. In this case women from outdoor kitchen informally follow the rhythm and dance in time.¹¹⁵

Art in general and music in particular play a great role in creating, organizing and modernizing the culture and norms of the society. Hence, these historical responsibilities fall on the shoulder of the youth, who were the dynamic social group naturally favoured to accomplish such tasks. In fact, the task of promoting Harari music pre-1974 was based on poem script and the dance performance as duty fell on the *mugads* who wrote poems and perform on stage. Harari music before 1974 was two types. These were *Ada feqar* the traditional music and *Zeman feqar* the contemporary music.¹¹⁶ The bright sparks of Harari traditional music preserved by the traditional society and association of youth, the *mugad* promoted the Harari tradition and culture. The *Mugads* social group had offered a beam of light to develop the Harari music with the substantial material produced sustained the culture of the music for decades. The Harari culture which showed through music with few components to self-identifications were shining substantially as reflected in group songs that appeared on stages; such as *tunsus*, *aruz gar* and on certain occasions of *hafla* conducted on stage show.

The culture of the Harari was highlighted from poem scripts; customs, dressing, dancing performances and more importantly the songs developed the Harari language. The musical team had been established by the voluntary groups such as ‘The Harari Muslim Students Association’ which coordinated drama with music and showed them in auditorium of schools and at time rented cinema halls for Eid and Arafa.¹¹⁷ The Harari music performance comprises wedding, working, entertainment, love, religious and ritual songs. In addition to music events in which both male and female took part, there were also certain musical styles that are explicitly divided in distinct, gender and age groups. During the long lasting Emirate of Harar, the different rulers had accordingly different opinions to worldly music and accompanying instruments. The playing of instruments was, for instance, strictly forbidden during the reign of Sultan Haboba. Other rulers allowed the playing of instruments while following Sultan again prohibited this.¹¹⁸

The persistently changing attitudes towards secular traditional music and instruments might presumably also have influenced the freedom of the musicians in singing, dancing and instrument playing without restraint. The outcome of the negative historical process along with the influence of neighbouring Arabian countries that today the Harari only use just a few musical instruments for song accompaniment. Above all melodic instruments had ever since totally abandoned so that, the use of music instruments has always been limited to idiophones and ‘membranophones’. These include double-headed cylindrical or conical drums as well as kettle-drums mostly played in assemblies or sets.¹¹⁹ Drums are among others played on religious and ritual ceremonies accordingly by men or by women. The *käräbu* played in sets were distinguished by their sizes and their musical functions in a given performance which depends on the occasion that took place. Another very common music instrument of the Harari was the single-headed frame *drum däf*, an indirectly struck idiophone made of a round wooden ring. Usually pairs of thin metal jingles fixed to produce percussive sound when beating the membrane or shaking the drum as such.¹²⁰

Fig.8: Harari Traditional Dance



Source: Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau

Regarding the Harari modern pop music, Oliver Tournay indicated that, youth associations (mugad) were influential in developing poetical and musical repertoires of the Harari. It experimented through the 1960s and 1970s with new imported instruments such as; guitar, accordion, synthesizer, darbouka, drum sets, etc. These gave life to a vast production of newly arranged songs. It was obvious that the songs, as musical acts, were also cultural expressions by themselves. Their lyrical content could also promote cultural development along the lines of the objectives listed in the nation's cultural policy. Some of the songs included not only for appreciation of unique cultural attributes of the Harari people and the city, but also urged for cultural preservation and promotion.¹²¹ According to my informants, the traditional *dabal* were represented by *Gidaya Shamuna*. *Dabal* is performed often at times of anqer-mahtab, ayach-karabu as well as in aruz-gar. It was usually carried out by one male vocalist, a few audiences with kabal (wooden plates), large karabu (drum) and däf (tambourine) and clapping audience. Four persons jump in the centre rotating, allowing others to replace in intensive and exhausting dance.¹²²

Songs that boys, girls and adult women's (ayach-Karabu) certainly conduct were almost always preceded by *mikfach* or *dersi*. Thus, as in all other socially unfolded features, song styles correlated with cultural complexity. Cultural complexity extends the Harari music texts embodied faith, love, culture and history as well as social concerns. The description of *dabal* brings to remind the

historical *gidaya shamuna*’, hot jumping dance.¹²³ There were many *mugads* that existed as group and did have musical teams. From these many *mugads hilal* was one of the groupings. There were Harari individuals and elderly hilal members. There was the Harari musical team by the name of hilal. The team as an orchestra claimed through its founders that, this mugad was the first of its kind to establish musical team in eastern Ethiopia. A musical team had worked for the cultural promotion of the Harari. Bule Ahmed Darar was one of the founders of hilal. Kamil Adus was another founder of hilal and he was a singer who wrote songs for the team.¹²⁴

In the time when hilal faced crisis, Bule merged hilal to *Dud kumul* to another musical team. As role model and leader, Bule expended his own money for purchasing musical instrument for the team in an event that subsequently encouraged and paved the way to others to do so. Historically hilal was the fore-runner orchestra in the development of Harari music as well as the language. Bule Darar had interest in poem and music that he wrote and sang to communicate social concerns of the Harari society. Bule’s poem focused on social concern of the traditional society that he suggested the Harari to move to modernity to progress in pace of time.¹²⁵ The *käbäl*, a pair of wooden blocks, was mostly played by female musicians, again a common feature observed in many parts of the Islamic Arab world. Nevertheless, on special occasions such as the religious Mowulid ceremony in which only men took part the songs were accordingly accompanied by more than two male *käbäl* and drum players. While playing, the clappers are taken in each hand and beaten against each other. Along with the *däf*, at least two or more *käbäl*, accompany songs and dances. On wedding ceremony it was customary that four to five *käbäls* and at least two *däfs* were played together at the same time.¹²⁶

The pair songs primarily dominated by parallel group of three and group of four were considered as the distinct feature of the Harari music. These polyphonic (pair songs) melodies were not just performed arbitrarily; instead they were subordinated to the predetermined musical rules. One part of the Harari music repertoire included songs that are performed in duo or pair, i.e. two women or two men. Another part involved antiphonal or group songs which were accompanied by the frame drum *däf*. The third category consisted of songs performed in solo mostly without instrumental accompaniment.¹²⁷ Taking the entire Harari music repertoire into consideration, there were four basic song styles: Saley, Jaliye, Miras *fäqär* and Dersi.

Saley: can be performed both as solo and group song. Jaliye: similar song belongs to saley style and exclusively sung by women. The jaliye performed either in duo or in solo usually without any

instruments accompaniment. *Miras fāqār*: this song style comprises songs performed in duo (two female or two male) without instrumental accompaniment. When a song in *miras fāqār* style is performed at the beginning one of the two singers started singing a phrase. At a certain point the second singer joins him /her and from this point onwards both sing up to the end of this phrase. Another song classified to the *miras faqar* style refers to canonical songs sung in duo. At the beginning the first vocalist sings a short phrase that is repeated by the second vocalist who may arrange his/her melodic and metro-rhythmic part individually. Both of them then meet at a certain point and continued singing either in harmony or in parallel third and fourth.¹²⁸

The other song style was *Dersi*; it was a group song in which the song leader initially sings a phrase that would be accompanied by a chores group. In doing so, the choir may complete or repeat the started phrase. *Dersi* songs were divided in different sex groups being performed either by men or women. They may also comprise both uniform and /or changing beat depending on the various song parts. *Dersi* songs might be performed as entertainment, praise or religious songs on respective occasions.¹²⁹

2.4.1. Zikri Rituals in Harar

Zikri is a devotional activity characterized by songs, praising *Allah* or God, the Prophet and the Saints. The song usually followed a responsorial structure led by a Sheikh and accompanied by drums (*karabu*) and wooden sticks (*kabal*). The term *Zikri* in Harari means not only the chanting and its ritual context, but also the single devotional song performed in the *Zikri* ritual. The most common features consisted in the reading of *Suras* from the *Quran*, recital of prayers, singing of *Zikri* songs, prolonged consumption of green leaves (*chat*), tea and coffee, all concluded by a shared blessed meal. Among the Harari, great importance was given to the *Mawlud*, a sacred book wide spread in Islamic world, which contains the poetic narration in prose and verses of the birth of the Prophet.¹³⁰

Cultural, historical and religious considerations can high light the role that this practice has to day. In recent history, the ritual traditions have been challenged by the restrictions imposed by the Christian empire and later by the ruling *Derg* military regime. Despite all the historical challenges, Harari rituals are still practiced and have been revived in the daily life of the people. These are seen, especially in the major festivities collective celebrations and become a major symbol of the cultural identity of the Harari community. Harari rituals are performed in various places, including the numerous local Muslim Shrines, local worship places called *Nabigár* (house of the Prophet), private

houses and public spaces. It is possible to distinguish two main ritual forms, the *Zikri* ritual and the *Mowlud* recital, associated to several different occasions.¹³¹

In the *Nabigar* and in the most important shrines, gatherings are held on a weekly base, mostly during the night between Thursday and Friday. Rituals also organized when ever pilgrims pay a visit or ‘*Ziyara*’ to a holy place. All the major festivities of the Islamic calendar are celebrated with *Zikri* rituals or *Mawlud* recitals. Furthermore, *Mawlud* recitals are typically performed on Sunday morning, during the celebration of weddings. There was also a specific *Zikri* ritual called *Aamuta-karabu*, which is performed after a funeral.¹³² According to my informants, the *Nabigar* is a very distinctive devotional place. It is usually built beside a shrine and a *Quranic* school. *Nabi-gar* has an important value as place of gatherings. Anyone can attend *zikri* rituals without distinction of social status and limited distinctions based on gender. The most common and recognized form of *zikri* ritual took place here on Friday eves. The respondents also said that it is in the *Nabigar* that the Harari *Zikri* songs were developed in their highest and original form. This becomes an important instrument of devotion and through their lyrics, a way to learn religion. The *zikri* songs accompanied by rhythms that were unique of the city of Harar probably developed inside the *Nabigar* to fulfil teaching needs.¹³³

The reading of the *Mawlud* text was a ritual which concluded by a shared blessed meal. *Mawlud* recital was an essential part of the Harari wedding celebration and was typically organized during the morning of Sunday. The reading of the *kuran* usually starts between 8:00 and 9:00. The recital of the *Mowlud* text began between 9:00 and 10:00 and ends around noon. After a blessing for the bridegroom, the wedding lunch is served. During the singing of *zikri*, most of the assembly stands and some of the men dance in a circle, joined at some point by the bridegroom.¹³⁴

The religious poems performed as *zikri* songs need a wide selection. Most of them came from centuries–old tradition and their texts were written in manuscripts, often hand copied by older religious men. The responsorial structure of these songs was given by a solo voice, usually the conductor of the ritual, and by the assembly of participants. The texts themselves, which were chanted by the leading voice, were rather longer and their performance may last up to almost one hour. The chanting was accompanied by two instruments: *karabu* and *kabal*. *Karabu* is a kettle-drum made from a bowl of wood that is covered at the top with hide. It can be played by hand or with two wooden sticks. Every important Muslim shrine in Harar keeps at least two drums for the ceremonies.

