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Ministry of Science and Higher Education - Ethiopia

MODULE FOR HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA AND THE HORN FOR HLIS

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Table of Contents

Introduction to the Module	4
Unit One	7
Introduction (3 hours)	7
1.1. <i>The Nature and Uses of History</i>	7
1.2. <i>Sources and Methods of Historical Study</i>	13
1.3. <i>The History of Historical Writing in Ethiopia and the Horn</i>	14
1.4. <i>The Geographical Context of Human History in Ethiopia and the Horn</i>	20
Unit Two	25
Peoples and Cultures in Ethiopia and the Horn	25
2.1. <i>Human Evolution</i>	26
2.2. <i>Neolithic Revolution</i>	29
2.3. <i>The Peopling of the Region</i>	30
2.4. <i>Religion and Religious Processes</i>	34
Unit Three	45
Politics, Economy and Socio-Cultural Processes in Ethiopia and the Horn to the End of the 13th Century	45
3.1. <i>Evolution of States</i>	46
3.2. <i>Ancient Politics</i>	47
3.3. <i>External Contacts</i>	57
3.4. <i>Economic Formations</i>	59
3.5. <i>Socio-cultural Achievements</i>	60
Unit Four	66
Politics, Economy and Socio-Cultural Processes from the Late Thirteenth to the beginning of the Sixteenth Centuries (6 hours)	66
4.1. <i>The “Restoration” of the “Solomonic” Dynasty</i>	67
4.2. <i>Power Struggle, Consolidation, Territorial and Religious Expansion of the Christian Kingdom</i>	68
4.3. <i>Political and Socio-Economic Dynamics of Muslim Sultanates</i>	74
4.4. <i>Rivalry between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates</i>	76
4.5. <i>External Relations</i>	78
Unit Five	83
Politics, Economy and Socio-Cultural Processes from Early Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Centuries (10 hrs)	83
5.1. <i>Interaction and Conflicts between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal</i>	84
5.2. <i>Foreign Interventions and Religious Controversies</i>	89
5.3. <i>Population Movements</i>	91
5.4. <i>Interaction and Integration across Ethnic and Religious Diversities</i>	102
5.5. <i>Peoples and States in Eastern, Central, Southern and Western Regions</i>	104
5.6. <i>The Period of Gondar (1636-1769) and Zemene-Mesafint / Era of the Princes (1769-1855)</i>	115
Unit Six	125

Internal Interactions and External Relations in Ethiopia and the Horn, 1800-1941 (10 hours)	125
6.1. <i>The Nature of Interactions among Peoples and States of Ethiopia and the Horn</i>	126
6.2. <i>Power Rivalry</i>	131
6.3. <i>The Making of Modern Ethiopian State</i>	133
6.4. <i>Modernization Attempts</i>	138
6.5. <i>Socio-Economic Issues/Developments</i>	141
6.6. <i>External Relations: Challenges and Threats</i>	145
Unit Seven	159
Internal Developments and External Relations, 1941–1994 (5 hours)	159
7.1. <i>Post-1941 Imperial Period</i>	161
7.2. <i>The Derg Regime (1974-1991)</i>	182
7.3. <i>Historical Developments, 1991-4</i>	194



Introduction to the Module

This teaching material is prepared for a common course given to Higher Learning Institutions Students. The purpose is to help students understand a history of Ethiopia and the Horn from ancient to 1994 as a base for shaping and bettering of the future. The module generally focus on major topics in the history of Ethiopia and the Horn including social, cultural, economic, political experiences that were also intertwined. The contents of the module are categorized considering the chronology and thematic relations of events in time and space. To make this course inclusive and representative, the module also included regional histories across the period.

The module is divided into seven units and each unit has its own specific objectives. The first unit defines history, describes why history is important, how history is studied and introduces the region Ethiopia and the Horn. The second unit seeks to explain peoples and cultures in the region. The major topics treated in the unit are human evolution, Neolithic Revolution, settlement patterns as well as religion and religious processes in Ethiopia and the Horn. Based on these historical backgrounds, the third unit describes states, external contacts, economic formations and achievement in terms of architecture, writing, calendar, and others to the end of the 13th century. Unit four treats political developments, evangelization and religious movements, trade and external relations of the region from late 13th to the beginning the 16th century. It explains how Christian and Muslim sultanates evolved in the region and how their interactions shaped the history of the region in the pre 16th century. Unit five is devoted to describe a history of the region from the early 16th to the end of the 18th Century. It deals with interaction between states, foreign interventions, religious controversies, population movements, and how these contributed to the integration of peoples across ethnic and religious diversities to the end of the 18th century. Besides, the unit describes peoples and states in different parts of the Horn. The unit ends up its discussion depicting the major condition and achievements of the period of Gonder, the era of princes and Yejju rule.

The social, cultural, economic, and political experiences of Ethiopia and the Horn in the 19th century and the early 20th century that played significant role in shaping the modern history of the region are given space in unit six. Historical processes including states formation and power rivalry, trade, external relation, threats and major battles, centralization and modernization attempts, Italian occupation, and socio-economic conditions from 1800 to 1941 makes central position in the modern history of the region. It also underlines how personalities helped change the setting, how societies interacted, and its implication for history of Ethiopia and the Horn. The last unit is devoted to describe historical developments in the region from the period of liberation from the Italian rule (1941) to the period of the ratification transitional charter (1994). To this, interactions such as consolidation of Imperial Power and socio-economic conditions, oppositions, national questions, reforms, and political changes of the period are given space. Finally, we would like to underline that despite serious attempts, the module is far from being comprehensive in terms of coverage of themes and issues across time and spaces in the region. Certainly, however, the topics and approaches considered in the module derive attention of learners and instructors of higher institutions, and help to develop smarter teaching material.

Objectives

The general objective of this module is to introduce students to the diverse histories of Ethiopia and the Horn and the extent to which interaction between peoples throughout the region and with the outside world have shaped human history. The specific objectives are:

- distinguish the nature and uses of history
- identify pertinent sources for the history of the peoples of Ethiopia and the Horn
- describe changes & continuities that unfolded in Ethiopia and the Horn
- elucidate the causes, courses and consequences of events happened in the region
- explain the nature of the region's external contacts and their effects
- appreciate peoples' achievements, heritages and cultural diversities of the region

Competences

This module enables students to:

- comprehend the nature of history;
- analyze relevant sources for History of Ethiopia and the Horn;
- understand Ethiopia and the Horn in relation to Human Evolution and Neolithic Revolution;
- trace the origin, developments and achievements of states in the region during the ancient period;
- examine the long-term effect of the “Solomonic” dynasty in the region;
- scrutinize dynamics of territorial expansion of the Christian kingdom and rivalry between the Christian Kingdom and Muslim Sultanates in the region;
- know the role of foreign relations and interventions from ancient to modern times in the region;
- realize the interplay between local developments and foreign influences;
- explicate the role of population movements in shaping modern Ethiopia and the Horn;
- illustrate the major socio-economic, religious & political achievements of Gondar period;
- discuss salient features and effects of the “Zemene Mesafint”;
- assess developments in Eastern, Central, Southern & Western parts of Ethiopia & the Horn;
- expound the political process for formation of Modern Ethiopia and the Horn;
- discern the move towards modernization and the challenges encountered;
- point out legacies of major battles, victories and the roles of patriots;
- elaborate the socio-economic and political progresses of the post 1941 imperial period;
- differentiate the major changes, and challenges that led to the demise of the monarchy;
- reveal the political momentum, reforms and oppositions during the Derg period;
- clarify historical developments from 1991-4.

Unit One

Introduction (3 hours)

1.1. The Nature and Uses of History

Introduction

Dear learners,

This unit introduces you with the nature of history and historiography, the diverse histories of Ethiopia and the Horn and the extent to which interaction between societies throughout the region have shaped human history. History is a systematic study and organized knowledge of the past. The purpose of historical study is not simply to produce a mere list of chronological events about the deeds of the dead but to find patterns and establish meaning through the rigorous study and interpretation of surviving records. Historiography, on the other hand, refers to the history of history; it explores changes in historical interpretations through time. Accordingly, the unit considers popular and academic conceptions of history, the why and how of studying history and the state of historical writing in Ethiopia and the Horn focusing on Ethiopia. Finally, the unit discusses the role of geography in the region's human history. In this regard, it shows that despite the region's diverse environments, peoples of Ethiopia and the Horn were never isolated but they interacted throughout history. As a result, the social, economic, cultural and political history of Ethiopia and the Horn is highly intertwined.

Unit Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- differentiate between past and history.
- distinguish between popular and scholarly conceptions of history.
- understand the relationship between history and other disciplines.
- identify categories of historical sources.
- understand what methods historians use to study the past.
- discern basic patterns of continuity and change.
- explain the uses of history.
- avoid judging the past solely in terms of present-day norms and values.
- explain how the writing and purposes of history have changed over time<sup>[L]
[SEP]</sup>
- discuss the role of geography in human history.

Unit Starters

- What is history?
- What do you think are the similarities and differences between past and history?
- What is the relevance of knowing about the past?
- What study history?
- What are sources?
- Identify categories of historical sources.
- What techniques do historians use to write about the past?
- What is historiography?
- Have you ever read a historical work? Do you remember the title and author of the work?
- Can you name some writers of Ethiopian history?
- How do you think geographical factors impact, as incentives and deterrents, the movement of people and goods in a region?

A. Nature

The term history is derived from the Greek word *historia* which meant “inquiry” or “an account of one’s inquiries.” The first use of the term is attributed to one of the ancient Greek historians, Herodotus (c. 484–c. 420 B.C.E.), who is often held to be the “father of written history.” In ordinary usage history means all the things that have happened in the human past. The past signifies events, which have taken place and the facts of the past which are kept in writing. More specifically, the distinction is between what actually happened in the past or that part which exists independently of the historian and still awaits to be recorded and the accounts of the past provided by historians, that is, ‘history’. Historians apply their expertise to surviving records and write history in the form of accounts of the past. Academically, history can be defined as an organized and systematic study of the past. The study involves the discovery, collection, organization, and presentation of information about past events. History can also mean the period of time after the development of complex social and political organizations along with the invention of writing.

Evidently, what actually happened in the past is almost infinite. Historians select which topics and problems they wish to study, as do scientists. In this regard, the major concern of history is the study of human society and its interaction with the natural environment which is also the subject of study by many other disciplines. What differentiates history from other disciplines is that while the latter study the interaction between humans and their environment in the present state, history studies the interaction between the two in the past within the framework of the continuous process of change taking place in time. Because of the longevity of that time, historians organize and divide the human past into discrete periods after identifying significant developments in politics, society, economy, culture, environment etc. through the rigorous study of documents and artifacts left by people of other times and other places. They then give a label to each period to convey the key characteristics and developments of that era. This is what we call periodization in history; one of the key characteristics of the discipline.

When historians talk about continuity, they are not implying that a particular pattern applied to everyone in the world or even in a particular country or region. Nor are they claiming that

absolutely nothing changed in the pattern they are describing. All aspects of human life i.e. social, cultural, economic and political in the past have been changing from time to time; and none of them were practiced in exactly the same way in the lifetime of our ancestors. But some things stay more or less the same for long periods of time, since few things ever change completely. For example, we continue to speak the languages of our forefathers; follow their beliefs and religious practices; wear the costumes they were wearing; continue to practice their agricultural or pastoral ways of life; maintain the fundamental components or structures of their social organization. In the same vein, the basic fabric of society in Ethiopia and the Horn remains similar and continues to have special characteristics. This is why E. H. Carr defined history as an “unending dialogue between the present and the past.” In short, the past does not exist now, but continues to live in present.

Until the early twentieth century the study and teaching of history was limited to narrative presentation of “what happened” in the past. At the core of this narration had been political events relating to the deeds of “great men” and “great women”. As societies have become more complex, as the different areas of the world have become more closely interconnected, as new types of primary source and research methods are brought into use, so more rigorous accounts of the past have become more necessary. Thus, history assumed three dimensions as its main job i.e. to narrate what happened, to discuss how it happened and to analyze why it happened. Contemporary history teaching and research pursue a more integrative approach offering students an expanded view of historical knowledge that includes aspects of environment, religion, gender, philosophy, economics, technology, art and society instead of mere cataloguing of political events.

B. Uses

People live in the present. They plan for and worry about the future. History, however, is the study of the past. Given all the demands that press in from living in the present and anticipating what is yet to come, why bother with the past? Why is history worth attention as a subject of study?

History should be studied because it is essential to the individual and the society. The uses of history in the context of the relationship between the past and the present and its role in defining our own identity along with a variety of other reasons why the study of history is a rewarding venture are summarized below.

History Helps Us Better Understand the Present

History is the only significant storehouse of information available for the examination and analysis of how people behaved and acted in the past, and people need to have some sense of how societies function simply to run their own lives. A purely contemporary analysis of social changes may shed some light on contemporary developments, but knowledge of relevant historical background is essential for a balanced and in-depth understanding of many current world situations. Societies have felt a need to produce some sort of account of their past because it is difficult to understand problems that face in humanity and society today without tracing their origins in the past.

History Provides Us a Sense of Our Own Identity

Knowledge of history is indispensable to understand who we are and where we fit in world. Each of us is born into a nation, but also into a region, a culture, an ethnic group, a social class, and a family. Each such grouping can and does influence us in a number of ways. The study of history helps us to get our bearings in such respects allowing us to achieve a social as well as a personal identity. An individual without memory finds great difficulty in relating to others and in taking intelligent decisions. A society without history would be in similar condition. It is only through sense of history that communities establish their identity, orient them, and understand their relationships with the past and with other societies.

History Provides the Basic Background for Many Other Disciplines

Historical knowledge is extremely valuable in the pursuit of other disciplines such as literature, art, philosophy religion, sociology, political science, anthropology and economics.

With regard to the last four, it is fair to argue that history is a mother discipline for they arose out of historical investigation or formed part of historical writing.

The Careful Study of History Teaches One Many Critical Skills

Studying history helps students to develop some critical skills relating to the how of doing research. These include but not limited to how to find and evaluate sources; how to make coherent arguments based on various kinds of evidence and present clearly in writing. These analytical and communication skills are highly usable in other academic pursuits. Gaining skills in sorting through diverse interpretations is also essential to make informed decisions in our day-to-day life.

History Can Help One Develop Tolerance and Open-Mindedness

Most of us have a tendency to regard our own cultural practices, styles, and values as right and proper. Studying different societies in the past is like going to a foreign country which contributes to rid ourselves of some of our inherent cultural provincialism. By studying the past, students of history acquire a broad perspective that gives them the range and flexibility required in many life situations.