Kabals, on the otherhand, are hand-held wooden blocks that are clapped together by any of the participants in a *zikri* ritual.¹³⁵

2.5. Harari Religious and Traditional Holidays

The Harari in general and the *Mugad* in particular honour and celebrate religious and traditional holidays in special and magnificent performances. These holidays are: *Mowlud*, *Eidilfiter*, *Shwual* and *Eidal-Adha* or *Arafa*. The traditional association of the Harari, *afocha*, the people and *Mugad* collectively promote the ceremonies of *Eid* and *Arafa* in festivities of *Hafla*. *Arafa* was/is celebrated for three days formally. The Harari *Arafa* holiday was/is amazingly celebrated in an extraordinary mood and manner in different areas.¹³⁶

2.5.1. Ashura Event

The tenth day of the month of *Muherram*, the Islamic New Year, is honoured in Harar by the elderly members of the community that they pass the day by fasting. *Ashura* day is celebrated in Muslim countries in general and in Harar in particular. During this time, there was a co-incident public event in Harar, the *wirshato*, which consisted of gourd-smashing and ceremonial porridge feeding of hyenas. Traditionally, elderly Harari commemorate the day with fasting.¹³⁷ Popularly, however, *Ashura* in Harar involved fascinating festivity observed with three interesting activities. These were: the *wirshato/Wirishagnow*: roaming and singing in the city and breaking gourds, second, offering porridge to one's own neighbours and people in the vicinity and the third is an amazing event of porridge feeding for hyenas in numerous *awaches*.

It is noteworthy that the *Ashura* is an expensive and it is the inherent characteristic of the Harari of interacting with neighbours and people in the vicinity. Even in the *Ashura* day the Harari interact with predators in joint partaking of food and sharing happiness at the beginning of every New Year. 'Wirshato' is gourd breaking by the youngsters, who roam house to house in the village, singing from street to street, break gourds. This practice believed to be started after the deposition of Emir Usman Al Habashi in the mid 16th century, reflecting popular opposition for his despotic character.¹³⁸

2.5.2. Ashura Porridge and Hyena Feeding

The Harari on the particular day prepare quality porridge 'shur' food to serve people. At least people from neighbourhood or vicinity were offered to this ceremony. *Ashura's* second event was porridge feeding for people. Every Harari house holder had to prepare porridge and serve the people. The

people enjoy the *Ashura* night by consuming porridge. Everybody eat too much porridge freely, even above his dose without fear. Therefore, the Harari celebrated the night of *Ashura*, in porridge ceremony. In the feeding, one has to consume adequately, excessively in high intensity as a factual event supported by the belief. It is believed that, he who was not satisfied of the proper consumption on the *Ashura* day, it is assumed that he never be satisfied for the whole year. He would suffer from hunger throughout the year.¹³⁹ The third event of *Ashura* was/is the hyena feeding. The ultimate close relationship of the hyena and people in Harar deserves appreciations. The feeding of hyena on *Ashura* day took place at numerous sites. These are: *Aw-Hakim, Abdulqadir, Jayilan, Aw-Nugus and Aw-Abokar*.¹⁴⁰

On the particular day of *Ashura*, the hyenas appear even punctually with due expectations. And also the elderly leaders from Shrine come on time to attend the hyena feeding ceremony. The guest ‘hyena’ that appeared in grace and with attraction accompanied by his followers arrived to eat the porridge. The porridge prepared from numerous cereals with pure butter. This ceremony of feeding porridge for the hyenas usually held during the evenings.¹⁴¹

Fig. 9: Hyenas Porridge feeding on *Ashura* Day



Source: Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau

My informants told me that, there was a legend of Harari porridge feeding of hyena. Once upon a time the Harari and hyenas were on dispute and used to attack each other for a long period of time. During the time one of the elders of the Harari come up with the dream which enable the Harari to

settle the conflict between the hyena and the people. The respondents also said that, the solution to settle the conflict was that to feed the hyenas with porridge which was prepared from different cereals. After the advice which was given by the elders fully implemented, peace has been prevailed between the people and the hyenas. Hence, from that time onwards every year during *Ashura* day, porridge is prepared for the hyena.¹⁴² There was also another assumption, once upon a time; there was drought which happened in Harar. As a result of this drought, the hyena discontented and in certain event the drought angered the hyena. That means, the hyena faced shortage of food in the area. Perhaps, the hungry hyena got angry and consequently started to attack human beings. Therefore, one can associate the porridge feeding as sort of compensations to the damage occurred from the two parties, the Harari people and '*Derma sheikh*', the hyena. The conflict resolution for such dispute lies in the reconciliation, call it mediation.¹⁴³

According to a respected dreamer (a man who saw a dream) most probably a mediator with heart proposed to feed the hyena in reconciliatory measure and assume place with the hyena. This idea was accepted by the people. Then the Harari began to prepare the porridge according to the proposal of the respected dreamer. Pure butter was poured like water in the dish for the hyenas. The amount of porridge that the hyena consumes, the action and reaction of the hyena to the porridge most likely occur in three hypothetical scenarios, to the usual expectation of viewers and the shrine leaders. The first scenario is that, if the hyena ate more than half bowl of porridge, then it would be assumed that the year would be good.¹⁴⁴

The interesting and dramatic moment took place just from the arrival of the group of hyenas. Then, the leader of the hyenas' approached the dish to check the quality and sufficiency of the porridge. The retreat of the hyenas' leader implies unsatisfactory. At a time the host certainly improved the content immediately with butter poured like water. Again the second drama began to attract the attentions of viewers, especially elderly people of the *Awach*. The second scenario is the total consumption of the porridge by the hyenas; and the third was/is total rejection of the porridge by the hyena. In this ceremony the total consumption or total rejection implies unfavourable condition. The Shrine leaders interpret both conditions to signal strong warning in extremity; either famine or epidemic is expected. The occurrences of the two events are disturbing to the viewers. As a result, people spend the night praying. Generally, from the three events of the hyena feeding, the most expected consumption of the proper dosage is taken as the best of the best.¹⁴⁵

2.6. Harari Funeral Custom

As it is common everywhere, the death of any person is naturally announced primarily by the cries of the relatives, and intimate friends. But in the city of Harar it was officially announced by an appointed person. If the deceased person is male, his death is announced by a man, and if the deceased person is female, it is announced by a woman. The announcer completed a round by telling the master or the mistress of every house. As he/she visited each house, he/she announces the death of the particular person. In Harar a man or a woman who had no *afocha* could have hardly anybody to bury him or her. This situation was considered as a miserable and shameful by the community. That means these kinds of individuals could not have been buried by the *afocha*.¹⁴⁶

Some of these *afochas* were ancient and respected associations descending uninterruptedly from father to son, and they have survived the competition against others. The burial ceremony began with the washing of the dead body. This process is a complicated work, including the closing of the body openings, the use of different ointments for preserving and straightening the limbs. This was the task of specialized old men or women. They perform it behind closed door. The washing of the corpse is followed by covering it with cloth. The corpse, first enclosed in an unsewn white cotton shroud, and then wrapped in another white sheet three times tightly and was tied at both ends.¹⁴⁷

A female corpse is covered in a white long-sleeved robe, trousers and white head dress. In the Harari culture, while washing and wrapping took place inside the house of the deceased, outside it and in the nearby houses some men of the guild (*afocha*) read chapters from the Holy Kuran aloud with melody together. At a time, the women assemble, usually spreading all over the yard and in the street weeping and mourning. The female relatives of the deceased, who adhere to the futile and wasteful custom, would express their sorrow deeply. They tear their gowns which are decorated with colourful hand knitting.¹⁴⁸ The women gathered in the house of deceased disperse on the return of the burial party, and the formal conclusion of the ceremony is done with the formal blessing 'Du'a'. The closest blood relatives abandon their homes and stay with the family of the deceased. The process continued for three days, it was a period which they share the grief of the chief mourner. Women and men do not sit together during the mourning. Therefore, all men stay in one room and the women in another. This is because their religion forbids them to stay in one room during the mourning.¹⁴⁹

During the three days, mother *afocha* prepare *Kuran-gebeta*, and the male *afocha* read *Kuran* for three evenings between *Makhrīb* and *Isha'i*. They complete the mourning activity on the fourth day. The male *afocha* completed its duty of '*Kebri-oun*' by putting a rectangular stone on the grave for the purpose of identification.¹⁵⁰ According to my informants, as soon as death is announced, neighbours and relatives and intimate friends would arrive. While a part of the *afocha* member joined by others, recite the holy *Kuran* in the house of the deceased, a larger groups go to the burial place to prepare grave yard. The respondents said that, as soon as the news of the deceased declared, women *afocha* members arrive at the deceased house by carrying bundles of fire wood called '*Kafara inčhi*'. This is done not to use the property of the deceased, to prepare '*sirri*' (traditional bread) to be distributed at the grave among the poor on behalf of the deceased.¹⁵¹

The stone erected on the top of the grave facing one another on the north and south ends, the bigger stone being located on the northern, directly above the head of the buried body. The phrase 'God bless his or her soul' with the date of birth and death is written always on the bigger block. The two main grave stones are then joined by linings of small stones on their adjacent sides so as to show the rectangular outline of the grave. The first remarkable event after the departure of the corpse for the burial ground was the production of '*kafara*' bread. The bread is baked in small circular shapes from sweet dough. These types of bread are prepared only in case of the death of a mature men and women, i.e. for those over sixteen years old.¹⁵² Another group of women prepared the dough from wheat flour. Some of the prepared '*Kafara*' are served to the temporary female mourners. They keep the *kafara* until they go back to their homes and divide the bread among their children. Another part of the *kafara* is sent to the grave yard where it is distributed among the poor and beggars who are gathered around the grave. Among some Harari societies, the traditional '*Kafara*' is being replaced by some other form of '*Kafara*'. It was not uncommon for the family or the relatives of the deceased, particularly if they are wealthy, to slaughter an ox or goat as '*Kafara*'. Parts of these '*kafara*' immediately divided among the poor neighbours. This was considered by the rich as a removal of the sin of the dead.¹⁵³

The men relatives of the deceased, i.e. chief mourners wrapped their heads with a white shawl. The mourners sit around the door, so that it was not difficult for the guests to reach them to shake their hands. Those who come to share grief, '*Taziya*', have to recite a formulated short phrase of support and well wishing, while the mourners say amen. An informal ritual, known as '*Fatah*' is held on the fourth day. This religious ceremony is organized by the family of the deceased with the help of the

members of the *afocha*. Each *afocha* members contributed some amount of money and large amount of *Ukat* (*bread*) of the Harari.¹⁵⁴

The ceremony attended by the men of the *afocha* and aged neighbours who all unite to pray God to for give the deceased his sins and save his soul from the tortures of hell. The women worn black gowns to express their grief. But the men have no special mourning markings or clothes. The end of the first week witnesses the climax of the religious ceremonies that follow a death. A huge ox is slaughtered and a great festival is organized mostly from the private contributions of the family. But there was the fund raised by a contribution of one birr from each member of the women *afocha* to help the family. For this occasion, all the men and women neighbours and members of the *afocha* are invited to attend the ceremony.¹⁵⁵

As every woman enters the house of the mourner, she would throw one birr in the wide basket placed just on the entrance for the collection of the contributions that aimed at supporting the family of mourner to prepare the ceremony. For the ceremony the principal occupation of the women during the whole day was to look after the kitchen and cooking. This was to serve the men and furnish them with all necessary things. While women are occupied by such activities, men simply sit and chew *chat*. Besides cooking, women mostly gossip about successes and failures of other women who were not present there. In this process men are exempted from any contribution, but nearly every one of them has to come with a bundle of *chat* placing it under their armpit.¹⁵⁶

My informants told me that, after different ceremonies accomplished male relatives leave, and only a few of women relatives remained with the family of the deceased after the end of the first week. The family members and relatives continued to stay idle and wear black mourning clothes for some days. The respondents said that, the women colleagues would never fail to come with some kinds of food up to the end of the first month. Some families might bring a small lunch at the beginning of the second month, and invited famous persons of the surrounding areas to carry out the ceremony.¹⁵⁷ In this way the Harari people accomplish their mourning process.