History Can be Entertainment

Finally, history supplies us an endless source of fascination. Exploring the ways people in distant ages constructed their lives involves a sense of beauty and excitement, and ultimately another perspective on human life and society.

To conclude, history should be studied because we cannot escape from our past. Only through studying history can we grasp how things change; only through history can we begin to comprehend the factors that cause change; and only through history can we understand what elements of an institution or a society persist despite change. Aesthetic and humanistic goals also inspire people to study the past, far removed from present-day utility. Nevertheless,

just as history can be useful, it can also be abused. Such abuses come mainly from the deliberate manipulation of the past to fit current political agenda. In such cases, history is written backwards. That is, the past is described and interpreted to justify the present. While personal biases are not always avoidable, a historian is different from the propagandist in that the former takes care to document his judgment and assertions so that they can be subjected to independent and external verification. That said, how do historians study and interpret the past and the changes that took place in periods during which they have not lived themselves?

1.2. Sources and Methods of Historical Study

Historians are not creative writers like novelists; the work of historian must be supported by evidence arising from sources. Sources are instruments that bring to life what appear to have been dead. Where there are no sources there is no history. Sources are, therefore, key to the study and writing of history. Historical sources are broadly classified into two types: Primary and Secondary. Primary sources are surviving traces of the past available to us in the present. They are original or first hand in their proximity to the event both in time and space. Examples of primary sources are manuscripts (handwritten materials), diaries, letters, minutes, court and administrative files, travel documents, photographs, maps, video and audiovisual materials, and physical remains or relics such as coins, fossils, weapons, utensils, and buildings. Secondary sources, on the other hand, are second-hand published accounts about events that happened in the past. Examples of secondary sources are articles, books, textbooks, biographies, and published stories or movies about historical events. Secondary sources often use primary sources, but are written long after the event has occurred, providing an interpretation of what happened, why it happened, and how it happened. Secondary sources give us what appear to be finished accounts of certain historical periods and phenomena. Nevertheless, as new sources keep coming to light, no history work can be taken as final. New sources make possible new historical interpretations or entirely new historical reconstructions.

Oral sources are also indispensable to study and document the history of non-literate societies. In many societies, oral information can pass from one generation to another without being recorded. This type of oral data is called oral tradition.

For the history of Ethiopia and the Horn, historians use a combination of the sources described above. However, whatever the source of information-primary or secondary, written or oral- the data should be subjected to critical evaluation before used as evidence. Primary sources have to be verified for their originality and authenticity because some times primary sources like letters may be forged. Secondary sources have to be examined for the reliability of their reconstructions. An oral tradition may lose its originality and authenticity due to omission, exaggeration and distortion through time. Therefore, it should be crosschecked with other sources such as written documents to determine its veracity. In short, historians (unlike novelists) must find evidence about the past, ask questions of that evidence, and come up with explanations that make sense of what the evidence says about the people, events, places and time periods they study.

1.3. The History of Historical Writing in Ethiopia and the Horn

Historiography is the history of historical accounts, studying how knowledge of the past, either recent or distant, is obtained and transmitted. People have had some sense of the past perhaps since the beginning of humanity. Yet historiography as an intentional attempt to know and represent descriptions of past events in writing has rather a briefer career throughout the world. The organized study and narration of the past was introduced by the Greeks Herodotus (c. 484–c. 420 B.C.E.) and Thucydides (d. c. 401 B.C.E.). The other major tradition of thinking and writing about the past is the Chinese. The most important early figure in Chinese historical thought and writing was the Han dynasty figure Sima Qian (145–86 B.C.E.). Despite such early historiographical traditions, history emerged as an academic discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century first in Europe and subsequently in other parts of the world notably in the US. The German historian, Leopold Von Ranke (1795–1886), and his colleagues established history as an independent discipline in Bonn with its own set of methods and concepts by which historians collect evidence of past events,

evaluate that evidence, and present a meaningful discussion of the subject. Ranke's greatest contribution to the scientific study of the past is such that he is considered as the "father of modern historiography".

Modern Western-style historical writing in Africa has much shorter life span than the global trend noted above. Nonetheless, it is not the case that the Africa had no history prior to colonial times- a view once confidently held among Eurocentric writers. Such unfounded assumption has been successfully refuted after independence owing to both the considerable efforts of Africans to recover their past through oral traditions and the growing knowledge of the existence of writing before the arrival of Europeans. Poetry and folk tales from different regions of Africa have been used to establish reasonably reliable chronologies of historical events with or without the presence of literacy. Writing in many parts of Africa was introduced by Arabs in the centuries following the rise of Islam. An exception to this trite generalization is Ethiopia where there had been an indigenous tradition of history writing from at least the fourteenth century as will be discussed shortly.

Historiography of Ethiopia and the Horn has changed enormously during the past hundred years in ways that merit fuller treatment than can be afforded here. This section is devoted to exploring significant transformations in historical writing. In order to appreciate twentieth-century historiography of the region, it is first necessary to examine earlier forms of history (historical writing). The earliest known reference that we have on history of Ethiopia and the Horn is the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, written in the first century A.D by an anonymous author. Another document describing Aksum's trade and the then Aksumite king's campaigns on both sides of the sea is the *Christian Topography* composed by Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Greek sailor, in the sixth century A.D.

Unfortunately, contemporary Ethiopian materials are non-existent to substantiate the information from the above sources despite the country's reputation for an ancient civilization of literacy. The earliest Ethiopian material, a manuscript, dates from medieval times. The document was found in Haiq Istifanos monastery of Wallo in the thirteenth century A.D. The value of manuscripts is essentially religious. Yet, for historians, they have

the added value of providing insights into the country's past. For example, the manuscript cited above contains the list of medieval kings and their history in brief. The largest groups of sources available for medieval Ethiopian history are hagiographies originating from Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Invariably written in Ge'ez, an important function of hagiographies is enhancing the prestige of saints. Yet other related anecdotes are also introduced, and often discussed in detail such as the development of the church and the state including territorial conquests by reigning monarchs. A parallel hagiographical tradition existed within the Muslim communities of the country. One such account offers tremendous insight into the life of a Muslim saint, *Shaykh Ja'far Bukko* of Gattira, in present day Wallo, in the late nineteenth century. Besides the saint's life, the development of indigenous Islam and contacts between the region's Muslim community and the outside world are some of the issues discussed in this document.

Ethiopia had also an indigenous tradition of history writing called chronicles. Chronicles in the ancient Ethiopian Ge'ez tongue first appeared in the fourteenth century and continue (sometimes in Amharic) into the early twentieth. Kings or their successors entrusted the writing of chronicles to court scribes or clergymen of recognized clerical training and calligraphic skills. The first and the last of such documents are the *Glorious Victories of Amde-Tsion* and *Tarika Zemen Za Dagmawi Menilek* respectively. Chronicles incorporate both legends and facts- past and contemporary about the monarch's genealogy, upbringing military exploits, piety and statesmanship. Chronicles are known for their factual detail and strong chronological framework, even if it would require considerable labour to convert their relative chronology to an absolute one. They are also averse to quantification. Major events in and around the imperial residence are explained mainly in religious terms; the chronicle, therefore offers very little by way of social and economic developments even in the environs of the palace. However, in conjunction with other varieties of written documents, such as hagiographies and travel accounts by foreign observers, chronicles can provide us with a glimpse into the character and lives of kings, their preoccupations and relations with subordinate officials and, though inadequately, the evolution of the Ethiopian state and society.

Written accounts of Arabic-speaking visitors to the coast also provide useful information on various aspects of the region's history. For example, al-Masudi and Ibn Battuta described the culture, language and import-export trade in the main central region of the east African coast in the tenth and in the fourteenth centuries respectively. For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we have two documents composed by Yemeni writers who were eyewitnesses to the events they described. The first document titled *Futuh al Habesha (The Conquest of Abyssinia)* was composed by Shihab al-Din, who recorded the conflict between the Christian kingdom and the Muslim principalities in the sixteenth century. Besides the operation of the war including the conquest of northern and central Ethiopia by Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, the document describes major towns and their inhabitants in the southeastern part of Ethiopia, although the discussion abruptly ends in 1535. The other first-hand account is left to us by Al-Haymi, who led a Yemeni delegation in 1647 to the court of Fasiledes (r. 1632-67).

Other materials that appeared in the sixteenth century include Aba Bahrey's Amharic script the *History of the [Oromo]*. Written in the 1590s, this document provides firsthand information about the Oromo population movement in the stated period.

The contribution of missionaries and travellers to the development of Ethiopian historiography is also significant. From the early sixteenth until the later nineteenth centuries, missionaries (Catholics and Protestants) were generally the only Europeans who came to the country with the intention of staying, and who, nevertheless, maintained intimate links with Europe. Thus, mission records provide us with a run off information covering a considerable period of time. Some of the major topics covered by missionary sources include religious and political developments within Ethiopia, and the country's foreign relations. An example of such account is *The Prester John of the Indies*, composed by a Portuguese priest, Francisco Alvarez, who led the Portuguese mission to the court of Lebne-Dengel in 1520. Added to missionary sources, travel documents had important contribution to the development of Ethiopian historiography. One example of travel documents is James Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*. Like other sources, however, both mission and travel

materials can only be used with considerable reservations and with care for they are socially and politically biased.

Foreigners also developed interest in Ethiopian studies. One of these figures was a German, Hiob Ludolf (1.1624-1704). Ludolf was the founder of Ethiopian studies in Europe in the seventeenth century. He wrote *Historica Aethiopica* (translated into English as *A New History of Ethiopia*). Ludolf never visited Ethiopia; he wrote the country's history based on information he collected from an Ethiopian priest named Abba Gorgorios (Aba Gregory) who was in Europe at that time. In the nineteenth century, August Dillman published two studies on ancient Ethiopian history. Compared to Ludolf, Dillman demonstrated all markers of objectivity in his historical research endeavours.

Historical writing made some departures from the chronicle tradition in the early twentieth century. This period saw the emergence of traditional Ethiopian writers who made conscious efforts to distance themselves from chroniclers whom they criticized for adulatory tone when writing about monarchs. Unlike chroniclers, writers in this period discussed a range of topics from social justice, administrative reform and economic analysis to history. The earliest group of these writers include Aleqa Taye Gebre-Mariam, Aleqa Asme Giorgis and Onesmus Nasib (Aba Gemechis). Later, they were joined by Negadrases Afework Gebre-Iyesus and Gebre-Hiwot Baykedagn. Unlike chroniclers, these writers dealt with a range of topics from social justice, administrative reform and economic analysis to history. Taye and Asme wrote *Yeityopia Hizb Tarik (The History of Ethiopian People)* and *Ye [Oromo] Tarik (The History of the Oromo)* respectively while Onesmus translated the Bible into his native tongue, *Afan Oromo*. Notwithstanding his other works, Afework wrote the first Amharic novel, *Tobiya*, in Ethiopian history while Gebre-Hiwot has *Atse Menilekna Ityopia (Emperor Menilek and Ethiopia)* and *Mengistna Yehizb Astedader (Government and Public Administration)* to his name. The most prolific writer of the early twentieth century Ethiopia was, however, Blatten Geta Hiruy Wolde-Selassie. Hiruy published four major works namely *Ethiopiana Metema (Ethiopia and Metema)*, *Wazema (Eve)*, *Yehiwot Tarik (A Biographical Dictionary)* and *Yeityopia Tarik (The History of Ethiopia)*. In contrast to their predecessors, Gebre-Hiwot and Hiruy exhibited relative objectivity and methodological sophistication in their works.

Unfortunately, the Italian occupation of Ethiopia interrupted the early experiment in modern history writing and publications.

After liberation, Tekle-Tsadik Mekuria formed a bridge between writers in pre-1935 and Ethiopia professional historians who came after him. Tekle-Tsadik has published some eight historical works. He made better evaluation of his sources than his predecessors. Yet like his precursors, bias permeates most of his works. Another work of importance in this period is Yilma Deressa's *A History of Ethiopia in the Sixteenth Century*. The book addresses the Oromo population movement and the wars between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim principalities as its main subjects. Tekle-Tsadik and Yilma's works are written in Amharic and therefore can be used by the wider public and scholars alike. *Blatten Geta* Mahteme-Selassie Wolde-Meskel also contributed his share. Among others, he wrote *Zikre Neger* (*Things Remembered*). *Zikre Neger* is a comprehensive account of Ethiopia's prewar land tenure systems and taxation, but fails to capture localized circumstances, responses, and conflicts and silent on the actual impacts of government legislation on regulating access to resource control. *Zikre Neger* should also be treated with some caution because one of its main aims is to extol the modernization efforts and achievements of the country's reigning monarchs notably Emperor Haile-Selssie I. Another work dealing specifically with aspects of land tenure is left to us by Gebre-Wold Engidawork and has been translated into English. Another writer of the same category was *Dejasmach* Kebede Tesema. Kebede wrote his memoir of the imperial period, published with as *Yetarik Mastawesha* in 1962 E.C.

The 1960s was a crucial decade in the development of Ethiopian historiography for it was in this period that history emerged as an academic discipline. The pursuit of historical studies as a full-time occupation began with the opening of the Department of History at the then Haile Selassie I University (HSIU). The production of BA theses began towards the end of the decade. The Department launched its MA program in the early 1980s. Since then researches by faculty (both Ethiopians and expatriates) and students have been produced on various topics. Although entirely a research organization, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) is the other institutional home of professional historiography in Ethiopia. The IES library

contains literary works of diverse disciplines and has its fair share in the evolution and development of professional historiography in Ethiopia.

The professionalization of history in other parts of the Horn is a post-colonial phenomenon. With the establishment of independent nations, a deeper interest in exploring their own past quickly emerged among African populations, perhaps stimulated by reactions to decades of education in an alien imperial historiography. With this came an urgent need to recast the historical record and to recover evidence of many lost pre-colonial civilizations. The decolonization of African historiography required new methodological approach (tools of investigation) to the study of the past that involved a critical use of oral data and tapping the percepts of ancillary disciplines like archeology, anthropology and linguistics. At the same time, European intellectuals' own discomfort with the Eurocentrism of previous scholarship provided for the intensive academic study of African history, an innovation that had spread to North America by the 1960s. Foundational research was done at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London and the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Francophone scholars have been as influential as Anglophones. Yet African historiography has not been the sole creation of interested Europeans. African universities have, despite the instabilities of politics and civil war in many areas, trained their own scholars and sent many others overseas for training who eventually published numerous works on different aspects of the region's history.

1.4. The Geographical Context of Human History in Ethiopia and the Horn

The term "Ethiopia and the Horn" refers to that part of Northeast Africa which now contains the countries of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. The region occupies a total land area of 1,882,857 square kilometers and consists chiefly of mountains uplifted through the formation of the Great Rift Valley. The Rift Valley is a fissure in the Earth's crust running down from Turkey to Mozambique and marking the separation of the African and Arabian tectonic plates. The major physiographic features of the region are a massive highland complex of mountains and plateaus divided by the Great Rift Valley and surrounded by lowlands, semi-desert, deserts and tropical forests along the periphery. The diversity of the

terrain led to regional variations in climate, natural vegetation, soil composition, and settlement patterns. As with the physical features, people across the region are remarkably diverse: they speak a vast number of different languages, profess to many distinct religions, live in a variety types of dwellings, and engage in a wide range of economic activities. At the same time, however, peoples of the region were never isolated; they interacted throughout history from a diversity of locations. Thus, as much as there are many things that make people of a certain area unique from the other, there are also a lot of areas in which peoples of Ethiopia and the Horn share common past.

The history of Ethiopia and the Horn has been shaped by contacts with others through commerce, migrations, wars, slavery, colonialism, and the waxing and waning of state systems. Yet the evolution of human history owed much to geographical factors notably location, landforms, resource endowment, climate and drainage systems which continue to impact, as incentives and deterrents, the movement of people and goods in the region. In this section, we will study the impact that the region's geography has on the way people live and organize themselves into societies.

Spatial location in relationship to other spaces and locations in the world is one geographical factor that has significant bearing on the ways in which history unfolds. Ethiopia and the Horn lies between the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean on the one hand, and the present-day eastern frontiers of Sudan and Kenya on the other. Since early times, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden linked Northeast Africa to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East, India, and the Far East. Likewise, the Indian Ocean has linked East Africa to the Near and Middle East, India and the Far East.

Another element of geography that had profound impact on human history is drainage system. Ethiopia and the Horn has five principal drainage systems. These are the Nile River System, Gibe/Omo–Gojeb, and Genale/Jubba-Shebele River Systems, the Ethiopian Rift Valley Lakes System, and the Awash River System. Flowing from Uganda in the south to the Sudan in the north, the White Nile meets the Blue Nile (Abay in Ethiopia that starts from the environs of Tana Lake) in Khartoum and eventually, drains into the Mediterranean Sea

through Egypt. The Awash River System is an entirely Ethiopian system and links the cool rich highlands of Central Ethiopia with the hot, dry lowlands of the Danakil Depression. The Ethiopian Rift Valley Lakes System is a self-contained drainage basin, and includes a string of lakes stretching from Lake Ziway in the north to Lake Turkana (formerly known as Rudolf) on the Ethio-Kenyan border. The Gibe/Omo–Gojeb River System links southern Ethiopia to the semi-desert lowlands of northern Kenya. The Shebele and Genale rivers originate in the Eastern highlands and flow southeast toward Somalia and the Indian Ocean. Only the Genale (known as the Jubba in Somalia) makes it to the Indian Ocean; the Shebele disappears in sand just inside the coastline.

The above watersheds are very important in the life and history of the peoples inhabiting the region. Besides providing people with the source of their livelihood, the drainage systems facilitated the movement of peoples and goods across diverse environments, resulting the exchange of ideas, technology, knowledge, cultural expressions and beliefs. Thus, studying the drainage systems of Ethiopia and the Horn is crucial for proper understanding of the relationships of the peoples living within the various basins.

Ethiopia and the Horn can be divided into three major distinct environmental zones. The vast Eastern lowland covers the narrow coastal strip of northeastern Eritrea, widens gradually and descends southwards to include much of lowland Eritrea, the Sahel, the Danakil Desert, the lower Awash valley, and the arid terrain in northeast of the Republic of Djibouti. It then extends to the Ogaden, the lower parts of Hararghe, Bale, Borana, Sidamo and the whole territory of the Republic of Somalia. There is not much seasonal variation in climatic condition of this zone. Hot and dry conditions prevail year-round along with periodic monsoon winds and irregular (little) rainfall except in limited areas along the rivers Awash, Wabe Shebele and Genale/Jubba which traverse the region and a few off-shore islands (eg. Dahlak, Socotra) in the Red Sea, Aden Gulf and Indian Ocean which are' inhabited by people closely related to those of immediate mainland districts. Much of the lowland territory is covered only by shrub and bush as its major vegetation.

Immediately to the west of and opposite to the eastern lowland region forms the highland massif that starts from northern Eritrea and continues all the way to southern Ethiopia. The eastern extension of the highland massif consists the Arssi, Bale and Hararghe plateau. The major divide between the western and eastern parts of this zone is the Rift Valley. The major physiographic features of the zone are complex of mountains, deep valleys, and extensive plateaus. It is generally said that rainfall has declined Ethiopia and the Horn since the 1960s causing drought and famine, such as the well-known Ethiopian famines of 1970s and 1980s.

Further to the west, along the western foothills or on the periphery of the plateau and on borderlands of the Sudan, stretching from north to south, hot lowlands were characterized in earlier times by thick forests chiefly on the banks of the Nile and its tributaries.

Despite the varied physical environments discussed above, the countries of the Horn of Africa are, for the most part, linguistically and ethnically linked together as far back as recorded history goes. Population movements had caused a continuous process of interaction, creating a very complex picture of settlement patterns. This is the case, for example, in Ethiopia where a number of Cushitic groups live surrounding as well as interspersed among more or less semitized population in the northern and central highlands of the country. The high degree of interaction, the long common history of much of the population and their adherence to Christianity or Islam, had weakened ethnic dividing lines in large parts of the region. Linguistic and cultural affinities are therefore as important as ethnic origin in the grouping of the population.

Learning activities

- Discuss the connections between past, history, sources and historian.
- What do we mean by change and continuity in history?
- Of what benefit is history to the individual and the society?
- What is the difference between primary and secondary sources?
- What are the different sources of history? How will you evaluate them?
- What is the difference between history and historiography?

- Who was Leopold von Ranke? Discuss his views on history.
- Discuss how the writing of Ethiopian history has changed over the last hundred years by using the writings of individual historians.
- Briefly describe the similarities and differences between chronicles and hagiographies and their use to write Ethiopian history.
- Describe the contribution of missionary sources to the study of Ethiopian history.
- Explain how geography shaped human history in Ethiopia and the Horn.

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Unit Two

Peoples and Cultures in Ethiopia and the Horn

Introduction

Dear learners,

The region Ethiopia and the Horn is referred to as the cradle of humankind. It is also a region where ancient civilizations including religion, making tools, and food production occurred. These developments contributed to the social evolutions, economic formations, and socio-cultural and political settings. This unit traces human evolutions and Neolithic Revolutions and then describes languages and peoples settlement along with cultural settings of the region. The purpose is to show that the region is home to diverse peoples, and cultures (languages, religion, customs...) and economic activities.

Unit Objectives

- At the end of this unit, students will be able to:
- evaluate evidences for Ethiopia and the Horn as the cradle of mankind;
- understand Ethiopia and the Horn in relation to Neolithic Revolution;
- identify the peoples and languages of Ethiopia and the Horn;
- elucidate settlement patterns and economic formations of the peoples of Ethiopia and the Horn;
- discuss religion and religious processes of Ethiopia and the Horn.

Unit starters

- Define language and language families.
- Explain how trade facilitates peoples' relations.

- What do you know about the domestication of plants and animals?
- How do you think human beings came into being?
- What is religion?
- What do we mean by indigenous religion?
- Can you name some religious practices in Ethiopia and the Horn?

2.1. Human Evolution

Regarding origin of human being, there are two divergent views. The first view is **creationist** view that contends super natural force or God created non-living and living things including human being with complete physical shape and structure. The other view is **evolutionist** view which argues that living things and non living things developed from small beings through gradual changes of many million years. The earliest evolution theorist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published *Theory of Evolution or Origin of Species by Natural Selection* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871).

According to evolutionists, human evolution accounts only fraction of history of the globe that had been formed through natural process about 4. 5 billion years ago or before present (B. P.) The earliest known life came in to being between 3, 000 &1, 000 million years B.P. Blue green algae, small plants, fishes, birds and other small animals (mainly invertebrates) emerged at about/circa (c.) 800 million years B. P. In due course, first primates branched out of Tarsiers and main placental mammal stream as of 200-170 million years B. P. Gradually, some primates developed into Pongidae such as baboons, monkeys, gorilla, chimpanzee, orangutan, gibbon etc while others evolved in to Hominidae (human beings). Hence, scientists verify that human beings and apes share common ancestors.

Scientists have considered East African Rift Valley as cradle of humanity. A fossil named as *Cororapithecus* dated 10 million B. P. was discovered in Ancar (in Hararghe) in 2007. *Ardipithicus Ramidus* (dated 4. 2 million B.P.) was discovered by Tim D. White at Aramis in Afar in 1994 A. D. Other *Australopithecines* were also discovered at Belohdelie (dated back 3.6 million years B.P.), Maka etc. Fossilised animal bones (3.4 million years) were found

with stone-tool-inflicted marks on them (the oldest evidence of stone tool use ever found in the world) by international team led by Shannon McPherron in Lower Awash Valley in 2010. Fossil termed as *Australopithecus Afarensis*/Lucy/Dinkinesh (dated c. 3.18 million years B.P.) with 40% complete body parts, weight 30kg, height 1.07 meters and pelvis looks like bipedal female was discovered by Donald Carl Johnson at Hadar in 1974 A.D.



Picture 1: Skelton named as *Australopithecus Afarensis*/Lucy/Dinkinesh

Fossil named as *Australopithecus Anamensis* was discovered around Lake Turkana. Ethiopian Anthropologist Berhane Asfaw and his team discovered eco-fact named as *Australopithecus Garhi* (means surprise in Afar language) between 1996 and 1999 A.D. Other species like *Australopithecus Bosei*, *Australopithecus Aethiopicus* and *Pithecan* were also discovered in different areas of East Africa. Dr. Richard Luis Leaky and Mary Leaky found proto-human fossil named as *Zinjanthropus* in 1959.

Homo Habilis is derived from Latin terms Homo which meant human being and Habilis meant skillful or handy. Homo Habilis (dated back 2-2.5 Million years B.P.) with brain size of 650- 800 C.C. was discovered at Kobi Fora in Kenya; Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania with Oldwan obsidian flint stone tools between 1972 and 1986. Artifact findings suggest that tools made and used by Homo Habilis were also discovered near Gona (dated 2.52 million years ago in 1992) and at Shungura in Ethiopia. Skeleton of 12 years old boy named as Homo Erectus was discovered at Nario Kotome by Kenyan Archaeologist Kamoya Kimeu c. 1984. Erectus (dated 1. 6 million years B. P.) was also discovered at Melka Kunture, Konso Gardula and Gadebi in Ethiopia with clothes, ornaments, burials and fire usage indicators as well as 185 cm tall, 68kg weight, 5-6 inches height and 900-1100 cc brain size. Dutch hydrologist Gerrard Dekker found Acheulian tools (over million years old) at Kella in 1963.

Archaic Homo-Sapiens/wise human being (dated 400,000 years B.P.) was discovered as Neanderthalensis in Germany in 1856; Cromagnon in France-Spain in 1868; Java in Indonesia; Peknaisi in China; Kabwe in Zambia; Bodo in Middle Awash with brain size of 1300-1400cc. Fossils of Homo Sapiens Sapiens (100, 000 years B.P.) were discovered at Porc Epic near Dire Dawa and Kibish around Lower Omo (by Leakey in 1967). Kibish ones were re-dated in 2004 to 195, 000 years old, the oldest date anywhere in world for modern Homo Sapiens. Homo sapiens idaltu, found in Middle Awash in 1997, lived about 160, 000 years ago.

The period of the usage of lithus/ stone tools is divided into sub-periods. The first is Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) up to 11, 000 B.P. This was the period when human being developed language with shelter in cave using stone, bone, wood, furs & skin materials to prepare food and clothing. There was sex-age labor division with able-bodied males as hunters of fauna and children & females as gatherers of plants. In due course, society developed from matriarchal to patriachial hierarchy. Gademotta Stone Age site in central Ethiopian Rift Valley is one of the oldest sites in African continent and has been dated back to 200,000 B.P. Other sites such as Gorgora, Ki'one, Tiyya, Tuto Fala & Yabaldho in Ethiopia and Midhishish & Gudgud in Somalia are important sites that have offered

noteworthy information about Stone Age communities in the Horn of Africa. Mesolithic/middle Stone Age (11, 000-10,000 B.P.) was transition between Old and Neolithic/New Stone Ages. Neolithic (10,000-6,000 B.P.) was time when human being used micro-lithic tools.

2.2. Neolithic Revolution

It was during Neolithic (10,000-6,000 B.P.) that human beings began to transform from mobile way of life to sedentary one that was radical shift from hunting and gathering to growing plants and breeding animals. A combination of global warming and increased hunter-gatherers' population brought about a diminishing in numbers of animals and availability of plants. As food gatherers were already aware of growing cycle of most of grass types, they began to thickly grow those which were most common and yielded more edible seeds. The big animals which depended on dense bushes for sustenance were reduced by hunting and animals that people were able to domesticate easily were smaller ones. Peoples had to descend from mountain sides to build houses near cultivated plots fencing both and harvested crops had to be stored & protected from humidity & rodents. For better security and to help each other in hard works, families preferred to live together forming larger communities. Using stick or hoe for planting was also gradually replaced by ox-drawn plough. Farmers acquired surplus produce to exchange with better tools and clothes with the craftsmen who were able to concentrate on and specialize in the production of these items. Gradually intermediaries (traders) also began to buy the products of both to take to predetermined places or markets and sell.

The process of domestication took place independently in the various parts of the world. In Ethiopia and the Horn especially in the more elevated and wetter-parts, people began to cultivate plants including *Eragrostis tef*/*Poa abyssinica*, *Dagussa*/*Eleusine Coracana*/millet, *nug*/*Guzotia Abyssinica*/oilseeds, *Ensete Ventricosum* etc. The domestication of the *enset* plant/*Ensete edule* reduced continuous clearing of new plots/shifting cultivation slowing down soil exhaustion. *Enset* was widely cultivated over central and northern Ethiopia until increasing demands of states which had to support many units of professional soldiers forced

farmers to cultivate cereals like *teff* only. The existence of Neolithic material culture is attested from Laga Oda near Carcar, Gobdura rock shelter near Aksum, Fakeda around Adigrat, Aqordat and Barentu in Eritrea. These sites provide direct archaeological evidence such as polished axes, ceramics, grinding stones, beads, stone figures, remains of animals like camels etc. Archaeologist Dombrowski excavated chickpeas and vegetables at Lalibela cave near Lake Tana. Evidence of domesticated cattle comes from Lake Basaqa near Matahara. Playa Napata & Kado in Sudan and Futajalon in West Africa were among known places of domestication including Nidamawa and Zebu (*Bos indicus*) cattle.