NOTES

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- ⁴³Assefa, p.12.
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CHAPTER THREE

3.THE TANGIBLE CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THE HARARI PEOPLE

3.1. Basketry (Basket Work)

The basketry of the city of Harar is thought to be known in all parts of Ethiopia. Basket work, until recently was practiced particularly by skillful women in this work. Fine baskets were also made and designed by the neighbouring Oromo. However, Harari women themselves still practice and often specialize in the traditional basketry. They work baskets for themselves, and sometimes for other Harari families who lost their husband by death or divorce. This kind of support was done to help widows, in order to lead their life properly. The makers of Harari baskets were the Harari ladies. The Harari ladies as a member of the elite was expected to know how to weave fine baskets. According to Harari culture, women of the city have to know how to arrange baskets properly in their home.¹

A girl had to start at an early age to make baskets. And the first plates she successfully completed were to be hanging up at the *matazu* (pillar). The plates may either be hanging up at the left or at the right side of the living-room in her parents' house. Within the first year after her wedding, she was expected to weave two plates of exactly the same size and pattern, *hamât-môt*. According to the Harari culture, she presents these plates to her mother-in-law. This tradition was the event of the past which has been improved now. The functions that baskets have within the Harari home and within the social activities of the women, as well as the traditional concepts about types and patterns of baskets, restricted their forms and decorative patterns.² A special and fascinating design of the Harari basket have great contribution for the economic development of the city. This design holds the cultural and social reflection of the people. Although the material element is grass, the basket reveals artistic qualities of the Harari women. Basket play a great role to attract tourists for a long period of time now. The basket tradition has its unique aspects, and not all traditions share equal weight in the realm of art appreciation. Basketry was a sign of identity loaded with social and cultural meaning. The role of basket in the Harari society is seen in three features: utilitarian, decorative and symbolic.³

The Harari basket might be described within both physical and symbolic contexts to a certain modification in colour composition, alternation of patterns within the baskets, and delicate placing on the wall were always up to the expected norm. Basketry would show Harari identity as well as women's sphere of life. The beauty to the excellence is achieved in manipulating colour, which is

produced by dying. The objective behind the production of basket was/is in fact economy. Basket work was/is definitely, an art that it has to be valued as a proper art up to now. It is recognized as African art-making overseas.⁴ Furthermore, Harari basketry is a craft, art, and culture and above all it was/is source of income. One very important industry among the Harari women is the basket weaving. Harar has become famous for its complicated and beautiful baskets. In general, by their items, arrangement and productions in about 30 designs, thick and sophisticated baskets are distinct. Many who have visited Harar appreciated the beautiful baskets that the city's women have produced for centuries. Today, the famous baskets of Harar are one of the old walled city's major tourist attractions. The Harari basket is far more than beautiful object to be purchased by tourists and studied by art-historians. In her analysis of Harari basketry, Hecht offers a hierarchical list of the significance baskets hold in the Harari society. The learning process for basket making is part of the female's world.⁵

Though the work of basket was/ is a female specific tradition in the Harari society, it does not exclude men from using baskets. Indeed, there was a special basket called *Aw-mot*, father's basket, produced for bridegroom to be carried with him when visiting his relatives. It is true that men do not interfere with the process of making baskets; but it seems that the symbolic value of baskets is an important element of male identity in relation with marriage. Therefore, basketry is important for both men and women. The main differences seen in the process of production and the frequency of symbolic usage.⁶ The basket's decorative and utilitarian functions were more or less the same for both husband and wife, but it has greater significance for women in the transmission of culture and customs. Formerly daughters at an early age were encouraged by their mothers to train their hands how to weave baskets. Basket making was used to be a lifelong skill learned in early childhood and practiced until old age by almost all Harari women, rich or poor. Traditionally, the first basket made by the girl was burned to ashes, and the ashes were rubbed on the girl's hands. This custom would signify a transition to a more skilled level of basket making. Even today, daughters master the basic concepts of basket making before they join the *Gelach*, a society of young women of similar age who live in the same neighbourhood. However, currently this situation is improved and changed⁷

My informants told that, the *gelach* met at the home of one of its members which was then known as a *moo-gar*, or house of work. The members of the *gelach* spent their early years at the *moo-gar*, which served as a training ground for the Harari girls where they learned not only basket work, but also *hala-mehal*, the important lessons associated with social professions. According to the

respondents, the weaving of a small flat basket was/is the beginning of a long journey to acquire skills in basket making.⁸ The first stage of basket making involved only natural undyed grass. After mastering the weaving process, one gradually learns to manipulate *qeha* and *t'ey*, red and black, a term used for dyed grass. It is used to produce a wide range of complex patterns and designs. Harari baskets were usually designed to integrate geometric patterns of triangular, rectangular and lozenge shapes. There were also zigzag patterns which look like wave movement. Some of the basket makers had integrated scripts in their basket designs. Amina, for instance, had used both Arabic and Amharic letters in her baskets. Most of the inscriptions were either the personal name of the owner or specific *Kuranic* quotations.⁹

As my informants said, there was/ is room for creativity to introduce new designs and patterns, but the conservative demands of the market for traditional dowry baskets do not favour innovation. There are six basic basket shapes. These are: flat-circular, flat at the centre and flaring out at the edge, triangular, rectangular, conical and hemispherical. The respondents said, before her wedding, every Harari girl should prepare the following baskets: one *gufta muday* (hairnet container), two *it'an muday* (incense container), two *bisha muday* (chewing gum container), four *aflala uffu* (a conical lid, for putting valuable things), four *finjan gar* (a small lidded container) and six *sehaa segaari* (a small plate).¹⁰

The materials used in the construction of traditional Harari basketry includes: dried grasses and straws termed as *qarma*, *migir* and *agargara* in the Harari language. *Qarma* is a broad common straw. Dyed *qarma* is usually used on the decorative surface of the basket. *Migir* is long, strong and undyed stems. It is used as the foundation or inner structure of each coil of the basket. *Migir* stems are abundantly available in the vicinity of Harar.¹¹ *Agargara* is commonly used in Ethiopian basket making. It is used like thread, in that it is sewn between and around the coils to hold them together. Often dyed *agargara* stems have decorative as well as structural importance. *Qarma*, *migir* and *agargara* are sold in the various markets and foot paths of the city of Harar. However, it may be said that the task of collecting and selling of grasses rests mostly outside the domain of women of the Harari ethnic group. The colouring process of today, with the use of concentrated chemical dyes appears to be simple. In most cases, the powdered dyes are simply put in a pot, mixed with water and occasionally with lemon or kerosene to add shine. Harari basketry used an over sewn coiling technique in which the weaver works in clock wise fashion with the decorative side of the basket towards her.¹²

Fig. 10: Various Types of Baskets



Gufta Mudai



Hamat mot (Mother-in-laws' basket)

Source: Harari cultural center



Sugud



Waskambai

Source: Harari cultural centre

Today some of the larger sets of baskets have been reduced to sets of two because of the high cost of baskets. It used to take about a year to complete a set of dowry baskets. This situation has brought about the establishment of a new occupation, i.e. professional basket making. Today, in the city of Harar there are a few professional basket makers, who are responsible for producing almost all the dowry baskets. Each professional has her own speciality.¹³ Although it remains an important symbol of identity, the basket did not play the central role as it used to. Nevertheless, a minimum standard is still maintained. Every bride should bring a minimal set of baskets to her marriage. The continued social import of baskets in Harar is seen in a number of traditions. At the end of the honeymoon both

the bridegroom's and the bride's relatives come together and competed in song. The bride's side mentions the quality of the baskets that the bride has made. The less skilled basket makers focus most of their production on less-demanding tourist baskets. Traditionally, almost the entire wall surface of Harari house was/is covered with basket work and wooden bowls.¹⁴

Formerly, every Harari women was supposed to know basket arrangement, if she did not, she could be bitterly criticized. A wife who did not possess this knowledge was considered as a 'buseti', careless or lazy woman. In the Harari culture, every basket has a specific place on the wall surface. The informants said that, if a basket is hanged on a wrong place, its symbolic meaning might be confused. According to the respondents, it was not usual to see a *lemat* (a large flat basket) hang from a pillar or *hamat-mot* (mother-in-law basket) in the place reserved for the *ukat-mot* (a bread basket). The presence of a *hamat-mot* in a house indicated that a son has a wife, and it must be hang in a specific location to signify this important event.¹⁵ Thirty types of traditional *ge-mot* have been recorded. These may generally be categorized in to two groups: those that were primarily utilitarian baskets of frequent use, and those whose functions were primarily decorative/ceremonial. There were eight styles of utilitarian baskets. These tend to be composed of natural coloured grasses. The decorative ornamentation on these baskets is limited to leather, vinyl and cowrie shells. The *afuftu* basket (used to winnow grains) is an example of this style. Of the eight known types of traditional utilitarian *ge-mot*, *baser-mot* (used to carry meat), *darma-darat* (a medium sized bread plate) and *shalda-gar* (used to store razors) were all not in use. Thirty years ago, *eraz-mudai* (a basket for storing clothes) was available, but now it replaced by a bag.¹⁶

The Harari women weave basketry bowls and lidded vessels that gave important function in the ceremonial and everyday life activities of the Harari ethnic group. The traditional shapes and complex patterns found in Harari basketry, which were difficult to create locally admired for their aesthetic qualities. Besides, they were also admired for their roles, real and symbolic in communicating common values among community members. This introduction to Harari basketry offers a window into the world of the weaver and Harari community by exploring both the persistent and transitional aspects of materials, meanings and functions of Harari basketry.¹⁷

In a city that is now home to several diverse ethnic groups; it was not surprising that various types of basket styles were locally created, including Oromo, Amhara, Somali as well as traditional and contemporary Harari styles. All of these types of baskets are sold within the city and non-Harari may

casually refer to them all as Harari baskets owing to the fact that they are crafted within the city. The complex traditional Harari styles for which local Harari women artisans have gained national and international approval comprise thirty types of basketry vessels woven from dried grasses.¹⁸ The dowry baskets needed by the Harari brides were among the decorative or ornamentation. These types of baskets include: *hamat-mot* (a present from bride to her mother-in-law, which may be used to cover food at ceremonies), and *bisha-mudai* (used to send chewing gum to the house of a wedding ceremony). Both utilitarian baskets and decorative or ceremonial baskets are for sale in the walled city. Once the Harari girl or woman completed a basket, which she intends to sell, she had a number of options when trying to sell her baskets.¹⁹ First, the weaver might sell her basket directly from house to a customer. Second, she might decide to sell it to a professional weaver who mark up the price and resold the baskets from a shop. Another option; the individual weaver might choose to sell her baskets to basket broker who sold large quantities of baskets from her home. There were numerous innovations in Harari basket work. New types of baskets, popular with tourists and similarly for Harari, fit in the category of 'tough-tough' style. *Tough-tough* baskets resemble the traditional *ge-mot* in its shape and size; but the quality of the coiling technique was inferior. The new popular styles are made of colourless grasses and ornamented with silver bead work.²⁰

Fig. 11: Different Types of Baskets

Ukat Mot



Etan Mudai



Source: Harari Cultural Centre

Eraz Mudai



Source: Harari National Museum

The *ukat-mot*, the bread basket, has been replaced by cheap Chinese enamel ware. But some women still preferred to use the basket especially, when they took bread to a house of mourning. The *afuftu*, or sieve, was also being replaced by plastic or metal sieves. The *sugud*, a special container for grain measurement, might remain as a utilitarian basket for some time; because it represented specific unit of measure. Harari basketry also served a decorative role in the Harari house. This function has been affected by the recent introduction of factory made cement.²¹ Many Harari house walls are now plastered with cement, which made them difficult to make a hole for basket hanging. Nevertheless, some of the essential dowry baskets had not lost their decorative function. They are displayed in other contexts, for instance, on tables. The third role of Harari baskets involved their symbolic significance in rites of passage. Here also the new wave of cultural change has affected the importance of these baskets. Each decorated Harari basket used to play a pivotal role in important social events like the birth of a child or marriage.²²

But now the only basket that continued to maintain special social significance is the *hamat-mot*, or mother-in-law basket. Every mother-in-law still expected this basket from her daughter-in-law. In the past, the daughter-in-law would make this piece during the first year of her marriage. But now professional basket makers have started producing this beautiful basket. Mother-in-law still carried bread for social events in *hamat-mot*, denoting that they were on good terms with their daughter-in-law.²³ The city of Harar has been a point of convergence for a number of major cultural traditions. Harar has been the centre of trade and learning for a vast region of the Horn of Africa for at least 1000 years. Various crafts and arts were introduced by people who came from different places. These people came from near and far, from all directions to contribute their knowledge and expertise to the collective culture of the Harari. Jewellery, script, book binding, architecture and basket work are just a few traditions that enrich the aesthetic environment of Harar.