2.3. The Peopling of the Region

2.3.1. Languages and Linguistic Processes

According to Ethnologue, there are 88 languages with 200 dialects, of which 86 are living and 2 are extinct in Ethiopia and the Horn.

A. Afro-Asiatic

- **Cushitic:** linguists divided this language family into four branches.
 - Northern: is represented by Beja, spoken at western edge of Eritrea on Sudan border.
 - Central: Agaw includes Awing, Qimant; Tamtanga & Bilen/Bogos.
 - East Cush: this includes diversified linguistic groups like Afar, Alaba, Arbore, Baiso, Burji, Bussa, Darashe, Dasanech, Gauwada, Gedeo, Hadiya, Kambata, Konso, Libido, Oromo, Saho, Sidama, Somali, Tambaro & Tsemai. Yet, the Oromo have inhabited throughout the eastern, northern, southern and western parts of Ethiopia and the Horn.
- **Ethiopian Semitic:** the Semitic languages of Ethiopia are generally known as Ethio-Semitic because other Semitic languages are spoken mainly in the Middle East.
 - North: Tegra (in Eritrean Lowland), Tigrinya; Ge'ez (endangered, liturgical)
 - South
 - ✓ Transverse: Amharic, Argoba, Harari, Silte, Wolane and Zay.
 - ✓ Outer: Gafat (extinct), Gurage and Mesmes (endangered).

- **Omotic:** Anfillo, Ari, Bambasi, Basketo, Bench, Boro (Shinasha), Chara, Dawro, Dime, Dizi, Doko, Dorze, Gamo, Ganza, Gayil, Gofa, Hamar-Banna,, Hozo, Kachama-Ganjule, Karo, Keficho, Konta, Korete, Male, Melo, Nayi, Oyda, Sezo, Shekkacho, Sheko, Wolaytta, Yem and Zayse. Among its groups, Omoto includes Wolaytta and Gamo while main Gonga is Keficho.
- **Nilotic:** Anywa, Berta, Gumuz, Kacipo-Balesi, Komo, Kunama, Kwama, Kwegu, Majang, Mi'en, Murle, Mursi, Nuer, Nyangatom, Opuo, Shabo, Suri & Uduk.
- **Unclassified:** Weyto (might be Cushitic or Semitic); Ongota (moribund possibly Omotic or separate branch of Afro-Asiatic or not at all) & Rer Bare (extinct-may be Bantu).

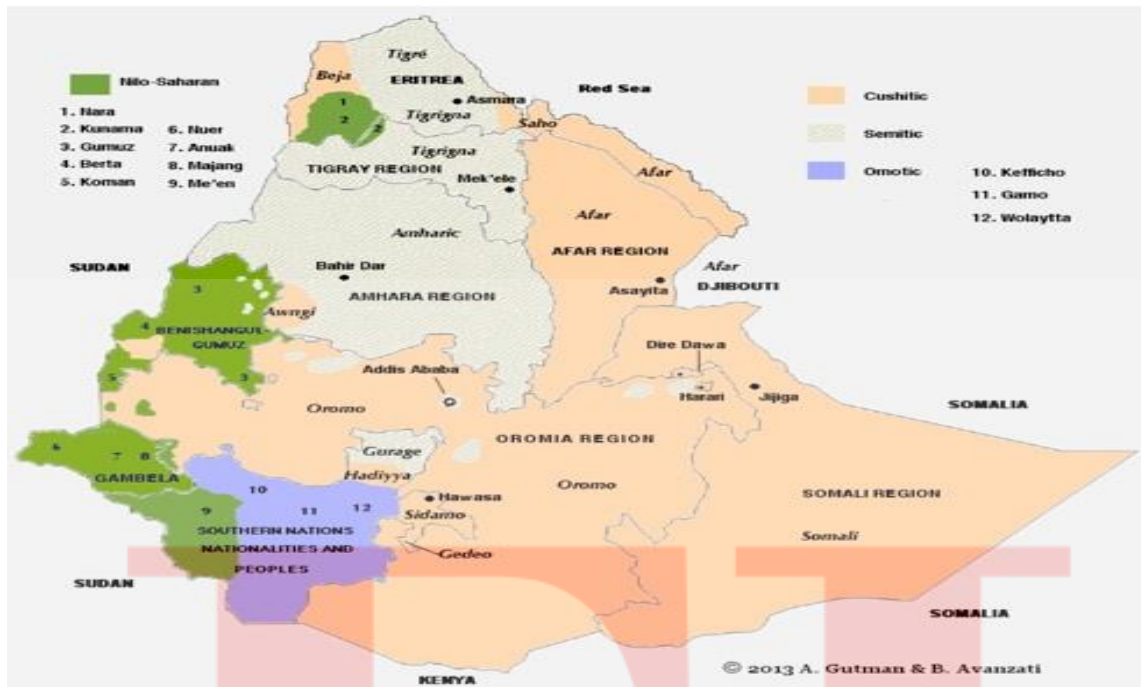
2.3.2. Settlement Patterns

The Cushitic Speaking peoples are indigenous to East Africa inhabiting from Sudan to Tanzania. The proto Cushitic speaking peoples are said to have been dominant between the Blue Nile valley in the west and Red Sea in the East in Northeast Africa. The peoples speaking this language family regarded as the descendants of the ancient Ethiopia or Kush and once shared the Nile valley civilization. Specifically, Nubia (the land of Kush with capital first at Napata and later Meroe) was from where most probably Cushitic peoples dispersed. According to Ehret, it was around the seventh millennium BC (before Christ) that the ancestral Cushitic began to spread in the northern edge of the Ethiopian highland. The proto-Cushitic are said to have dispersed further south and formed various subdivisions or separate linguistic and cultural groups and subgroups in the sixth and fifth millennium BC. They are said to have evolved into a separate identity from the Cushitic speaking peoples in between 4th and 3rd millennium BC. Among these Cushitic peoples, major change took place toward the later part of the first millennium B. C. when the Afar, Somali and Saho descended eastward from the southern temperate plateau regions. The Cushitic speaking peoples were dominant inhabitants in the north, central, southern, western, eastern and rift valley regions of Ethiopia as well as the Djibouti and Somalia. Broadly, the Cushitic language speaking peoples occupy the largest portion of Ethiopia and the Horn and also spread over into such neighboring regions even as far south as Tanzania.

According to Harold Marcus, the Afro-Asiatic group of languages developed and fissured in the Sudan-Ethiopian borderlands. Proto-Cushitic and Proto-Semitic began their evolution there. On the other hand, according to some historical sources, Ethio-Semitic is believed to be introduced from the Middle East especially Arabian Peninsula. Whatever the case, the Semitic language family in Ethiopia is the second major family next to the Cushitic.

Omotic languages speakers are indigenous to Ethiopia. The majority of Omotic peoples are dominant in southwestern Ethiopia being concentrated along Omo River basin bordering in all directions. Nevertheless, this is exceptional for Shinasha who is living in southwestern Gojjam and South Mao in southwestern Wollagga. Many Omotic languages have been kept aloof and evolved from dialects to independent languages because of mountainous landscape.

Nilo-Saharan Super Family peoples are dominant societies of western lowlands from north to south along Ethio-Sudanese borderlands. Nilo-Sahara entered Ethiopia from the Sudan in about 3rd millennium B. C. and believed to have settled in western and southwestern Ethiopia between third Millennium B. C. to the first Millennium B.C. Some of the Chari-Nile family settled in western Ethiopia along Ethio-Sudanese border and other in southern Omo. These are identified as the Karamojo cluster living around Turkana Lake along the Ethio-Kenyan border. On the other hand, the majority of the speakers of this language super family also live outside Ethiopia.



Map 1: The Distribution of Languages of Ethiopia and the Horn

According to 2007 Ethiopian census, Oromo (the largest linguistic group) accounted to 34.4%, Amhara 27%, Somali 6.2%, Tigray 6.1%, Sidama 4%, Gurage 2.5%, Wolayta 2.3%, Afar 1.73%, Hadiya 1.72, Gamo 1.5 & others 12.55%. *Afan Oromo* has 33.8% speakers, Amharic 29.33%, Somali 6.25%, Tigrigna 5.86%, Sidama 4.84%, Wolayta 2.21%, Gurage 2.01%, Afar 1.74%, Hadiya 1.69%, Gamo 1.45% and others 11.62%. Only 14 languages cover about 93 % of population. 41 languages are institutional, 14 developing, 18 vigorous, 8 in danger and 5 near extinction. Hudson (1999:96) states that a language with fewer than 10,000 speakers is likely to become extinct within generation, there are 22 such languages in Ethiopia and the Horn.

2.3.3. Economic Formations

A predominantly pastoral economy characterized the eastern lowland region since early periods. A transhumance pastoral economy has characterized the life of the majority of the Eastern lowland Cushitic communities since very early times. Camel, goat and cattle are the most common domestic animals among the Afar, Saho and Somali as well as Karayu and

Borana Oromo. The life of Afar and Karrayu is highly associated with Awash River while the Somali owe a great deal to Wabi Shebelle and Genale/Juba Rivers.

The plateaus have sustained plough agriculture for thousands of years supporting sizable populations. It is here that the large majority of the populations of the region live. It is also here that the Cushitic had started and advanced mixed sedentary agriculture since 10, 000 B. P. and ancient processes of state formation were taken place first by the Cushitic and then together with the Semitic, who used to practice plow agriculture economic activity for long. The life of Omotic societies has been highly intertwined with Omo River. The major economic activity of the Omotic has been mixed farming and trade in northern Omo while southern Omo have predominantly practiced pastoralist and fishing. The Omotic have been distinguished by the large-scale cultivation of enset (a staple food) and evolution of highly organized polities. Many of them have also been famous in metallurgy, weaving and other crafts.

Peoples in the sparsely populated western lowland region earned their livelihood from a range of activities. Here lived, small groups of hunter-gatherers leading a basically nomadic way of life and being almost entirely dependent on fruits and forest animals. Nilo-Saharans along Nile have been shifting cultivators where sorghum has been a staple food. Among majority Nilotic communities, cattle have high economic and social values. Berta and other Nilotes had trade and other social contacts with northern Sudan.

2.4. Religion and Religious Processes

2.4.1. Indigenous Religion

Distinctive mark of indigenous religion is belief in one omnipotent, omniscient, eternal or transcendental Supreme Entity, but special powers are attributed to natural phenomena that are declared to be sacred. Vicars (parsons and diviners) who officiate over these rituals & propitiate spirits are held in a lot of respect as intermediaries between society and spirits.

Among indigenous religious groups, Oromo *Waaqeffannaa* is one. The *Waaqeffata* have believed in existence of one supernatural power called *Waaqaa* that is believed to be source

of life & nature, *Beelii Belelii*/Alpha-Omega/ultimate power in the universe. Under *Waaqaa*, there are divinities called *Ayyaanaa*, each seen as manifestation of *Waaqaa*. These include *Abdaari* (crop land fertility spirit), *Ateetee Ayyobar/Ayyolee* (women or human & animal fertility spirit), *Awaayii/Tiyyanaa* (sanctity spirit), *Balas* (victory spirit), *Caattoo/Doora* (wild animals defender), *Gijaaree/Nabi* (father & mother's spirit), *Jaaricha* (peace spirit), *Qasaa* (anti-disease spirit) etc. *Adbaar* that is still witnessed on September 17/*Masqal* & May 1st E. C. is a relic of rite in veneration of *Abbaar* in a syncreticized form. Oromo also believe that the dead exist in form of ghost called *Ekeraa* in surrounding of his/her abode before death or *dachee* of his/her cemetery/*Tujuba*. Nonetheless, they have not believed in suffering in hell, but if human beings have committed sin, they would be punished while alive with tolerable punishment. Just at the beginnings of autumn and spring seasons every year at ever flowing river side and top of mountain respectively, Oromo have thanks giving festival called *Irreechaa* besides *Ifaano* (torch light) and *Birboo* (New Year) ceremonies.

Effective relationship between *Ayyaanaa* and Oromo has been often maintained by revered expert known as *Qaalluu/Ladduu* for male and *Qaallitti* for female. *Qaalluu* or *Qaallitti* care for spiritual wellbeing as well as influence socio-economic & political life of the community. Place of worship or *Qaalluu* house is called *Galmaa* located on hilltop/side or in grove of large trees. On Wednesday and Friday nights, there are special prayer ceremonies to practice *Dalaga*/ecstasy at which *Qaalluu* or *Qaallitti* is possessed by *Ayyaanaa* so that s/he can interpret mysteries. Worship places also include under trees, beside large bodies of water, by side of big mountains, hills etc. However, these are not objects of worship but simply places of worship. In fifth year of *Gadaa* period, *Lubaa* in power sent *Jilaa/Makkalaa* (delegated messengers) as pilgrims or *hajj*, with *kallachaa* and gifts like *qumbii* (myrrh) to make their reverence pledges to get blessings of senior *Qaalluu* known as *Abbaa Muudaa* or anointment father centered at *Ribuu Fugug*. *Abbaa Muudaa* used to consecrate other *Qaalluus* to different regions or clans and had turban *surrirufa* or cloth of tri-colors: black at top, red at center and white at bottom representing those who yet to enter active life, those in active life (*Lubaa*) and those who passed active life respectively.

Among the Hadiya the Supreme Being is known as Waa, who is believed to exist before everything (*hundam issancho*) or create world (*qoccancha*) and whose eyes are represented by *elincho* (sun) & *agana* (moon). Spirits like *Jara* (male's protector), *Idota* (female's guard), *Hausula*, *Qedane* & *Warriqa* attracted most of prayers and sacrifices at Shonkolla & Kallalamo mountains chosen by *Anjancho* & *Jaramanjcho*. Native Hadiyas known as *Worqimene* are believed to have the power to send rain in drought. *Fandanano* (sing. *Fandancho*) practice believed to be introduced by either spiritual leaders, *Itto* & *Albaja*, or *Boyamo*, father of five Hadiya clans. Fandanano was largely followed by inhabitants of Badawacho, Badogo, Boshana, Lemo, Libido, Misha, Shashogo & Soro areas. Hadiya related Kambata called God as *Negita* and have religious officials known as *Magnancho* (*Magananna*, God's people). Konso also practice traditional religion centered on worship of *Waaq/Wakh*. Among the Gurage there have been *Waq/Goita* (supreme deity), *Bozha* (thunder God) and *Damwamwit* (health Goddess).