Harar provided some mysterious fascinations, independent cluster of cultural and traditional values spanning over a thousand years old. Some of these were colourful designs and Harari basketry. Skillful Harari ladies have made the ultra refined handicrafts and artifact.²⁴ Among Harari baskets, both *touh-touh* and crylic fibre baskets are technically considered *ge-mot*. That is, they are baskets of the Harari ethnic group that have a place in the recent material culture of the group. *Touh-touh* styles do have a status much inferior to the traditional *ge-mot*, but they are cheap. Most of the Harari

homes are presently decorated with many more touh-touh styles than traditional *ge-mot*. Crylic fibres baskets, however, maintain a high status because they are decorated with traditional geometric *ge-mot* patterns. Harari women also weave several new shapes and patterns. These include the Africa plate.²⁵ The respect that the Harari gave for their basketry was fully related to the historic and symbolic merging of the tangible and intangible heritage of the group. Harari basket weaving was a lifelong skill which begun from woman's young age and practiced throughout her adulthood. Young girls learn skill of weaving at home by the support of their elder sisters or mothers. Historically a girl's first basket was often burned and the ashes rubbed into her hands in the hope that she would become a good weaver.²⁶

Informants agreed that, the first basket a girl completes should be a natural-coloured basket used for holding flat bread. If the novice weaver decided to keep her basket, after she eats flat bread from the basket, she would rub sorghum on to its surface before hanging it on a wall facing the entrance door of her house. Thus, the basket was displayed in a strategic position to be observed and commented on by visitors. The respondents said, if the weaver instead chooses the custom of basket burning, her mother or another female relative would place the basket in a fire and rub the ashes in to her hand. There by, this showed transforming of the basket from utilitarian object and a symbol of initiation in to the ranks of Harari weavers.²⁷

Normally, once basic weaving skills were acquired, a young weaver would join a *gelach*, or neighbourhood friendship. The *gelach* members would meet regularly at members' homes, joining together in what was known as a *mooy-gar*, or house of work. Over the course of several years, the young women had become proficient enough to make their dowry set of baskets up to their marriage. The setting of *mooy-gar* was advantageous because it ensured that a group of skilled weavers would be available to help an engaged girl fill her dowry requirements when the need arose.²⁸

Within the *mooy-gar*, young girls would develop their skills of basket weaving and strengthen lifelong bonds with their peers. When the Harari woman joins the ranks of proficient basket weavers, she earns admiration from the community for mastering an essential skill of weaving baskets. Even among other ethnic groups in the city of Harar and more generally, throughout Ethiopia, Harari basket weavers had long represented a privileged class of artisans.²⁹

Functions of the Harari baskets, according to their range of importance are the following: for the women, a symbol of the Harari identity, symbol of the Harari women's sphere of life, decorative

value, which the house wife knows how to put up baskets on the walls in the proper Harari arrangements, distinct function in social activities, i.e. ceremonial exchange of gifts, in particular of food, during various festivities and objects for daily uses, there are still a number of plain baskets, the main functions of these baskets are for daily uses. For example, the plate for winnowing grain, *afuftu*, the bowl *därma-darat* or the grain measure *sugud*. However, most of the purely functional baskets had been given up today in favour of cheap enamel ware imported from abroad, which is easier to handle when serving and cleaning. On the otherhand, decorative baskets, such as bread plate, *ukat-mot*, were losing their functional value entirely.³⁰

Only the wealthiest members of the Harari community could afford to possess some of the larger baskets. *Laye-morraja* and *waskambay* were baskets that are used to cover food when served upon shallow plate-shaped baskets. When *laye-morraja* and *waskambay* were not in use, they were hung on the walls directly on top of the slightly larger baskets. Having many of these baskets would signify that either the woman of the household had excess free time to weave, or that her family could afford to purchase luxury items.³¹

The functions of some of the traditional baskets have been changed. For example, *aflala-uffa* basket lids usually covered the black clay *aflala jars* used to store valuables. Nowadays these baskets are often filled with artificial flowers and hang upside-down on the central wall of the living room. Furthermore, some *ge-mot* has fallen in to extreme disuse with the availability of durable manufactured alternatives. *Shalada-gar*, traditionally used to store shaving supplies has been replaced by plastic alternatives. Also, enamel ware bowls, or tea cups were often hang on the walls in the places previously reserved for baskets. Finally, it was a major innovation that men are contributing to the crafting of the Harari baskets. For example, the young boys have been employed by women weavers to decorate their *touh-touh* style baskets with beads.³²

The future of the Harari baskets is uncertain. The Harari women weavers are now primarily producing the baskets required for the dowry and some of the weavers specialize in *hamat-mot*, but no one has taken responsibility for the larger baskets; such as the *lemat* (aflat basket), *waskembay* (a conical basketry lid) and *laye-moraja* (a basketry plate used as a cover for another basket). From this situation one can say that, they certainly will soon disappear.³³

3.2. Carpentry as Material Culture

Yusuf Ahmed's work on the Economy of the emirs of Harar (1825-1875) report in translation and analysis from an Arabic document of an Egyptian Muhammed Mukhtar who wrote on the economic situation of Harar, of course stands as an essential reference in this area. Mukhtar stated that the wood work of the Harari was well developed to be provided to the surrounding people. In Harar, carpentry was a job and a means to earn living. Harar had already wood carving tradition with its especial skill and art showed in furniture, educational and musical products.³⁴ Particularly, the skill of wood joining was distinct. In the application, in the residential houses, *gambari* (doors) traditionally built in cupboard openings and other grooved wooden materials; existed for long time. The educational material, a *louh* (plate which was used to write on), *kitab-kursi* (book holder), *mustara-louh* (line drawing), *kitab-moraja* (book case) and *dibet-moraja* (ink holder) were well developed wooden products. Furnitures like *wanbar* (seat) and *dufan* (bed) were properly arranged in Harari living room.³⁵

3.3. The Harari Traditional House Construction

There were two main types of houses among the Harari. These were: *sār-gār* known as grass house, and the second type of the Harari house was *dārbi-gār* called frame wood house. The constructions of these two types of houses require different methods of construction, different materials and different floor plans. The first types which were known as *sār-gār* have been almost entirely replaced by the second type, i.e. by *dārbi-gār*. A *sar-gar* was attached-roof hut with a circular wall of long heavy rough-hewn planks stuck in the ground and held together by horizontal cross-withies tied to the uprights. The whole inner and outer parts of the house plastered with mud. A centre pillar provided the main support for the roof.³⁶

A *darbi-gar* on the otherhand was a stone house, rectangular in its plan. It took its name from the style of its roof, which was constructed from planks of wood (*dārb inči*). *Darbi-gar* covered over with dry grass and a final layer of yellow *gugguba* earth. The exterior walls were usually plastered with mud and the interior walls were plastered and painted with lime. This *gē-gār* or house of the Harari was surrounded by a stone wall. The *gē-gār* was two storied with a stone staircase of not more than seven steps located at the right of the house behind the entrance.³⁷

The upper story contained the main sleeping room (*zigādāra qalā gār*) and a smaller room (*qutti qalā*) used for sleeping or storage. The lower floor: for eating, receiving guests and performing

rituals. The lower floor of the Harari house has three main sections. These are: *kirtät*—especially used by women in isolation during and after child birth called, *harās* by the Harari and for the confinement of new brides, *dēra*—the store room, located directly below the *qutti-qala*, for storage of large farm tools, fire wood, and food not subject to spoilage by pests and *gār-eqäd*—the main seating room, to the back of which was an elevated plat form seat, the *nädäbä*.³⁸

A compound of Harari traditional house was/is surrounded by a wall. Within the compound there are today several dwellings which have to be interpreted as separate residence units. These houses were not connected by doors, but they have continued walls. Several families who live in these house units, share one or two kitchens which were located within the compound. In the traditional Harari house, most windows face the compound, only a few on the upper floor facing the narrow path. The wall towards the path is a continuation of the wall of the next compound (like a continuous fence passing the front gardens of several houses). When observed, several compounds are surrounded by one wall, and this may be compared to a block of houses.³⁹

In such cases the compounds within the block are again separated by walls. Then the visitor to a second compound, when entering from the narrow path, has to pass through the outer gate (*kätämbäri*) and cross the first compound before coming to the second one. The gates towards the paths were often simple wooden planks but sometimes iron doors. They may be white washed or painted. One of the few Harari traditional houses was an independent building with a compound which was supposed to be residence of Emir Yusuf (1747-1756). The ground plan and the side view of this house were typical of the Harari house. For the traditional Harari house, the building material was the stone of the vicinity.⁴⁰ Broken up stones and clay were mixed to serve as mortar. The same material was also used for plastering the inside and outside walls before white paint was applied. The ground plan of a traditional Harari house was rectangular. A large living room (*gidir gar*) was/is in the centre, with several raised plat forms serving as seats or beds (*nadaba*). In the far corners of the living room, sometimes there were one or two builtin cupboards. As one enters the main living room, there was a door way leading left or right in to the *kirtät*, a sideroom with a ceiling only half the height of the *gidir-gar*. The *kirtät* also has a *nadaba*. The wall between *kirtat* and *gidirgar* sometimes has window screen of carefully carved wood work.⁴¹

Fig. 12: Harari Living Room With Baskets Arrangement



Source: Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau

In the Harari living room there are five *nadabas* placed at different elevations and positions that determine the rank and status of members of the household and guests in the seating arrangement at all social gatherings. These are: *emir-nadaba* on the side—high level, designated seat for guests of honour and for the master of the house, either to the right or to the left, *gidir-nadaba*-(big seat) for the elderly men as distinguished sitting place, *titt-nadaba* (smaller *nadaba*)-located at middle lower levels for individuals and genders of all age, *sutri-nadaba* (hidden *nadaba*), serves as the sleeping place for the owner of the house and *gäbti-ähär nadaba* (at the back of the door), it serves for unmarried individuals.⁴²

The construction of the Harari people's house was unique from other neighbouring people by its settlement, organization and the materials they used to construct their house. Therefore, the house construction of the Harari people was the symbol of Harari identity. The cultural construction of the Harari house had great connection with an ancient civilization of the Harari people.⁴³ Nowadays, the traditional houses are white washed with some sort of lime stone (*nači afar*). The floor, which Burton described as of smoothed mud, was covered with red earth (*qeha afar*). The visible parts of the *nadabas* were/are painted red with oil paint. The *nadabas* were/are covered with mats-purchased from the Somali or with the mats brought back from a pilgrimage to Mecca. Above the entrance door to the living room on the inside, a shelf (*wantaf inči*- wood formats) is found which made of tree trunks, the bark which has been stripped. Here the bridal clothes of the daughter were stored.⁴⁴

The ceilings in older houses were also made of thin tree trunks stripped of their bark, which today are white washed like the rest of the house. Usually, there was a *tit-gar* or small house next to the living rooms, with a *nadaba*, a window and an entrance door of its own, often no connecting door to the living room. This room was usually reserved for the younger people of the family, sometimes it was rented to tenants. A room for a servant was always within the compound though not within the owner of the house. Such room had neither a *nadaba* nor built-in cupboards or side rooms. Within a compound there were also one or two separate kitchens with a fire place at ground level and several wall-shelves made of trunks to store kitchen utensils.⁴⁵

The kitchen in most cases had no windows. So the smoke eventually left layers of black soot on the walls although it was supposed to escape by the door. Shortly before Ramadan and again before the Arafa festival, these traditional Harari houses are white washed. At the same time household items and baskets are carefully cleaned and washed.⁴⁶

The ceiling is today varnished plank, however, the *hamil* (corner stone of the house) was still distinguished by its larger size and special shape. In the Harari traditional house furniture were hardly known. The gates to the compounds and houses were made of pieces of wood or planks. These types of wooden plank door with simple frame were sometimes semicircular in shape. They were mostly white washed or sometimes oil-painted. The craft of wood carving were in decline at a time of the Egyptian occupation.

Possibly prior to the Egyptian occupation the art of wood carving had certain standards. A visitor to Harar would find a number of highly decorated carved wooden doors to the *gidir-gar*. These were not the same style with those of older Harari houses, like that of Emir Yusuf. Rather they are found in houses which were built in post Egyptian and modern times.⁴⁷

Informants told me that, in the Harari culture, there were woods which tightened on the wall above the door. These woods should be odd in number. According to the Harari, this was to indicate the planet is odd. Every Harari and neighbours are familiar with this situation. The respondents also said that, in the Harari culture, if there were mature girls in the house, the parents put mats equal to their number on the wood. Therefore, this indicates that there were mature girls who are ready for marriage. If there was no mat on the wood, one can understand that there was no girl who is ready for marriage.⁴⁸ In such ways the Harari transmit their cultural scripts from generation to generation.

The Harari normally confine their sleeping to the *qala* or *kirtat* sections of the house, though on occasion one might sleep on the *gabti ahar nadaba*, or in the *gar-eqad*. In the principal area of the house in which people come together, the *nadaba* was/is painted with red earth (*qeh afar*) and usually covered by a woven cotton mat. The wealthy Harari often use imported carpets. The *gar-eqad* was well decorated with articles of Harari handicraft. From the top of the wall down to the edge of the *nadaba* bowls, dishes and basketry were hang in stylized fashion.⁴⁹ Other houses built inside the courtyard include a small single room hut which was mainly for hired labourers, with a single *nadaba*, a cook house and with fire place. Two other types of houses built in Harar were examples of recent innovations. These were the *zingo-gar* with corrugated iron roofing; and the *fàràngi-gar*, of stone or bricks. The styling of both houses were being European in origin.⁵⁰

The interior decoration of a room is the women's affair. The house wife takes care that the *nadabas* are covered with mats and pillows and walls are adorned with a typical Harari basketry. In addition to baskets, enamel plates and bowls are also hanging up on the walls. Traditionally, in the Harari culture baskets used for wall-decoration and always had to be hanging up in pairs and in absolutely preserved places.⁵¹ The cultural distinctiveness in all Harari living rooms, gloriously viewed and appreciated. Those places, on the front and side walls display sites of historical artifacts. The colourful covering of *nadaba*, *Beesaat't* and *kalim* with fur, and the lining of decorated *mekheda* around the walls of *nadaba* all symbolizing a perfect harmony of a traditional gathering area. Those complicated and fine hand crafts on the walls and inside the house were created by skilfull Harari ladies.⁵²

As a museum piece each Harari home was/ is a multipurpose place of relaxing and the centre for social gathering. Genuine architectural designs of doors, windows and the inside walls decorated with Harari handicrafts stylized with Islamic Scriptures. When a visitor entered in to the Harari house, he might think back to the delightful memories of the centuries. And also in the Harari traditional house, the five division of *nadaba* above the floor which were designed in a special manner as sitting places attract the attention of many. The Harari unique rooms, having personal museum qualities would display household effects of high quality and the pride of the whole society. The sophistication of the artifacts, many historic sites and handicrafts represented the unique Harari culture and traditions.⁵³

In Harar, most of the brick houses were more than 400 years old. Among these, the Harari national cultural centre, the cultural and traditional heritages stand at the heart of the city. The Harari house revealed a sense of proportion and a mastery of building technology that might have been perfect over the centuries. Inside the house, on the walls of living room, one could be amazed with the balance and colour composition of the display of baskets. Harari artifacts are various in kind and higher in quality in the gidir-gar (the living room of Harari). Therefore, the gidir-gar was considered as a visual library of spiritual excitement and centre of fortune.⁵⁴

3.4. Ada-Gar (Harari Cultural Centre)

After the *Derg* deposed Emperor Haile Sellasie from his throne and setup its suppressive regime, the Harari managed to take advantage of an unusual opportunity to promote their culture with the establishment of the institution, i.e. *Ada gar* in 1970s. The effort was perhaps an extension of *firmach* (the meeting of the *afocha* leaders of the five gates). *Ada-gara* also passed a resolution regarding the reduction of extravagant expense during wedding and mourning ceremonies.⁵⁵ *Ada-gar* facilitated certain cultural festivities, such as *Ada-def-defti mugad* (team to study the culture), *Tarikh mebsel mugad* (team to study history) and artistic groups of mothers and the youth. In addition, there were attempts through limited source of fund to collect Harari cultural antiquities; such as baskets, set of clothes, educational wood tablets (*Quran gey louh*) and original manuscripts.⁵⁶

To establish the Harari cultural centre (*Ada-gar*) local mosques took on the task of arranging celebrations of Harari cultural activities as part of their charitable contribution (Wakf). Initially provisional wakf committee would seek for financial and material endowments from the community to contribute to an exhibition of Harari material, music and dance by travelling between Harar, Dire Dawa and Jijiga. Travelling cultural tours were successful that the organizing committee decided by 1980. The permanent display based on this travelling exhibit should be established within the town itself, Harar. So that the Harari culture might be publicly celebrated throughout the year. Thus, a permanent community run cultural project was found in the former home of a religious judge (*qadi*) of Harar, whose office dated back to 1865-1899. *Ada-gar* (Harari cultural centre) was dedicated to exhibiting the material culture of the Harari ethnic group.⁵⁷ By all accounts, although men and women, young people and elders were active in organizing and participating in these Harari shows, the *afocha* were the largest contributors of material support to the collection. Women's *afocha* donated intricately designed antique textile items and jewellery belonging to the Harari elite. They

also contributed a large quantity of everyday items ranging from baskets and wooden bowls to gourd and wood work.⁵⁸

3.5. Harari Traditional Dress

Ge-ganafi are trousers of the Harari. In the Harari cultural museum, traditional clothes of the ge-usu were one of the areas material cultures on display. Traditional men's dresses are similar with the white robe, head dress and sandals which are seen throughout the Muslim Arab world. Women's dress on the whole, appears to be more culturally specific. For women, there were two principal traditional outer garments. These clothes are literally black on one side and pink or red on the other side. Under these dresses, women wear skirts and trousers known as *ge-ganafi*.⁵⁹ 'Fotah' is a type of dress which the Harari women use above their shoulder. It demanded married women tie their hair with black cloth in to a traditional hair style. Occasionally, at least in specific events traditional dresses should be worn by the Harari women. Their expense had diminished the frequency with which they were to be worn. In addition, amongst the younger generation in particular, the demand and prestige tailored and readymade imported western clothes had also diminished the frequency with which the traditional outer garments were to be worn.⁶⁰

According to informants, *Atlas* or *Teyraz* (types of dress) worn by women during special occasions. This cloth is a double face cloth. It is black in one side and red in other side. The women use the black side for mourning and the red side for wedding ceremony. This cloth is shiny and worn by bride to invite her friends and relatives to her wedding. The respondents told me that, the type of cloth known as *Mumbai* worn by all females every time especially, by mothers. But during the previous time it was worn by all females, but now only by mothers because the younger women prefer modern types of clothes. *Shinshin* is also another type of cloth worn by mothers and grandmothers. *Shinawi* on the otherhand, is another type of Harari traditional cloth worn by women after they get married.⁶¹

Fig.13: Harari Cultural Dress



Source: Harari culture ,Heritage and Tourism Bureau

The Harari documentation of adornment, which was coupled with indigenous account of classical costumes, would serve as unique historical evidence of how the people of Harar experienced and embodied the events and process of the latter 19th century. Cloth, jewellery and hair styles practiced by the Harari women are unique and attractive. The traditional dress from Harar would demonstrate the value of material culture in Harar. The Harari women have contributed a distinct impression regarding their dressing style. Although, the Harari women share certain modern articles, like

polyester T-shirts, butterfly hair clips and nail polish, they systematically maintained their own unique style of dressing.⁶²

The Harari cultural clothes were/are worn based on their own reasons. That means, these dresses are worn on special occasions, like wedding and other ceremonies. When the Harari people wear their cultural dresses, they would follow the rule and regulation of their ethnic groups. By following these rules and regulations, the Harari people would maintain their beauty and colour. Many cultural clothes of the Harari people are worn based on their own time and place. Wearing these cultural clothes on different occasions and different places transmit great message. Accordingly, the clothes that the Harari women worn are quite different from the clothes that the neighbouring women worn.⁶³ Regardless of what one might wear in the form of an outer garment, the societal pressure for women and girls to cover their hair and their legs was/is rarely challenged. Today in addition to wearing *ge-ganafi* under her dress, women wear another dress under *teyraz* (Atlas), a double face cloth. So that her legs, her neck and her arms are covered.⁶⁴

In addition to the net work covered balls of hair which is known by the Oromo term *gufta* the Harari women also always wear *fotah* in public. In the Harari culture many parents appear to find it acceptable for their daughter to wear a miniskirt provided with *ganafi*. It is usual for the Harari women wearing *ganafi* under neath and *fotah* over her hair. To wear a longer skirt without *ganafi*, or to walk outside without *fotah*, is generally considered as a shameful act.⁶⁵ In the Harari culture, uniquely designed dress and high quality jewelleries, including ear-rings, necklaces, wristlaces, rings and forehead gears are worn usually for wedding. Among few extraordinary elements that portray the self-identifications of the Harari arise from cultural dresses which were/are exciting in colour and complicated designs. The Harari garment dress for girls, married women and elderly appear identical.⁶⁶

Men of all cultures in Harar usually wear western style trousers and shirts with button. So men were/are almost indistinguishable by their dresses. This homogenous look is due to men's access to public spheres and long distance travel through their engagement in different activities.⁶⁷ According to informants, the raw clothes used to prepare *ge-ganafi* (trousers of the city) came from India *Mumbai* and the name of the trousers was derived from this place. But the trousers were made here in Harar by the Harari themselves. As my respondents told me, the traditional male trousers called *Ingiliz qid* to indicate, it was prepared by an English man who lived in Harar for sometimes. The

male traditional dresses include white shirt and white trousers. The Harari male wear these types of clothes on wedding ceremonies and holidays. In addition, the Harari male also wear a cape known locally as *Kaloyta*.⁶⁸ Harari men have acquired the common highland Amhara dress of *khaki* coat and trousers tailored in European style and often worn with the woven outer cloth like cotton *šammā*. After age six or seven, and without exception after clitoridectomy has been performed, Harari women wear panta-loons fitted tightly at the ankles. The panta-loons were partly covered by cotton under dress worn in tunic fashion and a black outer dress, *šināwi*, (*silk atlās*) which are decorated by needlework.⁶⁹