The Wolayta called God as *Tosa* & spirit as *Ayyana* including *Tawa Awa/Moytiliya* (father's spirit), *Sawuna* (justice spirit), *Wombo* (rain spirit), *Micho* (goat spirit), *Nago* (sheep spirit), *Kuchuruwa* (emergency spirit), *Gomashera* (war spirit), *Talahiya* (*Beta Talaye* or *talheya*, Omo spirit) etc. Grasses that grew on *Dufuwa* (grave) should not be cut down and used since *Dufuwa* was believed to be abode of *Moytiliya*. Annual worship of spirits was performed at a sacred place called *Mitta* usually at the end of May and beginning of June to offer sacrifice of the first fruits called *Teramo* or *Pageta* (*Dubusha*). People gathered around tree called *Dongowa* which varied from clan to clan: *sycamore/ficussur exasperata* for the *Bubula*, *podocarpus* for *Zatuwa* etc. The Qesiga called their meeting place *Kasha* (*Dabre*). To protect men from eating crop before harvesting *Zomboro* clan used *Diqaysa* practice by planting in their fields sour olive and *nubica* trees. The Wolayta also had the practice of *Chaganna* (prohibited days to work) to protect their produce from natural disaster. The Wolayta also chose and kept with special care dark brown heifer called *Beka* (*Beqabe*) or *Baqa Potilliya* (Lit. ritual cattle) which was believed as their birth day fate. If they made error in respecting this custom they would anoint their bodies with certain leaf called *Aydameta* (ground red pepper) as repentance. Religious practitioners known as *Sharechuwa* had *Becha* or *Kera Eza Keta* (ritual house).

Yem worshipped Sky God/*Ha'o*. So'ala clan was considered as top in religious duties since it was in charge of the most important deity (*Shashokam*). There was also deity known as Aba at Henar. Religious functions were performed through couriers in each village called Magos.

Kafa called the Supreme Being as *Yero*; spirit as *Ego*; and a person who hosts *Ego* is known as *Alamo* or medium and referred to as *eke-nayo* (person in service of spirit). Father of all spirits is *dochi* or *dehe-tateno* and its host is called *dochi-nayo* or *Ibedechino/Ibede-gudeno* (including *Arito & Wudia Riti*), king of all Alamos with residence at Adio. Spirit of harvest is called *Kollo* and sacrifice to it is known as *dejo* (altogether *kollo-dejo*). Spirits of earth & area are known as *Showe-kollo & Dude-baro* respectively. There are also local spirits like *damochechi* of Channa, *yaferochi* of Sharada and *wogidochi* of Adio as well as *gepetato* or king of hill that is identified by Yetecho clan as land owner. Spiritual services were headed by Dugo clan. Kafa related to Konta's spirit-cult was called *Docho*.

The Nuer believe that God is spirit of sky or *Kuoth Nhial* (God in Heaven) creator, but Nuers believe in coming of God through rain, lightning & thunder and rainbow is necklace of God. Sun and moon as well as other entities are also manifestation or sign of God. There are also spirits associated with clan-spears names such as *WiW*, spirit of war, associated with thunder. The Nuer believe that when a man or woman dies, flesh is committed to earth while breath or life goes back to God (*Kuoth*) and soul that signifies human personality remains alive as a shadow or a reflection, and departs together with ox sacrificed to place of ghosts.

2.4.2. Judaism

Judaism is the religion of the ancient Jewish/Hebrew people. It is considered to be the expression of the covenant that Yahweh/Jehovah/God established with the Israeli. It has been followed in Ethiopia and the Horn by the people called Beta Israel (literally, "house of Israel" began to be clearly noticed in the 4th century AD, when the community refused to be converted to Christianity). The Beta Israel/Ethiopian Jews practiced *Haymanot* (religious practices, which are generally recognized as Israelite religion that differs from Rabbinic

Judaism). Many of the Beta Israel accounts of their own origins stress that they stem from the very ancient migration of some portion of the Tribe of Dan to Ethiopia, led it is said by sons of Moses, perhaps even at the time of the Exodus (1400-1200 B.C.). Alternative timelines include perhaps the later crises in Judea, e. g., at the time of the split of the northern Kingdom of Israel from the southern Kingdom of Judah after the death of King Solomon or at the time of the Babylonian Exile. Other Beta Israel take as their basis the account of return to Ethiopia of Menilek I, who is believed to be the son of King Solomon (r. 974-932 B.C.) of ancient Israel and Makeda, ancient Queen of Saba/ Sheba, and considered to be the first Solomonic Emperor of Ethiopia. Another group of Jews are said to have arrived in Ethiopia led by Azonos and Phinhas in 6th century A.D. Still others are said to have been Jewish immigrants intermarried with Agaws. Whatever the case, the Jews appear to have been isolated from mainstream Jewish for at least a millennium. The Jewish developed and lived for centuries in northern and northwestern Ethiopia, in more than 500 small villages spread over a wide territory. Most of them were concentrated mainly on North Gondar, Shire Enda-Selassie, Wolqayit, Tselemti, Dembiya, Segelt, Quara and Belesa.

2.4.3. Christianity

Evidences show that Aksumite King Ezana (r. 320-360 AD) dropped pre-Christian gods like Ares/Hariman/Maharram/war god, Arwe (serpent-python god), Bahir (sea god) & Midir (earth god) and embraced Christianity. Instrumental in conversion were Syrian brothers, Aedesius & Fremnatos (Fremmentius). When Fremnatos (also called Kasate Birhane by locales) visited Alexandria, Patriarch Atnatewos (328-373), appointed him first Bishop of Ethiopia under title Aba Salama. This made Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) subservient to Coptic in Egypt until full independence i.e. consecration of its own patriarch, Abune Baslios was achieved in 1959.

Christianity was further expanded to the mass of the society in later part of 5th century, during the reign of Ella Amida II (478-86) by the Nine Saints shown in the table below.

Table I: The Nine saints

Name	Origin	Church	Commemoration Date
Abuna Aregawwi/Abba Mika'el	Rome	Debre Damo	14 Tekmet/ 25 October
Abuna Isaq/Abba Gerima	Rome	Medera	17 Sene /24 June
Abba Pentelwon	Rome	Asbo	6 Tekmet/17 October
Abba Afse	Ladocia	Yeha	29 Genbot/6 June
Abba Alef	Qa'esare'a	Biheza/Halelu	11 Megabet/20 March
Abba Gubba	Cilicia	West of Medera	29 Genbot/6 June
Abba Liqanos	Constantinople	Debre Qonasel	28 Hedar/8 December
Abba Sehamia	Antioch	Tsedania	16 Ter/25 January
Abba Yima'ata	Qosa'iti	Ger'alta	28 Tekmet/8 November

The saints translated Bible and other religious books into Geez.

Then expansion of Christianity chiefly gained fresh momentum in Zagwe period (1150-1270). During early Medieval (1270-1527) many churches and monasteries were constructed including Debra-Bizan of Hamasen in Eritrea; Debra-Hayiq in Wallo; Debre-Dima & Debre-Werq in Gojjam; Debra-Libanos in Shawa and Debre-Asabot on the way to Harar.

In 16th and 17th centuries, Jesuits tried to convert Monophysite EOC to Dyophysite Catholic. Yet this led to bloody conflicts that in turn led to expulsion of the Jesuits. However, the Jesuits intervention triggered religious controversies with in Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

EOC spread to central, south, east & western parts following their conquest by the northern Christian Kingdom. People were baptized as government obligatory decree. Lately, monopolization of burial places by Church forced people to accept Tawahedo.

Since 1804, missionaries' religious expansion was one of the dominant themes of treaties concluded between European diplomats and Ethiopian authorities. Catholic Giuseppe Sapeto, Lazarist mission founder; Giustino De Jacobis, Capuchin order founder; Cardinal Massaja, Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie were active. Protestant missionaries were led by Anglican Church Missionary Society/ACMS, Church Missionary Society of London/CMSL & Wesleyan Methodist Society and their major leaders were Samuel Gobat, C.W. Isenberg, J. L. Krapf & Theophil Lefebvre. Systematic approach of trained Protestants enabled them to win

confidence of local people. They translated religious books into vernacular languages. They adopted old names for Supreme Being like *Waaqayyoo*, *Tossa* and used them in new versions as equivalent to God. Village schools were established by Protestants as a way to preach their religion. These schools were open to all children of local chiefs and peasant farmers. They also provided medical facilities. All these attracted a large number of followers. Eventually, continuous and systematic indoctrinations seem to have resulted in grafting of new teaching on indigenous religion.

2.4.4. Islam

Islam was founded by Prophet Mohammed (PBUH). When his teachings faced opposition from the Quraysh rulers, Aksumite king Armah Ella Seham/Ashama b. Abjar in Arabic sources gave asylum for the early followers including his daughter Rukiya & her husband Uthman and his future wives Umm Habiba and Umm Salma led by Jafar Ali Talib from 615-628 A. D. Armah refused to return them to persecutors and is said to have declared, "If you were to offer me a mountain of gold I would not give up these people who have taken refuge with me." Accordingly, there has grown a tradition, chiefly in Arabic sources and among Ethiopian Muslims, that the Aksumite king Ahmed al-Nejash was converted to Islam. As a result of these early peaceful contacts, Islam was introduced to the Horn of Africa not through Jihad, but through trade routes. It was well established in Dahlak/Alalay Islands on Red Sea by beginning of 8th century. By the beginning of 10th century, the Muslim community on islands developed a sultanate. At about the same time other places on the Red Sea coast were settled by the Muslims. It was from these coastal centers that Islam gradually spread among the predominantly pastoral communities of the interior, largely through the agency of preachers and merchants.

It was from these coastal centers that Islam gradually spread among the predominantly pastoral communities of the interior, largely through the agency of preachers and merchants. The Dahlak route, however, played a minor role in introduction of Islam into the interior as Christianity was strongly entrenched as a state religion in Axum and later states of northern Ethiopia and open proselytization of Islam was prohibited. The port of Zeila on western coast

of Gulf of Aden served as the more important gateway for the penetration of Islam in a larger scale into mainly Shawa, Wallo and Hararghe. Islam firmly established itself in the coastal areas by the eighth and ninth centuries. From there, it radiated to central, southern and eastern Ethiopia by means of Muslim clerics who followed in the footsteps of traders.

Islam was introduced into Somalia in 8th c A. D. through Benadir coasts of Mogadishu, Brava & Merca. Abu Bakr Ibn Fukur/Fakhira al Din Sahil set up Mogadishu Minirate c.1269 A.D. Islam further expanded in Somalia by Tariqa/mystical orders. Among these, Qadiriyya (named after Hanbali jurist Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, 1077-1166) that emphasized collective devotion (hadra). Ahmadiyya , which had been set up by Ahmad Ibn Idris al Fasi of Fez in Morocco (1760-1837), that stressed austerity, turban & ve'il. It had contacts with Tijaniyya (named after Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar al Tijani/1737-1815) and Summaniyya (named after Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim al Sammāni/1718-75). The Ulama of these orders expanded Islam as far as the Gibe region in mid-19th c. Later, the people especially in Arssi, Bale and Hararghe adopted Islam en masse as opposition to the imposed EOC.



Picture 2: Dirre Sheik Hussein Mosque

Apart from these, societies in Ethiopia and the Horn developed indigenous knowledge systems that embraced social, religious, political, economic and environmental values. This includes the knowledge, skill and practices in the fields of governance, peace and social order, education, production and reproduction, rehabilitation of the destitute, resource management and disease protection. In the past, recognition and utilization of indigenous knowledge in response to social, economic, and political crisis proved success in time and space. Taken in totality, indigenous knowledge enabled many peoples to live sustainably within their local environments for many thousands of years. Among the bulk of indigenous knowledge of peoples were the values of peace and practices in maintaining it. In many cultures, the application of indigenous knowledge enabled members of a society to anticipate conflict and social disorder. Accordingly, they had mechanisms to ease the social consequence pre-hand. For long, such knowledge-enabled societies to configure balanced utilization of resources, establish social harmony, self-help associations, and support the needy members for better live. Retroactive mechanism of problem solving includes urgent response to fundamental problems such as conflict, drought, famine, resource depletion, soil exhaustion, production failure, and other underlying problems. Among others, the most dominant practice in the aspect of peace and order was conflict resolution.

Peoples in Ethiopia and the Horn practiced a number of conflict resolution mechanisms. Among others, some of them are *Shemgelenna* among the Amhara, *Yajoka* among the Gurage, *Seera* among the Kambata, *Gumaa* among the Oromo, *Makabanto* among the Afar, *Gudu'emale* among the Sidama, *Dayad* among the Somali, *Bayto* among the Tigray people and others. These wisdoms worked effectively for centuries with less cost because first they were part of the culture and values of peoples that they espoused in common. Secondly, such conflict resolution mechanisms emphasis on inter-connectedness governed by a principle "I am because we are," emphasis on restoration, forgiveness and reconciliation instead of punishment. It also emphasizes people-to-people peace building and promote local ownership of the peace.

The other indigenous culture was the practice of folk medicine. In the region, medical system varied across ecological diversities, socio-cultural background of the different ethnic groups as well as history of disease. These health care systems have their own historical background, perceptions about health and illness, practices and types of healers. In the system, peoples utilized innumerable varieties of traditional medicine to treat human and animal health problems. A major component of traditional medicine was the use of medicinal plants. Herbal medicines were utilized to treat externally and internally illness. Those for internal use consisted of the roots, bark, leaves, fruit and seeds of a wide variety of plants. Medicines for external application were even more numerous. Many medicines also contained butter, while others were made with honey, white-of-egg, fig-juice, or the latex. Various medicinal plants, such as *degessa* and *gizewa* were utilized as vapor baths. Thermal waters also known as *tsebel* was the most common treatment. *Tsebel* is waters blessed in the name of a particular saint and which are used as treatment for a wide range of illnesses.

Healing in traditional medicine was not only concerned with curing of diseases but also with the protection and promotion of human physical, spiritual, social, mental and material wellbeing. It is widely believed in Ethiopia that the skill of traditional health practitioners is 'given by God' and knowledge on traditional medicines passed orally from father to a favorite child.