The dressing style of the Harari girls' were/ are said to be powerful in attracting viewers and creating the mood and manner to hold attention. Regarding the Harari girls' dressing style, one could appreciate and enjoy the beauty in view focussed to expose the Harari girls more beautifully projected in the cultural dress. The portrayal of such beauty reaches to its peak in *anqer-mahtab* conducive to provide attractive costume in similar dressing style. The Harari girls would promote their culture by delivering rarely dressed traditional and typical known *Hula wa-hariri* and *atlas* added to traditional trousers *hurdi harir wa-bumbay* reflect hot and colourful.⁷⁰

3.6. The Harari Dish

The Harari called their food *Ukat*. This type of food is called by the Oromo as *Buddena*. It is the bread of Adare and the Oromo as well as the Argobba living in the vicinity of Harar. Most of the time, *Ukat* is prepared from corn or millet. The seeds were left in the water for an hour or two to become moist and soft for grinding. Then the seeds were ground in to particles.⁷¹ The old fashioned and common method of grinding was to put the millet or corn in a big wooden mortar and to crush it with a heavy wooden pestle. Nowadays, however, the grinding machines solve these complications. According to the Harari, the *Ukat* made from machine ground flour cannot be as flavorful as that made from hand ground flour. The last stage of the preparation of the Harari bread is very much like that of *enjera*, although the *Ukat* differs from *enjera* completely by its shape, size and taste.⁷²

The staple food of the Harari was a type of sorghum bread which they call it *Ukat*. The sorghum grains were crushed in a wooden mortar and after making it dry, the flour was moistened and ground on grind stone. In the Harari culture, *ukat* or bread is usually eaten with meat sauce (*Maraq*), prepared from beef, mutton or goat, well-seasoned with peppers and various spices. *Maraq* is served in two ways: first as *tuluq*, the sauce is served in a bowl and shared by all those eating together. In

this way each person dips in to the sauce with a piece of *ukat*. Second as *kutuf*, the sauce or *maraq* is poured on top of the bread, which is broken in to small pieces and put in to a bowl. While eating no utensils are used; so everybody use his hand. It is said to be a sin to wipe one's hand with *ukat*.⁷³

In general, the old fashioned which was a common method of gridding the corn is done by women. Usually two women alternately lift and lower the big pestles with all their power on the easy seeds until they were broken in to small particles. Then these fine particles were transferred to the grinding stone for finer grinding. The grinding system consisted of a flat block of hard stone and a much smaller block of stone, shaped in such a way that it could be comfortably held by the two hands and easily manipulated. A girl did this second grinding slowly but forcefully pushing forward and backward the smaller block of stone on the bigger one which was fixed to the floor.⁷⁴ Thus, in this way reducing the wet and already powdered millet to very fine flour. In the Harari culture, if the highest quality of *ukat* was required for special occasions, the first product of grinding would be ground twice to make it finer. When the task of grinding, which took an expert girl about an hour and half has been completed, the flour was left to ferment. This was done by taking a little part of the flour which was slightly stewed and mix it with the rest of the raw flour. The mixture was left in a special bowl for a night, during which time it would absorb all the water. Then the dough become ready to be made in to *ukat*.⁷⁵

Informants also told me about many cultural foods of the Harari. These are: *hulbat-maraq*, *saf-maraq*, *tuftuf* and *maqli*. *Saf-maraq* is one of the cultural foods of the Harari, which is prepared from meat, onion and other spices. *Hulbat-maraq* is also one of the most known cultural foods of the Harari. It is equivalent to *wot* that the Harari use daily. According to my respondents, *tuftuf* is another type of Harari food prepared from wheat flour for breakfast. *Maqli* is also a special food of the Harari which is prepared for a special occasion. For instance, it is prepared for Eid-festivity from meat, spice, onion and the like.⁷⁶

To make *ukat* or bread, the dough is taken from container which has the shape of an enlarged smoking-pipe. The dough is poured or rather spread skillfully through the narrow end of it on to the centre of the hot clay or copper-pan and spread in a circle. The pan is then covered from one to three minutes according to the heat applied to it. The hotter the pan is, the shorter the time needed for baking. Then, the *ukat* is pulled from the pan and collected in to a hand-made straw-plate one over the other and is ready to be consumed in any possible way. The colour of the *ukat* is not determined

by the process of grinding or baking but by the type of millet used and this varies from gray to brown, yellow and white.⁷⁷

3.7. Traditional Agricultural System of the Harari

Agriculture was the primary occupation of the Harari society since ancient times. It was the Harla people who had already established a developed agricultural society, including crop cultivation and rearing cattle. Therefore, it is clear that as descendants of the Harla people, the Harari agricultural practices were just the continuation of the Harla agronomy. According to existing sources, the emirs of Harar were active in agriculture and they visit agricultural activities by moving to their fields out of the town.⁷⁸ The reason for their moving was to inspect the repeating cycles of agricultural activities such as ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing. Some of the fields near the city of Harar were owned by the emirs who took part in farming on their own farm fields. The Harari agricultural fields were found both near and far the city. Richard Caulk, who had done a great deal of research on the Harari, concluded that through a long process of co-adaptation and cultural exchange, the Oromo had adopted the Harari agricultural practices.⁷⁹

Informants said that, the Harari practiced their cultivation by using tools produced domestically. These tools were ancient and traditional; Such as *nuguy* (shovel handle), *mancha* (sickle), harqot (yoke), makhra (digger), hakafa (short spade), etc. The Harari collectively called these tools *harshiwalat*, which means agricultural tools. According to the respondents the Harari used irrigation to produce different kinds of crops twice or more in the year. They call irrigation by saying *masno*. The Harari also practiced terracing system to conserve soil.⁸⁰ To plough their farmland, the Harari used oxen which was traditionally practiced everywhere in Ethiopia. In the Harari traditional farming system there was *mi-malaq* (a person who distribute water to the people to irrigate their farmland turn by turn). The Harari made traditional lake to irrigate their farmland. By using traditional irrigation, the Harari produced different kinds of fruits, vegetables, corn, chat, coffee, banana, lemon and the like. At the place where abundant water was available, the Harari used to produce two or three times a year.⁸¹

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

agricultural land around the city and in its surroundings, the Harari demarcated three agricultural zones, based on their long-term knowledge, continuous professional research, and highly advanced farming skills accumulated over times.⁸² In the former time, agriculture was the Harari most important occupation. Then, the Harari farmers (*haraši*) practiced plough cultivation, employing the typical ox-drawn system. At a time the Harari produce sorghum, their staple grain crop, the neighbouring Oromo call this crop, as *bišinga* and the Amhara *mašella*. Other crops which were grown by the Harari include millet (*dagussa*), barley (*gus*), chick-peas (*šumbura*), beans (*bāqēlā*), lentils (*missir*), potatoes (*dinničča*) and the like.⁸³

The growing of *chat* was said that, it had been formerly monopolized by the town dwelling Harari. But latter this plant was grown by both Oromo and Argobba for local consumption and trade. The Harari traditional farming system included the rearing of cattle, goat and sheep. The arable land that the Harari set aside for cultivation was found outside the walled city.⁸⁴ Varieties of fruits, vegetables and crops were cultivated in Harar and in its surrounding fields in the 19th century. Some of these had been cultivated for centuries on the plateau of Harar, but there were also fruits and vegetables introduced up on the opening of Harar to foreign influence especially, since 1876. However, the agricultural potential of Harar plateau was indisputably agreed by scholars, informants and travellers.

In Harar almost anything could be grown: lemon, orange, melon, banana, mango and cereals of every description. At the time of Egyptian occupation of Harar, bananas, lemons a sour-oranges like fruit (*safargen*) i.e. grape fruit, native sugar cane and tobacco were grown.⁸⁵ Although these plants were observed growing at the time of Egyptian arrival, they in fact had commonly been known some time back. There were some vegetables during Egyptian occupation, such as chickpeas, lentils, beans, garlic, onions and potatoes. In Harar there were also plants like *henna* (a plant producing a radish colour to decorate hands and feet commonly for brides and bridegroom), *shufu* (plant commonly used for medicine), cabbage, qontar, pumpkins, sunflower, hulbat (when powdered has a bitter taste and is used in soups), pepper, etc.⁸⁶

In Harar there exist coffee trees planted on *sofi burqa* area to this day which have more than two hundred years of age as recently identified by experts. Besides, the growing techniques was very tiresome, such as making sheds to reduce inappropriate levels of sun light, the use of cow-dung as compost. This was what the Harari used traditionally to grow this plant. The type of coffee that had

been grown by the Harari was named coffee Arabica. They had contact for a long period with this coffee. These and other techniques were evidently guaranteed the quality of this coffee for centuries in international markets.⁸⁷ Informants told me that, the Harari had long years of experience in cultivating coffee as their knowhow exceeds, to the extent of using its two bi-products. These were the leaf (*qutti*) and thresh (*hasher*) as well as in a variety of ways. For example, *sirri wabun*, this made the Harari the only society eating coffee as a sandwich crunching. According to the informants, *qutti* and *hamartasa* were also coffee leaves used for making of *qahwa*, a hot beverage taken with milk. In the former time coffee farms, surrounding the town of Harar were mostly owned by the Harari women. They had inherited the coffee farms from their fathers and also they got from their husbands as dowry. By owning these farms the Harari women liberated themselves from the economic dependency of their husbands.⁸⁸

3.8. Tourism Industry in Harar

Harar, as one of the strong medieval state, was involved in tourism activities which could be traced back to the time of *Sheikh* Abadir's arrival in Harar. *AwAbadir* reinforced the link of its neighboring people with the city of Harar through commercial interaction which was based on mutual benefits and interest. This policy of *AwAbadir* established strong interdependence among the people themselves and created a continuous movement of people in and out of Harar. Thus, these conditions paved ways for host-guest relationship.⁸⁹

Domestically also the *ziyara* (visit) to the *Awach* sites, was one of the activities, that demonstrate the existence of tourism related activities in Harar. When individuals or groups come to the *ziyara* they bring some gifts such as *chat*, money, cattle to the site. Some of those gifts were immediately consumed, and some of the money was distributed among the members of the site, while the rest was used for running the site administration. This *ziyara* activity has been expanded to the neighboring areas and the people around Harar also participate in this occasion. These tourism related activities played their part in creating economically strong, politically influential Harar in the region. In addition, the strategic location of Harar also increased the international importance of the city. This helped to get a prominent position as the commercial center in linking the trade between the Middle and the Far East on one hand, and the Horn of Africa on the other. Therefore, this situation had played a great role for the city to become a center of tourist attraction.⁹⁰

Tourists who had been coming to Harar were attracted by its historic Jogol wall, the unique traditional houses, numerous *Awaches* scattered within the wall and outside, the palace of emir Abdulahi, Harari National Museum, Harar cultural center and Arthur Rimbaud Museum. These sites and events had their own economic advantages in generating considerable income for the city. Tourism influenced local economic activities by increasing the sales of the locally produced handicrafts and cultural items such as the Harari basketry, jewellerys, wood and needle craft products as well as others which were designed and produced in ways that meet the demand of tourists.⁹¹

NOTES

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⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.* p. 25.

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⁹Ahmed, p. 29.

¹⁰Informants: Mohammed Abdurahman, Abdullahi Dawid and Hamdia Yusuf.

¹¹ Belle Asante, “Women’s Craft Guilds and the Traditional Basketry, (*Ge Mot*) of Harar”, Ethiopia, Graduate School of Asian and African Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, 2005, p. 63.

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¹³Ahmed, p. 31.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Informants: Deymo Yusuf, Semira Tofiq and Fakiha Yusuf.

¹⁶Asante, p. 65.

¹⁷Belle Asante Tarsitani, “*Revered Vessels, Custom and innovation in Harari basketry*”, Kyoto University, Japan, 2005, p. 64.

¹⁸*Ibid.* p. 65.

¹⁹*Ibid.* pp.66-67.

²⁰*Ibid.* pp.67-68.

²¹Ahmed, p. 34.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Abdi, pp. 57-58.

²⁵Asante, p.68.

²⁶ Tarsitani, p. 66.

²⁷Informants: Mumme Abdullahi, Aysha Abdurahaman and Siro Yonis.

²⁸Tarsitani, p. 66.

²⁹*Ibid.* pp. 66-67.

³⁰Hecht, pp.11-12.

³¹Tarsitani, p. 69.

³²Asante, p.69.

³³Ahmed, p. 35.

³⁴ The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p. 270.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Shack, p. 136.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Hecht, “*The city of Harar and the traditional Harari house.*” Extracted from the *journal of Ethiopian studies*, vol. XV. California University, 1982, p.4.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Afandi, pp.55-56.

⁴³Mafthu, pp. 110-111.

⁴⁴Amir Yonnis, “**የምስራቅ ፈርሶች**” (*The Eastern Giants*). Vol.I. Harari culture, heritage and tourism Bureau, 2005, p. 327.

⁴⁵Hecht, pp.5-6.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.* pp.6-7.

⁴⁸Informants: Meyrem Abdi, Abdullahi Dawid and Aysha Abdurahman.

⁴⁹Shack, p. 136.

⁵⁰*Ibid.* pp. 136-137.

⁵¹Hecht, p. 7.

⁵²Abdi, pp. 43-44.

⁵³*Ibid.* p. 45.

⁵⁴*Ibid.* pp. 50-51.

⁵⁵ The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.295.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Tarsitani, p.5.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹Camilla C.T. Gibb, “In the City of Saint, Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar Ethiopia.” PhD Dissertation, Social Anthropology, Oxford University, 1997, p.51.

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⁶⁶Abdi, p.75.

⁶⁷Klem, p.2.

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⁷³Shack, p.124.

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⁷⁵*Ibid.* pp. 19-20.

⁷⁶Informants: Siro Yonis, Eyni Qamar and Qamaro Yusuf.

⁷⁷Abdurahman, pp. 23-24.

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⁸⁰Informants: *Haji* Ahmed Yusuf, Mumme Abdullahi and Ruduwan Mohammed.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸² The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, p.175.

⁸³Shack, p.121.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ The Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, pp.176-177.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.178.

⁸⁸ Informants: Abdullahi Dawid, Ahmed Hassen and Aysha Abdurahman.

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⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

CONCLUSION

Harar is located in the eastern part of Ethiopia, 525 kilometers away from Addis Ababa. Its altitude is 1800 meters above sea level. Harar is one of the oldest cities of Ethiopia. Nowadays, Harar is the capital of Harari People Regional State. In the city of Harar there is historical wall known as the Jogol gimb which was built by Emir Nur Ibin Mujahid in 1522. At the time the wall was built for defensive purpose. From ancient time up to 1887, seventy two (72) rulers ruled Harar one after the other. Harar served as a trading centre and trade route for many years in the past. It also served as Islamic centre of learning. In 1875, Harar occupied by Egyptians and ruled by them for a decade until 1885. Harar maintained its independence until Harar conquered by King Menelik of Shoa in 1887.

The Harari people maintained a peaceful relation with the neighboring people for a long period of time to this day. Until recently the Harari boys had no right to select girls for marriage instead parents choose girls for their sons. But after the revolution of 1974, boys had some right to select girls for marriage. This implies that there was change and improvement in the society's attitude. In the olden days of the Harari marriage, the bridegroom would stay at home and his friends go to the bride's house with decorated mule and brought her to the bridegrooms` home. The bridegroom was waiting for the bride at his home. Nowadays, this situation is completely changed. In the Harari culture the bridegroom whips possibly unmarried men reminded them to get married. *Afocha* is a communal organization formally concerned with wedding and funeral. *Afocha* involved in all community activities and it also involved in disseminating knowledge and information of families.

Mugad was volunteer youth association and formed by both boys and girls of the same age who were form the same neighborhood. On the particular day (*Ashura*) the Harari people prepared quality porridge “*shur*” to serve people. On this particular day, the Harari people prepared porridge and feed hyena. The basketry of the city of Harar was thought to be the most refined in all of Ethiopia. Makers of the Harari basket were / are the Harari lady. The Harari lady was expected to know how to weave delicate baskets. The Harari girl had to start at an early age to make baskets. According to thge Harari culture the girl present her first plate to her mother-in-law. This process was the events of the olden time which is now improved. Harari basketry was and is craft, art, culture and above all it is a source of income.

There were two types of houses among the Harari. These were *sar-gar* and *darbi-gar*. These two types of house employ different method of construction, materials and floor plans. *Sar-gar* has been almost entirely replaced by *darbi-gar*. In the Harari living room, there are five *nadabas* placed at different elevations and positions. In the Harari cultural museum, traditional clothes of the *ge-usu* were and are one of the areas material cultures on display. Agriculture was the primary occupation of the Harari society since an ancient time but now it is not. The study could discover that until recently it was difficult for the Harari boys to marry. This was because the Harari boys asked to prepare large amount of money and expensive jewelleries for marriage. During the past days the Harari boys had no right to select girls for marriage instead their parents choose girls for them.

The Harari women design and made different types of baskets for different purpose. They produce basket for decoration, source of income, and for daily use. On *Ashura* day the Harari people prepare quality porridge to feed people and hyena. The Harari women have special dress which they worn for special occasions. This dress is a double face dress. That means it is black on one side and red on other side. Women have worn the black side for mourning and the red side for wedding and other ceremonies. During ancient time the Harari people lived in the house made of grass known as *sar-gar*, grass house. But through time they abandoned these types of house and began to live in *darbi-gar*, wood house. In Harari living room, there are five raised seats (*nadaba*). The Harari people established cultural centre in 1970's. This cultural centre displays the Harari material culture. In ancient time agriculture was the major occupation of the Harari people, but not now.

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III. Lists of Oral Informants

No	Name	Sex	Age	Date	Place	Remark
1	Abraham Tahir (<i>Ato</i>)	M	68	3/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Brief explanation about dance ceremony during wedding
2	Abdullahi Dawid (<i>Ato</i>)	M	80	27/7/2016	Argo Beri	Brief explanation about the process of Harari marriage and <i>afocha</i>
3	Abdi Hassen (<i>Ato</i>)	M	82	18/7/2016	Suktat Bari	Brief explanation about <i>afocha</i>
4	Ahmed Hassen (<i>Ato</i>)	M	80	30/7/2016	Zaga Huga	Good explanation about <i>afocha</i> and agriculture
5	Ahmed Seid (<i>Ato</i>)	M	55	23/7/2016	Suktat Bari	Good information about marriage and clothes
6	Ahmed Nesro (<i>Ato</i>)	M	80	29/7/2016	Shankor	Brief explanation about marriage
7	Aysha Abdurahman (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	80	2/7/2016	Aw-Abadir	Brief explanation about house and funeral
8	Deymo Yusuf (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	60	5/7/2016	Aw-Abadir	Brief explanation about basketry and marriage
9	Eliyas Sheik Ahmed (<i>Ato</i>)	M	55	15/7/2016	Erer Ber	Brief explanation about agriculture and <i>afocha</i>
10	Eyni Qamar (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	60	16/7/2016	Aw-Abadir	Brief information about food and marriage
11	Fakiha Yusuf (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	55	5/7/2016	Wagara Weger	Good information about marriage
12	Foziya Mohammed (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	53	27/7/2016	Erer Ber	Good information about marriage and music
13	<i>Haji</i> Ahmed Yusuf	M	70	17/7/2016	Abadir	Good information about ashura porridge and <i>zikri</i>
14	<i>Haji</i> Zakaria Yusuf	M	85	16/7/2016	Buda Ber	Good information about ashura porridge and <i>zikri</i>
15	Hamdiya Yusuf (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	67	18/7/2016	Asum Bari	Good information about marriage and music
16	Meymuna Mohammed (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	55	3/7/2016	Shewa Ber	Good information about funeral
17	Meyrem Abdi (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	71	19/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Brief explanation about house
18	Mohammed Abdurahman (<i>Ato</i>)	M	70	22/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Brief explanation about marriage and <i>zikri</i>
19	Mumme Abdullahi (<i>Ato</i>)	M	88	3/7/2016	Buda Ber	Good information about cloth and marriage
20	Qamaro Abdullahi (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	63	16/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Good information about funeral and basketry
21	Qamaro Yusuf (<i>W/ro</i>)	F	65	5/7/2016	Erer Ber	Good information about marriage and food

22	Ruduwan Mohammed (Ato)	M	86	18/7/2016	Arategna	Good information about agriculture and marriage
23	Ruqiya Mohammed (W/ro)	F	55	3/7/2016	Shankor	Brief information about basketry and cloth
24	Sabit Mume (Ato)	M	75	19/7/2016	Suktat Beri	Brief explanation about afocha and marriage
25	Semira Tofiq (W/ro)	F	52	22/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Good explanation about marriage and basketry
26	Sherif Mahadi (Ato)	M	55	15/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Good information about agriculture and funeral
27	Shemshu Ahmed (Ato)	M	70	27/7/2016	Buda Ber	Brief explanation about <i>zikri</i>
28	Siro Yonis (W/ro)	F	70	18/7/2016	Buda Ber	Brief explanation about food and marriage
29	Yahaya Abdi (Ato)	M	60	18/7/2016	Shankor	Brief explanation about afocha and funeral
30	Yonis Yahaya (Ato)	M	75	5/7/2016	Gidir Magala	Brief explanation about funeral
31	Zakaria Mohammed (Ato)	M	52	16/7/2016	Erer Ber	Brief explanation about <i>zikri</i> and marriage

GLOSSARY

<i>Ada-gar</i>	cultural center
<i>Adare</i>	Harari people
<i>Afocha</i>	Social traditional association
<i>Ahli</i>	A family net work in blood relation
<i>Awach</i>	Muslim holy grave
<i>Ayach karabu</i>	Mothers traditional wedding song
<i>Anqer mahatb</i>	The grand Saturday dancing
<i>Arouz megba</i>	The proper wedding or the day on which the bride leaves her family
<i>Arouz mewta</i>	Emerge from hony moon or end of bridal day
<i>Afuftu</i>	Flat basketry plate used for winnowing grain
<i>Agargara</i>	Natural color grass used for wrapping a coil
<i>Aw</i>	Father , a highly influential religious leader
<i>Aflala uffu</i>	A conical lid used for putting valuable things
<i>Aflala</i>	Black pottery jar
<i>Ada-feqer</i>	Traditional music/ SONG
<i>Ada-def-defti mugad</i>	Team formed to study culture
<i>Arouzit</i>	The bride
<i>Arouz</i>	The bridegroom
<i>Balachu</i>	Harari wedding
<i>Bisha mudai</i>	Chewing gum container
<i>Baser</i>	Meat
<i>Busetti</i>	Carless
<i>Dabal</i>	Traditional dance
<i>Darma darat</i>	Medium size basket bowl
<i>Dera</i>	Store room on the ground floor in Harari house
<i>Darbi-gar</i>	Wood house
<i>Dufan</i>	Bed
<i>Emir</i>	King or leader
<i>Emir nadaba</i>	Raised seat at the right of the living room, reserved for respected guests
<i>Finjan- gar</i>	Small lidded container
<i>Faraz magala</i>	Horse market, market at Madhane Alem church
<i>Gabtiahar nadaba</i>	Raised seat next to entrance of living room
<i>Gannafi</i>	Trouser
<i>Gar</i>	House
<i>Gar-eqad</i>	The main sitting room
<i>Ge</i>	The city of Harar
<i>Ge-gannafi</i>	Trouser of the city
<i>Gelach</i>	Female friends of the same age
<i>Gey-sinan</i>	Harari language
<i>Gidaya shamuna</i>	Hot jumping dance
<i>Gidir magala</i>	Main market in the centre of the town
<i>Gidir nadaba</i>	Big raised seat in the living room
<i>Gidir gar</i>	Large house / main living room
<i>Gufta mudai</i>	Hair net container
<i>Gufta magad</i>	Hair do of married woman
<i>Hala-mehal</i>	Important lesson
<i>Hamat</i>	Mother-in-law
<i>Hamil</i>	Corner stone of the house
<i>Haras</i>	Woman who currently give birth
<i>Harashi</i>	Farmer / peasant
<i>Hatam</i>	Young married woman