Healers obtained their drugs mainly from natural substances and in descending order of frequency; these constitute plants, animals and minerals. They prepared in various dosage in the form of liquids, ointments, powders and pills. When side effects became severe, antidotes were claimed to be used. The healers imposed restriction when patients took certain types of drugs. Drugs were stored usually in containers such as bottles, papers, pieces of cloth, leaves and horns, and were kept anywhere at home. Traditional medication also involved prevention to avoid contiguous diseases. In the past, the spread of highly infectious diseases such as smallpox was prevented by deserting places where the epidemics occurred. Moreover, sweeping or covering floors with particular plants was another traditionally preventive measure.

Learning Activities

- Briefly describe the differences between creationist and evolutionist views of human origin.
- Briefly describe the differences between creationist and evolutionist theories of human.
- Why do you think Lucy had attracted more attention from the world than other human remains discovered in Ethiopia and the Horn?
- Discuss the salient features of the three species of Homo family.
- List major developments in the three stone Ages.
- Explain the link between hunting and taming animals and gathering and plant domestication.
- Explain the relations between the domestication of plants and animals and early civilizations in Ethiopia and the Horn?
- What are the major categories of language families in Ethiopia and the Horn? Describe also their geographical distribution in the region.
- Explain how the study of language can be useful in understanding cultures and societies.
- Discuss the connections between drainage systems and economic formations in Ethiopia and the Horn.
- Identify the commonalities among indigenous religions of Ethiopia.
- Discuss the role of trade and religion in the relations between peoples of Ethiopia and the Horn.
- Explain how physical environment -land forms, vegetation, climate- affects the way people live and the ways that humans organize themselves in social, political, and economic institutions. Illustrate your discussion with examples from the experience of peoples of Ethiopia and the Horn.
- Sketch on map of Ethiopia the major trade routes and the flow of trade items.

Unit Three

Politics, Economy and Socio-Cultural Processes in Ethiopia and the Horn to the End of the 13th Century

Introduction

Dear Learners,

From ancient to the 13th century, societies in Ethiopia and the Horn underwent political, economic, social and cultural changes. One remarkable change in the period was the evolution of polities with diverse socio-cultural and economic settings. While agriculture and trade contributed to the evolution of states, religions shaped the socio-cultural setup of the states in different parts of Ethiopia and the Horn. The results of the period were socio-cultural achievements such as architecture, arts, writing, calendar, numerals etc. It also explains the external relations of the period that had significant role in shaping the history of region.

Unit Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- show the evolution of states in Ethiopia and the Horn;
- identify the prominent ancient states of the Ethiopian and the Horn;
- elucidate the factors for the rise and developments of these states;
- examine the relation among these states thereby analyzing the impact.

Unit starters

- What does a state mean?

- Can you name some of the earliest states in Ethiopia and the Horn?
- Tell how Ethiopian people in different geographical locations maintained relationships.
- Explain how religion facilitates peoples' relations.

3.1. Evolution of States

Not until perhaps 5,000 B.C. did villages begin to aggregate into larger political units, but once this process began, it continued at a progressively faster pace and led, around 4000 B.C., to the formation of the first state in history that was by all odds the most far-reaching development. Here a state means an autonomous political unit, encompassing many communities within its territory and having a government with the power to decree and enforce laws. State was the outcome of a regular and determinate cultural process. Moreover, it was a recurring phenomenon: states arose independently in different places and at different times. Where the appropriate conditions existed, the states emerged. The first states were theocratic states, and the social and religious affairs of their community were maintained & regulated by priests/shaman with voluntary contributions. As production became market oriented the priests were gradually replaced by chiefs who began collecting compulsory tributes known as protection payments with which they maintained themselves, their supporters and other followers. Favorable environmental conditions helped to hasten the rate of transformation in some regions of the globe.

Ethiopia and the Horn is one of few places in Africa where early state formation has taken place. There emerged first small states that gradually developed into powerful kingdoms and even empires with a well-demarcated social structure in the various parts of it. Geographical locations like nearness to and control of the international water bodies like Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean along with their ports as well as rich interior favored some of them to become the strongest of their neighbors and eventually to dominate them.

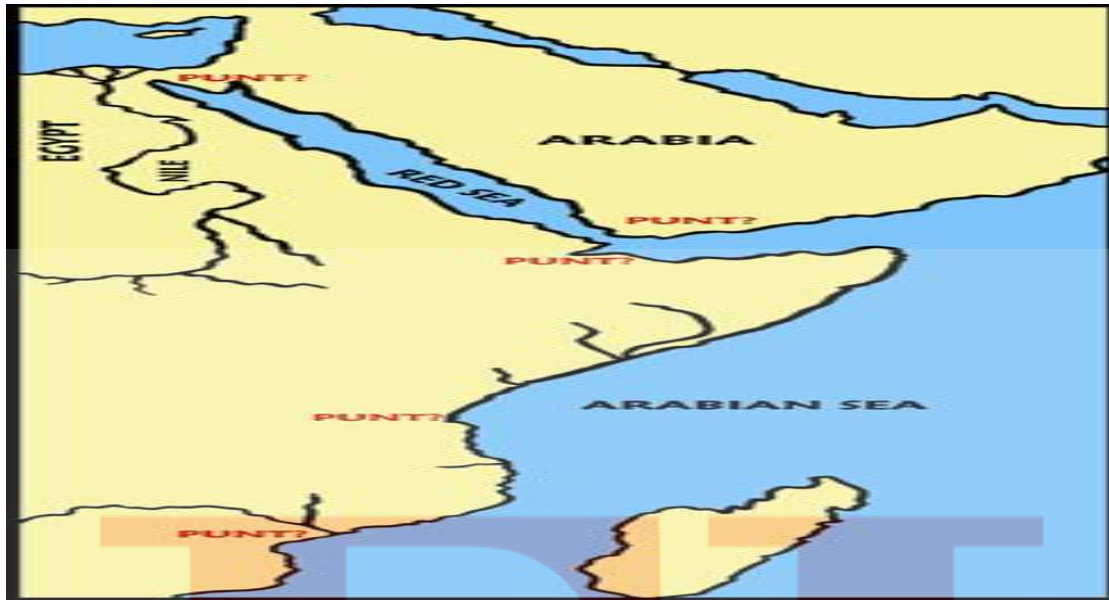
3.2. Ancient Polities

3.2.1. North and Northeast

A. Punt

Punt was the earliest recorded state in Ethiopia and the Horn. It was probably stretched from Swakim or Massawa to Straits of Babel Mandeb (Gate of Tears) and Cape Gardafui. The evidence of Punt does not come from the Horn but in Egyptian hieroglyphic writings, at times accompanied, by vivid paintings, tell of a series of naval expeditions which the Egyptian Pharaohs sent to Punt. Pharaoh Sahure (r. 2743-2731 B.C.) sent expedition to collect myrrh, ebony and electrum (gold and silver alloy). During Pharaoh Asosi, treasurer of God Bawardede took dancing dwarf "dink" to Egypt from Punt. At time of Pharaoh Pepi II (2625-2475) expedition led by Captain Sebni took resins. Captain Harkhuf moved through Byblos and took all good tribute from Punt. Senekhkere ordered his officer Henu through Coptos and Koseir to Punt. Pharaoh Sesotris (1980-1935) continued contact with Punt. Amenemhat II (1938-1903) sent captain Khentkhetwer to Punt.

Queen Hatshepsut/Hashepsowe (1490-1468 B.C.), whose expedition is documented at Dier El Bahri tomb, sent 5 ships under black Nubian captain Nehasi via Wadi-Tumilat. The expedition was warmly welcomed by the Hamitic Puntites king/Perehu, his wife/Ati, his sons & daughters and followers. The expedition was able to return collecting frank incense, cinnamon (sweet smelling woods/sandal), spices, ivory, rhinoceros horn, leopard skins, ostrich feathers & egg, live monkeys, giraffes, people etc. Hatshepsut presented some parts of imports to her god Amun. It was because of the ritual importance of their exports that Puntites were also known as Khebis of the Ta Netjeru/divine or ghosts land. Iron, bronze, asses, foxes, cattle, animals fur, dying and medicinal plants were also exported from Punt to Egypt. In return axes, daggers, swords, knives, sickles, clothes, bracelets, necklaces, beads and other trinkets were imported from Egypt to Punt.



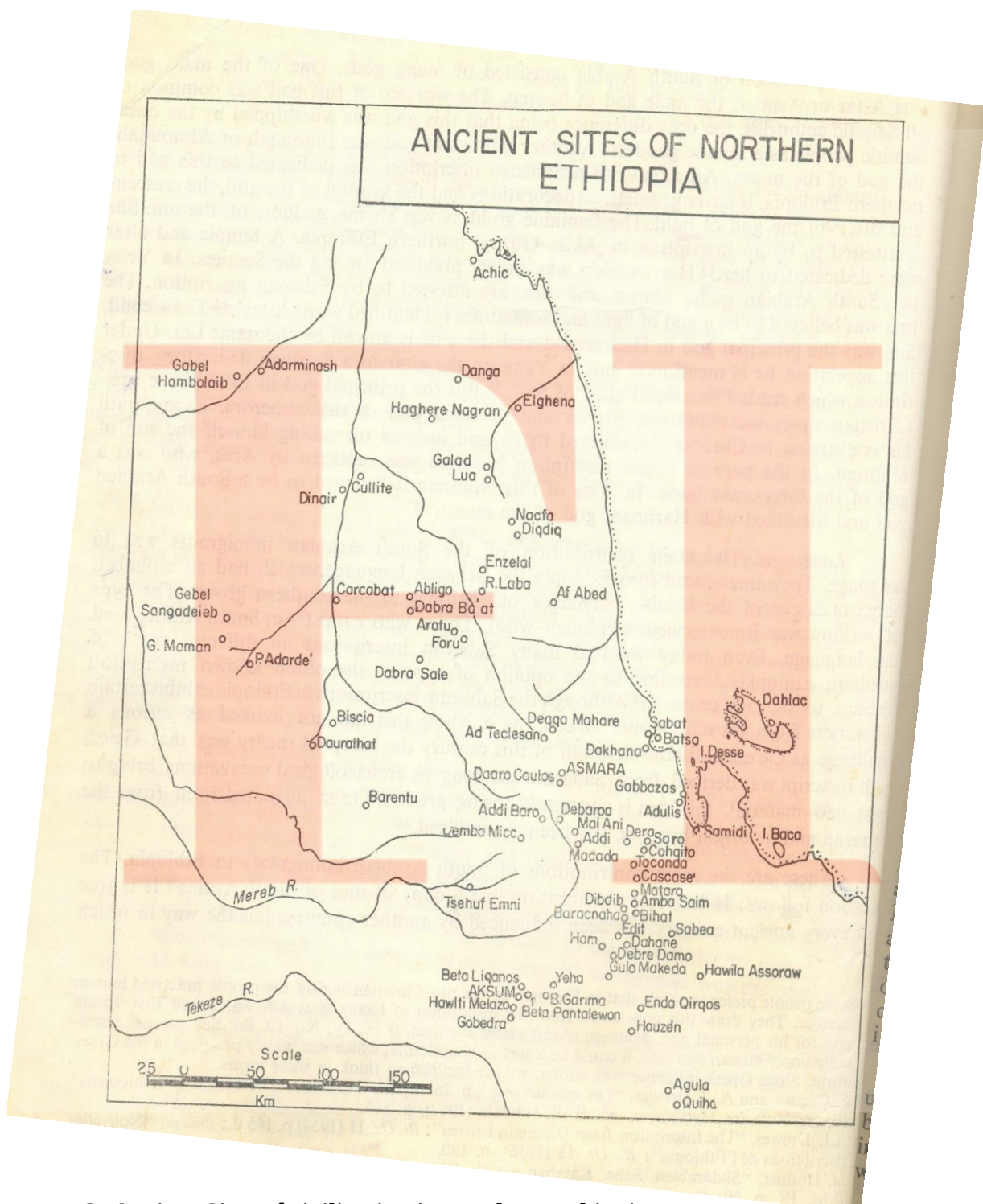
Map 2: The Land of Punt

B. Damat and Other Cultural Centers in Northern Ethiopia

Habashite and Agazian clans are thought to have migrated from Ma'in, Qataban, Himyar, Hadramawit and chiefly Sabeian states of South Arabia to Eritrea and Tigray around 1000 B.C. They named their new settlements after places in Arabia from which they came with nostalgic memories. Thus, Ahsea, northwest of Yeha, corresponds to Ahsiyah of Tihama in Yemen. Assab is corrupt form of Sabat. Bisicia between Aqordat and Kassala can be identified with Bahilah in central Yemen. Coloe in Eritrea recalls Cullai in Qataban. Hauzen in Tigray is derived from south Arabian Hausan. Madera, southwest of Yeha, is coined from Madaran in South Arabia. The Mereb River is named after Arabian dam of Marib. Sahart in Tigray is named after Sahartan, 75 km from Hodeida on Arabian coast of Redsea. Sarae is named after Sarwan/Sarat Mountain in Yemen.

With indigenous Cushitic material base, Sabeian influence encouraged emergence of Damat state with center south of Aksum led by Mukkarib (south Arabian title for king) from 6th century B. C. onward. Various south Arabian gods and goddesses like Almouqah/principal god, Astatér/heaven god, Shamsi/sun god, Sin/moon god and Nura'u were also worshipped. There were also other cultural centers like Addi Gelemo, Addi

Grameten, Addi Kewih, Addi Saglamani, Azbi Dera, Feqiya, Hawulti-Melazo, Hinzat, Sefra, Senafe, Tekonda etc.



Map 3: Ancient Sites of civilization in Northern Ethiopia

C. Axum

According to sources, Axumite state emerged c. 200-100 B.C. Initially, its power was limited to a relatively small area comprising the town of Aksum and its environs. Gradually, however, it expanded to include large territories in all directions. In its heyday, Axumite territories extended from Red sea in East coast to Western edge of Ethiopian plateau overlooking the vast Nile Valley in west and from the northern most corner of Eritrea as far south as north Shawa.

According to *Periplus of Erithrean Sea*, Adulis on Ethiopia coast of the Red sea was the major port of Axum till 702 A. D. The long distance trade routes from Adulis and other posts on the Red Sea coast passed inland through such centers as Kaskasse, Matara and even further west across Takaze River. The document also mentioned ports of Aden/Eudaemon Gulf like Avalites/Zayila & Malao/Barbera and Indian Ocean Benadir Coasts like Serapion/Moqadishu, Nikon/Brava & Merca. The major items of export of the Axumite state consisted mainly of the natural products such as ivory, myrrh, emerald, frankincense and some spices (like ginger, cassia and cinnamon). Gold, rhinoceros horns, hippopotamus hides, tortoise shells and some curiosity animals like apes were also exported. In turn, a number of manufactured products like garments and textiles from Egypt, Indian, Italy, and Persia; glassware and jewelry from Egypt and other places; metallic sheets, tools or utensils of various kind, oil and wine from Italy and Syria were imported. Zoscales/Za Haqel/c. 76-89, then the king of Axum, used to communicate in Greek language, Lingua Franca of Greco-Roman world. Axum also had relations with Celon/Sirlanka and Laodicea/Asia Minor.

Adulis inscription of the unknown king published in Cosmos's book, *Christian Topography* describes about the commercial activities of the Red sea areas. Another historical value of Cosmos's book is its description of the internal long distance trade between Aksum and a distant region called Sasu, most probably Beni Shangul and the adjoining lands beyond the Blue Nile. A big caravan made up of close to five hundred merchants some of them special agents of the kings of Aksum would take to Sasu cattle, lumps of salt (probably salt blocks) and iron to exchange for gold. Yet as they did not speak each other's language for verbal communication and did not even trust near to each other and bargain through signs and

gestures the whole exchange was done without one side seeing the other. This was a good example of silent trade.

In overseas, peoples in southern part of Arabian Peninsula, in present day Yemen were having difficulties in defending themselves against Habashat armies of Gadarat by c. 200 AD. From the 3rd century AD. to the 7th AD. Axum kings like Endybis, Aphilas/Feliya, Bazen, Ousanas II, Sembruthes, Wazeba etc. minted and issued different kinds of coins in gold, silver and bronze for both overseas and local trade transactions. Aksumite ships would have been the main means of transporting goods. Aksum was the only one with sufficient sources of timber for shipbuilding. And in those days the technology for it did exist in Adulis. Aksum had a large fleet of ships which was used not only for trade but also for its wars across the Red Sea.

Caleb/Ella Atseba (r. 500-535) expanded oversea territories of Axum beyond Himyar and Saba, but the local prince YusufAsar Yathar (Dhu-Nuwas in the Arab accounts) converted to Judaism, marched to Zafar & Nagran, and killed many Christians. Byzantine Vasaliev Justinian (r. 527-65) with consecration of Patriarch Timit III (518-538) provided Caleb with a number of ships transporting armies led by Julianos and Nonossus against Du Nuwas. Du Nuwas was defeated and Caleb appointed Abraha/Sumyafa` Ashwa` as governor of Arabia that continued until 570 A.D. Caleb was succeeded by his son Gabra Masqal (535-48) who built church at Zur Amba in Gayint. It was during Gabra Maskal that Yared developed Ethiopian cultural music.



Map 4: Aksumite Empire

In the 7th century, the whole network of Axumite international trade came under the control of Arab Muslims and Axum was isolated from its old commercial and diplomatic partners. In addition, the Beja and Wolqayit people as well as Queen Bani al Hamwiyah (Yodit-Gudit/Judith) invaded Axum that led to general shift of the center of the state south wards to Kubar highland rural area.

D. Zagwe Dynasty (1150-1270)

The Zagwe Dynasty appeared in Bugna district within Wag and Lasta, more exactly at Adafa near Roha/Lalibala. The Agaw prince Zawuge Mika'el/Merera/Mara Teklehaimanot married daughter of the last Aksumite king Dil Na'od known as Masobe Worq, and later overthrew his father-in-law and took control of power. Merera's successors include were Tantawidim, Yimirahana Kirstos, Harbe, Lalibala (1160-1211), Ne'akuto La'ab and Yetbarek.



Map 5: Christian kingdom Territories during the Zagwe period

Zagwe rulers renewed cultural and trade contact with eastern Mediterranean region. The most important items for export included slaves, ivory and rare spices while cotton, linen, silver and copper vessels, various types of drags and newly minted coins were imported.

Zagwe period was also a golden age in Ethiopia's paintings and the translation of some of religious works from Arabic in to Ge'ez. Yet, Zagwe rulers are best known for construction of cave, semi-hewn & monolithic churches:

- 1. Cave:** with some decoration inside, almost similar with natural cave, eg. Bete-Mesqel
- 2. Semi-hewn:** with detailed interior decoration & partial decoration outside. They are not totally separated from surrounding rock. Their roofs or walls are still attached to rock, eg. Bete Denagil; Debresina/Mikael, Golgota, Merqoriwos and Aba Libanos.
- 3. Monolithic:** with detailed decoration inside including roof & outside. They are completely separated/carved out from surrounding rock. Amanuel, Giyorgis, Mariyam & Medhanialem.

Table II: Eleven Churches of Lalibela

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Medhanelem(the largest of all)	Amanu'el (the largest from this group)	Giyorgis (special)
Mariyam	Marqorewos	
Masqal-Sillase	Abba Libanos	
Debresina-Mika'el	Gabri'el-Rufa'el	
Danagel		
Golgotha		

Picture 3: Rockhewn church of Lalibela

It is also referred that Island monastery of Tana Qirqos, Ekka Mika'el, Adadi Mariam and Abuhe Gabra Manfes Qidus of Cuqqaalaa/Zuqu'ala were constructed during Zagwe period.

Zagwe kings were considered as illegitimate rulers on the basis of legend of Queen of Sheba/ Saba. The legend was based on a book known as Kebra-Negest (Glory of Kings, used as

constitutional document together with Ser'ate-Mengest and Fetha-Negest) that was begun to be translated from Coptic & Arabic in to Ge'ez by priests like Nabura'id Yeshaq around 1225 A. D. According to the legend, it has been believed that the first Ethiopian Queen Azeb/ Makedda once (c. 1000 B.C.) visited king Solomon of Israel, who tracked the queen sleep with him after which she returned to her country pregnant and gave birth to Ibn Hakim Malik or Menilek I. Menilek I is believed as the first king of Ethiopia and the dynasty founded by him called Solomonic ruled Aksumite Kingdom until its power was usurped by the Zagwes in 1150 A. D.

The hard core of resistance to Zagwe came from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Ethiopian churches led by Aksum Tsion Mary Cathedral, Debre-Damo Monastery, St. Stephen's Dabra-Hayiq Monastery under Aqabe Sa'at Mo'a Iyesus and Dabra Libanos Monastery under Abune Tekle-Haymanot (1215-1313). Tesfa-Iyesus/Yekuno-Amlak (r. 1270-1285), who claimed decent from the last Aksumite king Dilna'od, after carefully organized his forces that is, he obtained military assistance from Shawa & his Amhara troops, attempted to engage the last king of Zagwe, Yetbarek in battle. Yitbark tried to resist but was forced to flee from Lasta to Begemider and was mercilessly killed in Ansefa in Gaynt at his last stand in the walls of Dege-Qirqos Church. Yet c. 1268, the Agaws moved to Abba Meta monastery at Ham in Shimezana in Eritrea and continued their struggle under Emnet Delanda and Yikwinat. Nevertheless, Yekuno-Amlak mobilized his followers and overwhelmed the Agaws at Amba-Sannayata, and declared himself as "Mo'a Anbessa Ze-emnegede Yihuda, the conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah."

3.2.2. East, Central, Southern and Western

3.2.2.1. Bizamo, Damot, Enarya and Gafat

A. Bizamo: was a Cushitic Kingdom located on the southern bend of Abay River just opposite to the present districts of Gojjam and around the current Wambara area. Information on its history is scanty, but there are evidences for its early connections with Damot.

B. Damot: this was very strong kingdom that seems to have dominated most of the lands to south of Abay and north of Lake Turkana or Rudolf/Galoppi as well as west of Awash and east of Dhidhessa covering Wencit and Muger Rivers. In the 13th century, Damot king Motelemi is said to have invaded Ittesa in northern Shawa and captured many Christian communities. Yet, from 1270, the danger from Damot against the Christians kingdom seems to have reduced. Yikuno-Amlak conducted a strong military campaign against Damot, which began to give the Christian Kingdom a dominant position in Shawan region. After this successful Christian offense, Motalami was baptized by Abune Tekle-Haymanot and converted to Christianity to bring friendly relations. Thus, Yekuno-Amlak was said to have appointed Motalami as a king over the land beyond the Gibe River.

C. Enarya: was a kingdom in the Gibe region in southwestern Ethiopia. The royal Hinnario clan, the Hinnare Bushasho/Hinnaro Busaso is said to have migrated from north Ethiopia or even Israel. In the 9th century Aksumite king Digna-Jan is said to have led a campaign into Enarya, accompanied by "150 priests carrying 60 consecrated tablets (tabot)." In the 13th century, Enarya was recorded to be a province of the Motelemi of Damot. Enarya kingship was a divine one: the king (Hinnare-tato) dined one time a day, always behind a curtain and with his meal resting on the back and shoulders of a slave. He probably also sat behind a curtain when a visitor came along, communicating with him via an intermediary, Afe Busho. The kings wore rich golden jewelry like a bracelet, a crown with a cross on its top as well as a phallic projection on the front and two pieces representing the two sexes, symbolizing "eternal fertility and prosperity". Royal insignia also consisted of a white-red-black (from left to right) flag, an umbrella and diverse musical instruments. The kings had residences in Yadare and Gowi. The real power rested with Mikretcho (council) including Awa-rasha (king's spokesman) and Atche-rasha (royal treasurer).

D. Gafat: the original homeland of the Gafat lies south of Abay (Blue Nile) River adjoining Damot. It is not clear from the scanty records in Ethiopian chronicles whether the Gafat formed a "state" or "kingdom," or not, but Gafat mountains provided a rich source of gold.

3.2.2.2. Muslim Sultanates

- A. **Shawa:** Makhzumi Khalid ibn al-Walid, who claimed decent from Meca, set up this state in 896 A. D/283 A.H. on northeastern foothill of Shawan plateau.
- B. **Fatagar:** was founded in areas of Minjar, Shenkora and Ada'a in the 11th c. It was a hilly lowland area with thoroughly cultivated fields of wheat and barley, fruits, and extensive grazing grounds full of numerous herds of cattle, sheep, and goats.
- C. **Dawaro:** located between upper waters of Awash and Wabi-Shebelle extending to Carcar in Northeast and Gindhir in Southeast.
- D. **Balli:** an extensive kingdom occupying high plateau, separating basins of Shebelle and Rift valley Lakes. It is here that Abd al Qadir al Jilan and Sheikh Hussein's Ziqtum or Ayna-Gebo and SOF Umar cave mosques were founded.
- E. **Ifat:** between 1271 and 1285, Umar Walasma, who claimed decent from Hashamite clan and came from Arabia, established Ifat sultanate in the adjacent to Shawan Sultanate. He intervened between quarrelsome Shawan princes Dil-Marrah & Dil-Gamis, weakened Shawa and annexed it into his own Sultanate. The new state was also called Ifat by Christians and as Wafat or Awfat by Muslim writers. It seems to have been a long narrow escarpment of northeastern Shawa running in a northeast-southwesterly direction in the Afar plain extending eastward to the Awash. Its capital was situated upon an elevation above a river valley. The sultanate was fertile & well watered because of sufficient rainfall. Its inhabitants earned their living from cultivation of wheat, sorghum, millet & teff and from animal husbandry. Sugar cane, bananas, variety of fruits, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and cabbage completed the diet. Chat was described for the first time as being consumed as a stimulant.
- F. **Other:** mutually independent states like Arababani (between Hadiya & Dawwaro), Biquizar, Dera (between Dawaro & Ballii), Fadise, Gidaya, Hargaya, Harla, Kwilgora, Qadise and Sharkah (Arssi) were established by the people like the Gebel, the Warjih etc.

3.3. External Contacts

Ethiopia and the Horn had contacts with Egypt since 3,000 B. C. These relations may be Ethiopia's earliest contacts with the Mediterranean world or the Greco-Roman World to which Egypt was part and parcel later. Ethiopia and the Horn had very close relations with all commercially active South Arabian Kingdoms starting sometimes before 1,000 B.C. The introduction of Christianity via Egypt established a new pattern of relation between the region of Ethiopia & the Horn and Egypt. Until the introduction of Islam into Egypt and the general reduction of the Christians into minority, relations between the two were fairly smooth and friendly. After the introduction of Christianity, Ethiopia and the Horn also had established close relationship with the East Roman or Byzantine Empire. Aksum and Byzantine shared common commercial interest in the Red Sea area against their rival Persians. Yet, in the seven century, this relation became complicated and began to deteriorate. After the consolidation of Muslim power in Arabia, rapid expansion of the Muslim Arabs through the Near and Middle East, North Africa and the Nile valley brought the collapse of the whole network of land routes and shipping lines. Successive Egyptian Muslim rulers began to use the consecration and sending of a bishop as an instrument to further their own foreign policy objectives and to squeeze concessions from Ethiopian Kings. The Ethiopian Christian rulers reacted by threatening to divert the Nile. Yet, the famous Egyptian king, Salah-al-Din, founder of Ayyubid dynasty that ruled Egypt from 1171-1250, is said to have given many sites to EOC in Jerusalem in Palestine in the last decades of the 12th century to discourage probable alliance of Christian Ethiopia with the Christian Europe in Crusades (1096-1291). Coming to power of Mamluks that ruled Egypt from 1250-1517 inaugurated marked hostility distinguished by reciprocal persecution of religious minorities. Moreover, the Mamluks also presented a barrier to the contacts that Ethiopian monarchs sought to establish with their European counterparts.

However, the tradition to visit Jerusalem and other Holy places in the Middle East had begun at the end of the first millennium and continued afterward. In order to arrive at the Holy places, the Ethiopian pilgrims used the land route to Egypt, which passed through the

northern parts of Eritrea, Suwakin in Sudan and then across the desert and the Nile to arrive in Cairo. From Cairo again they used the land route to the Holy land. Consequently, there were considerable numbers of Ethiopian religious communities found in different regions, in Egyptian monasteries, in the Holy places of Palestine and Armenia, and in Italian city-states in subsequent centuries. The Ethiopian communities living in different parts of the world served as an important link or bridge between the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia and Europe.