<i>Hurdi</i>	Yellow
<i>Inay</i>	Respected lady /mother
<i>Inchi</i>	Wood / fire wood
<i>Iraz mudai</i>	Large basket used to keep clothes
<i>Itan mudai</i>	Incense container
<i>Kabal</i>	A pair of wooden block used for clapping
<i>Karabu</i>	Drum
<i>Kusha-chat</i>	The proposal chat
<i>Laymoraja</i>	Basket plate put on top of a larger one
<i>Lemat</i>	Large flat basket plate
<i>Mahalaq</i>	Harari coin/currency
<i>Malaq</i>	Traditional management for water and land
<i>Matazu</i>	Pillar of the house
<i>Mekhada</i>	Pillow
<i>Merignach</i>	Male friends of the same age
<i>Mot</i>	Basket plate
<i>Moy-gar</i>	A house where girls learn and use as work shop for Harari traditional basket making
<i>Mugad</i>	Harari volunteer youth association, known to promote Harari music, dance and poetry
<i>Nadaba</i>	Raised seat
<i>Qahwa</i>	Brew of leaves of the coffee tree used for tea
<i>Qeh</i>	Red
<i>Qeh-afar</i>	Red soil
<i>Sar-gar</i>	Grass house
<i>Shalda-gar</i>	Small basket used to keep razors
<i>Sugud</i>	Basket used to measure grain and coffee
<i>Shur</i>	Porridge
<i>Sutri nadaba</i>	Raised seat behind the pillar to the left of the entrance
<i>Tarikh mebsel mugad</i>	Team that formed to study history
<i>Tay</i>	Black
<i>Teyraz or atlas</i>	A double face woman's dress, black in one side and red in other side
<i>Tit</i>	Small
<i>Tit-gar</i>	Small sized room with separate entrance
<i>Tit-nadaba</i>	Small raised seat below the gidir nadaba
<i>Touhtouh</i>	Cruder and inferior types of basket work
<i>Toya</i>	Neighborhood
<i>Ukat</i>	Harari bread
<i>Ukat mot</i>	Basket plates used to keep ukat
<i>Wa</i>	And
<i>Waskambay</i>	Basket used to cover food
<i>Zeman-feqer</i>	The contemporary music/ song
<i>Zegen</i>	Dowry
<i>Zegen kerabu</i>	Female song

Appendices

Appendix	Content	Origin
I	Menelik's letter to Mr. Borelli his French advisor in the city of Harar	Sherif Abdullahi private museum
II	Menelik's letter to his European friends about his campaign to Harar	Sherif Abdullahi private museum
III	Letter of Ras Mekonnen to the king of Turkey	Sherif Abdullahi private museum
IV	Menelik's letter to Mr. Borelli about his victory in Harar	Sherif Abdullahi private museum
V	Letter that illegally transfer Harari property to occupiers	Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau
VI	Approval of ownership transfer illegally	Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau
VII	Lists of Harari refugees in Cairo	Sherif Abdullahi private museum
VIII	Letter from foreign affairs of Ethiopia to Ayele Gebre , the governor of Hararghe province about the Harari who emigrate to cairo through Mogadishu	Harari Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau
IX	Lists of the Harari who wrote letters to the Harari refugees in Cairo	Harari Culture ,Heritage and Tourism Bureau
X	Lettter of Ras Mekonnen to Haji Ahmed Abogn preparation for the battle of Adwa	Sherif Abdullahi private museum

Appendix - II

09-01-1995 09:33

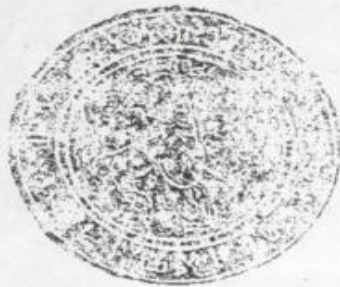
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P.03

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Main body of handwritten Amharic text, consisting of approximately 15 lines.



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Appendix - III

ደደረሰ፡ ከገርግጥ፡ ገገው፡ ለገሥት፡ ዘተርኪደ፡ ለጊ፡ ልግግጽ፡
 ሰገሞና፡ ጤና፡ ሰዙ፡ ደሰታ፡ ልርሰዎ፡ ደሀገ፡ ሰላ፡ ለጅገ፡
 ሰግክሰር፡ ሰገሞታላ፡ ለተርገላሁ፡
 የተገኘ ክረክ፡ መከፋፋ፡ ደሀገ፡ ለርሰር፡ ደውረጅዎ፡ ገዢ፡—
 ለጊዎ፡ ዘመቻ፡ ከጊደኩ፡ በት፡ ሰጅግ፡ ደሰታ፡ ሰክ፡ ሰር፡ ሰደህና፡
 ተመልሷ፡ ሐረርጊ፡ ለሌቲ፡ ገግሁ፡ ክገገት፡ ለዮገቲ፡ ለጅግ፡ ደተሰ
 ሉ፡— ገገሆደ፡ ደገግጥ፡ ሞረገገ፡ የመጀመሪያ፡ ለገገ፡ ልከው
 ለዎታል፡— የሊዩሩሳሌም፡ ለገገ፡ ደሰታ፡ የሰታቸገ፡ ለገር፡ ለጅግ፡
 ለልተመቸዎና፡ ሰውል፡ ለገገ፡ ደሰታ፡ ለገገ፡ ለርሰር፡ ለልገ፡ ለል
 ሞ፡ ዎታላሁ፡ ለገገ፡ ሰታ፡ ክክል፡ ለገገ፡ ደሰታ፡ ተዎ፡ ለገ፡
 መልደ፡ ሰግሰት፡ ለኪላሉ፡— ለገ፡ ወልደ፡ ለግሰት፡ ሰግሞ፡ ለመ
 ግገቸው፡ ለገር፡ ሁሉ፡ የሌላ፡ ማለ፡ ደሰታ፡ ስዎቸዎ፡ ለገገ
 ሙሙተላቸው፡ ለታደዎ፡ ለገገ፡ ለገገ፡ ለገገ፡ ለገገ፡ ለገገ፡ ተሰፋ፡
 ለደርጋላሁ፡— ለገገ፡ ሰላ፡ ለሀገር፡ ለሀገር፡ ለሀገር፡ ለሀገር፡ ለሀገር፡
 ዎ፡ ሰርታት፡ ደሰታ፡ ተገረ፡ ሐዎሊ፡ ገተገ፡ ተገረ፡ ሐረር፡—



Appendix - V

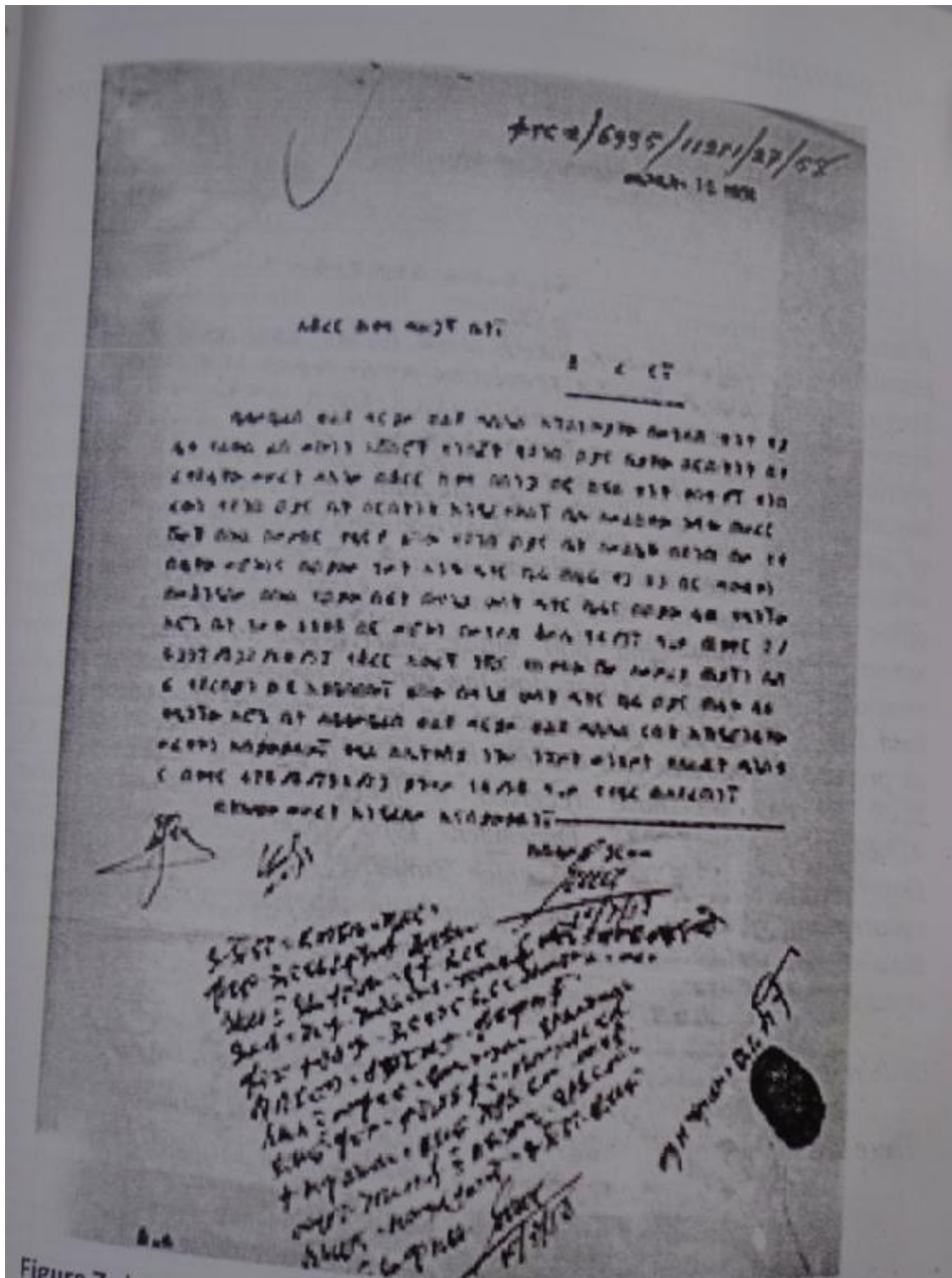


Figure 7.1

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that, this thesis is my work and that all sources used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name _____

Sign _____

Place: College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Jimma University

Date of submission: _____