When these Ethiopians met their fellow Christians of Europe in the Holy places, they transmitted information about the Ethiopian Church and its exceptional liturgical practices. They also explained about the territorial extent of the Christian kingdom. From the information, the Europeans began to consider Ethiopia as a very powerful and wealthy Christian state existing in the Horn of Africa. Consequently, they wanted to use this imaginary strong Christian power against the Muslim powers in the Holy land. Around the middle of the 12th century, a myth about a very rich and powerful Christian ruler known as *Prester John of the Indies* began to circulate in Europe. The legend was fabricated and developed when the balance of war between the Christians of Europe and the Muslims of the Middle East was in favor of the latter. The crusade war was fought over Jerusalem. The crusaders, however, failed to crush the Muslim powers in the Middle East. The objective of creating this imaginary priest-king was mainly to reinforce the religious morale of the European crusaders. In 1165, a letter addressed to European kings, thought to be sent by the Prester John appeared in Europe. The letter mentions about enormous power of the Prester John which created remarkable interest among the Europeans. The geographical location of the country of Prester John was not known to Europe for over a century. However, the Europeans began to regard Ethiopian Christian Kingdom as the land of Prester John. This was because Europeans could not find a Christian state between the Red Sea and the Indian sub-continent. The only Christian kingdom close to the Indian Ocean in the east is Ethiopian Christian Kingdom. Then, they began to search for the location of Ethiopian Christian Kingdom and to make an alliance with it.

3.4. Economic Formations

A. Agriculture

In economy, the ancient states were based on thriving plow agriculture in highland provinces. The mastery of the technology of irrigation also contributed to the growth of agricultural production. Land has always been one of the most precious possessions of human society throughout history. And the rules according to which members of the society share and use land constitute what was known as the land holding tenure system. It has been since ancient time that the traditional system of land tenure seems to have developed.

The most ancient system of land holding which survived in very many parts of Ethiopia until our own times is the communal land tenure system. Communal right to land is a group right. Here group refers to the family, the clan and the other lineage groups to which the individual belonged. Each of these groups had communal right to the land they lived in and freely exploited the resources of the land.

The northern subjects had *rist* rights in their respective provinces. *Rist* is a kind of communal birth right to land by members of the families and clans of families whose ancestors had settled and lived in the area over long periods of time. It is inherited from generation to generation in accordance with customary law. All the subjects of the state had the *rist* rights. The *rist* owners were known as *bale-rist*. Yet, they paid tributes to the state and all land belongs to the state theoretically. Tribute was collected through a complex hierarchy of state functionaries or officials who were given *gult* right over the areas and populations they administered on behalf of the central government. *Gult* is a right to levy tribute on the rest owners' produce. The tributes collected by *bale-gult*, partly allotted for their own up keep and the rest were sent to the center. *Gult* right that became hereditary was called *Riste-Gult* as famous well placed officials used to transfer their position to their offspring.

B. Handicraft

Ethiopian crafts have diverse forms and applications. These include beadwork, body scarification, tattoos, carving (on leather, wood and stone), farming implements and

harvesting tools; housing, construction methods, furniture, iconography etc. Technology in ancient Ethiopian societies was fairly advanced. This can be seen from the magnificent of the ruins of residential houses and temples, from the quality of ornaments. The artisans demonstrated a high level of technological advancement in the fields of masonry, jewelry, weaponry, pottery etc.

C. Trade

Trade was another important economic activity of the ancient states that obtained considerable income from both internal and international trade. Indeed, trade seems to have been one of the major factors in the initial formation of states in Ethiopia. The major socio-economic and political centers of earliest states seem to have also been major trade centers with wide ranging contacts in various directions within the region itself and with merchants coming to the area across the international water bodies. A network of roads connected the centers with the coast and various dependencies in the interior. Local and international merchants frequented these roads. The region was crisscrossed by various trade routes connecting various market places in all directions. The regular flow of trade was so vital to the states in that one of their major concerns was to protect the trade routes and make them safe from robbers. Only very few of these ancient market centers have been studied by archaeologists.

3.5. Socio-cultural Achievements

A. Architecture

As the states expanded, architecture also began to flourish and one of the unique architectural technologies was the engraving of stele around the 3rd century AD. There were totally fifty eight steles in and around Axum that can be grouped into well made & decorated, half completed and megaliths (not hewn). As local tradition says, the steles were engraved specifically at a place called Hinzat, from which they were transported and planted in Axum. The longest one of these stele measures 33meters heights (the first in the world). It is highly decorated in all of its four sides. It represents a-14 storied building with many windows and a false door at the bottom. It also bears a pre-Christian symbol which is a disc and a crescent (half moon) at the top. Some scholars suggest that this giant stele was broken while the

people were trying to erect it while others conclude that it was broken during war. The second longest obelisk measures 24 meters height that was successfully erected and represents a ten storied building with many windows and a false door at the bottom. The third longest stele measures 21 meters and represents a nine storied building with many windows and a false door at the bottom. It is smooth at the back of its side. It is without any decoration.



Picture 4: Axumite Stele

Zagwe churches are regarded as some of the finest architecture of artistic achievements of the Christian world and that is why they have been recognized by UNESCO as part of world cultural heritage in 1978 two years before that of Axumite stele.

B. Writing

Sabeans introduced Sabean language which had alphabet with boustrophedon writing type that is paleographical writing from left to right and right to left alternatively. As a result of strong Sabean influence, most of the inscriptions of this period were written in Sabean language. The earliest inscriptions in Eritrea and Ethiopia date to the 9th century BC in Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA). One peculiar feature of the Sabean inscriptions is the absence of vowels in the written words. Most of the words written are consonants. For

instance, the state of Damat was described as D'mt, while its three consecutive kings as RDM, RBH and LMN. The rulers also used another south Arabian title, mlkn.

After the 7th and 6th centuries BC, however, variants of the script arose, evolving in the direction of the Ge'ez *abugida* (a writing system that is also called an alpha syllabary). This evolution can be seen most clearly in evidence from inscriptions mainly graffiti on rocks and caves. Ge'ez script also originated as an *abjad* (consonant-only alphabet). By the first centuries AD, "Old Ge'ez alphabet" arose, an *abjad* written left-to-right with letters basically identical to the first-order forms of the modern vocalized alphabet. Vocalization of Ge'ez occurred in the 4th century. Though the first completely vocalized texts known are inscriptions by Ezana (who left trilingual inscriptions in Greek, Sabea and Ge'ez), vocalized letters predate him by some years, as vocalized letter exists in his predecessor Wazeba's coin some 30 or so years before Ezana. The vocalization may have been adopted to preserve the pronunciation of Ge'ez texts due to the already moribund or extinct status of Ge'ez. Kobishchanov, Daniels and others have suggested possible influence from the Brahmic family of alphabets in vocalization, as they are also *abugidas*. The original consonantal form of the Ge'ez fidel is believed to have been divinely revealed to Henos "as an instrument for codifying the laws." A separate tradition, recorded by Aleqa Taye, holds that the Ge'ez consonantal alphabet was first adapted by Zegdur, a legendary king of the Ag'azyan Sabaean dynasty held to have ruled in Ethiopia c. 1300 BC.

The *abjad*, used until c. 330 AD, had 26 consonantal letters. The Ge'ez *abugida* developed under the influence of Christian scripture by adding/fusing obligatory vocalic diacritics for the vowels, u, i, a, e, ə, o, to the consonantal letters in a recognizable but slightly irregular way, so that the system is laid out as a syllabary. The original form of the consonant was used when the vowel was ä (/ə/), the so-called inherent vowel. For some vowels, there is an eighth form for the diphthong -wa or -oa; and for some of those, a ninth for -yä. To represent a consonant with no following vowel, for example at the end of a syllable or in a consonant cluster, the ə (/i/) form is used (the letter in the sixth column). Vocalization is attributed to a team of scholars led by Frumentius . It has been argued that the vowel marking pattern of the script reflects a South Asian system, such as would have been known by Frumentius.

C. Calendar

People needed to know and remember the times when the rains would begin and end as well as the rise and fall of the water level. The responsibility of understanding these vital climatic cycles fell on expertise. It was thus that calendars were invented. In most cases the length of the month was based on the movement of the moon or the apparent movement of the sun. Otherwise the number of days in the week or in the year varied from region to region.

Oromo calendar has been based on astronomical observations of moon in conjunction with seven or eight particular stars or group of stars called *Urjii Dhahaa*/guiding stars or *Bakkalcha*. There are 29 1/2 dates in a month (which have special names symbolizing 20 fingers of hands and legs, seven holes on face, and two taboo holes) and 354 days in 12 months of a year. The landmark for this calendar was the beginning of *Gadaa* System that traced back to c. 9, 000 years ago. Pillars (dated 300 B.C.), which were discovered in northwestern Kenya from 1978-86 by Archaeologists Lynch, Robbins and Doyle have suggested to represent site used to develop Oromo calendar. In connection with this, c. 900 A.D. Oromo person Waqlim is said to have taken art of shaping phallic bowls to Zimbabwe.

The Sidama calendar rotates following movements of stars with 13 months a year, 12 of which are divided equally into 28 days while the 13th month has 29 days as Sidama week has only 4 days (*Dikko*, *Deela*, *Qawadoo* & *Qawalanka*) and hence each month has 7 weeks. Nominated *Moote* (King) is presented to *Fichche*, New Year ritual, for *Qeexala* or popular demonstration.

Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church Calendar is a solar calendar which in turn derives from the Egyptian calendar, but corresponds to or like the Old-Style Julian Calendar, it adds a leap day every four years without exception, and begins the year on August 29 or August 30 in Julian calendar. Like the Coptic calendar, Ethiopic calendar has 12 months of 30 days plus 5 or 6 Epagomenal/ *Qaamme* days, which comprise a thirteenth/13th month. A 6th Epagomenal day is added every 4 years, without exception, on August 29 of Julian calendar, 6 months before corresponding Julian leap day. Ethiopian

months begin on the same days as those of the Coptic, but their names are in Ge'ez. A gap of 7–8 years between Ethiopian and Gregorian calendars results from alternative calculation in determining date of Annunciation. Thus the first day of the Ethiopian year, 1 *Meskerem* / *Enkutatash* is usually September 11 (Gregorian). However, it falls on September 12 in years before the Gregorian leap year.

D. Numerals

Ge'ez uses numeral system comparable to the Hebrew, Arabic & Greek numerals, and Ethiopian numerals are said to have been borrowed from the Greek numerals, possibly via Coptic uncial letters. Ge'ez numeral system differs from Hebrew, Arabic & Greek systems, however, in that it lacks individual characters for the multiples of 100. Numbers are over- and underlined with a vinculum; in proper typesetting these combine to make a single bar, but some less sophisticated fonts cannot render this and show separate bars above and below each character.

Learning activities

- Do further research in your library on the histories of ancient states of Ethiopia and the Horn and present your findings to the class. Make sure to address the what, where, when, why, how and by whom questions in your assignment.
- Explain the role of agriculture and trade in the formation and consolidation of ancient and medieval states of Ethiopia and the Horn. Use examples to illustrate your discussion.
- Discuss how Christianity and Islam expanded in Ethiopia and assess their importance in the political and cultural life of ancient and medieval states of the region.
- Discuss the debates surrounding the location of Punt.
- What differences did you observe between the Axumite stele and the Egyptian pyramids?
- Discuss the origin and growth of the Aksumite state.
- Discuss outstanding political and cultural achievements of the Aksumite state.
- What did the states of Punt and Aksum have in common?

- Discuss the internal and external factors for the decline and fall of the Axumite kingdom.
- What were the major reasons that led king Lalibela to construct rock-hewn churches?
- What was the significance of the ancient legend of Queen of Sheba in Ethiopian politics?
- What factors brought an end to the Zagwe dynasty?
- Compare and contrast peasant conditions in ancient Ethiopia and Egypt.
- Discuss the role of trade and trade routes in the interactions between peoples and states in Ethiopia and the Horn and assess the outcomes of these relationships.
- Sketch the major trade routes that linked northern and southern Ethiopia with the outside world.
- Explain how Ethiopian societies were both influenced by contact with the outside world while concurrently influencing external societies with whom they had contact.

Unit Four

Politics, Economy and Socio-Cultural Processes from the Late Thirteenth to the beginning of the Sixteenth Centuries (6 hours)

Introduction

Dear Learners,

The period from late 13th to the beginning of the 16th centuries experienced dynamics of politics, economy, and socio-cultural processes that contributed to the formation of modern Ethiopia. Among the events that brought enduring influence on the politics of the region were the restoration of the "Solomonic dynasty," territorial expansion, religious expansions, trade, and conflicts. This unit entertains the "restoration" of "Solomonic Dynasty" territorial expansion, evangelization processes, succession problems in the Christian Kingdom and subsequent interactions with the neighboring polities and peoples in the Horn. The unit also entertains social, economic and political Dynamics of Muslim Sultanates, the role of trade and rivalry between the Christian and Muslim sultanate and external relations in the period.

Unit Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- explain the phrase “restoration of Solomonic dynasty;”
- scrutinize dynamics of territorial expansion of the Christian kingdom;
- elaborate the relationship between trade & expansion of Islam in the region;
- identify the characteristics of inter-state relation during the period under discussion;

- understand the long aged factors for interaction of the people of the region in the period;
- discuss rivalry between the Christian Kingdom and Muslim Sultanates in the region;
- point out countries/Empires with which Ethiopia had external relation during the period.

Unit starters

- What do you remember about the legend of the Queen of Sheba and its role in Ethiopian politics?
- What does territorial expansion mean?
- What do we mean by evangelization?
- What do you think are the roles of trade in a society?

4.1. The “Restoration” of the “Solomonic” Dynasty

Yekuno-Amlak’s victory over the last Zagwe ruler and his enthronement as a king led to the “revival or restoration of Solomonic” dynasty and also marked the beginning of Ethiopia’s medieval period. The Kibre-Negest is a national epic that glorifies a particular monarchical line and also indelibly associates Ethiopia with the Judeo-Christian tradition.

According to Marcus (pp. 17-18)

The revised Ethiopian constitution of 1955 claimed that the ruling line descended from Menelik I, the son of Makeda, queen of Ethiopia, and King Solomon.” ...The Kibre-Negest's primary goal was to legitimize the ascendancy of Emperor Yekuno-Amlak and the "Restored" Solomonic line.

From about 1270 when Yekuno-Amlak took power from the hands of the Zagwe until the deposition of Emperors Haile Sillasse I in 1974, all Ethiopian monarchs claimed descent from the family of Yekuno-Amlak.

4.2. Power Struggle, Consolidation, Territorial and Religious Expansion of the Christian Kingdom

4.2.1. Succession Problem and the Establishment of ‘Royal Prison’

Yekuno-Amlak ruled peacefully, and after his death in 1285, his successor eldest son, Yegba-Tsion’s reign (r. 1285-94) and the following decade or more was characterized by constant power struggles among the sons and grandsons of Yekuno Amlak. The existence of power struggle civil war was reflected in a letter written by Yegba-Tsion to the Sultan of Egypt and the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1290. The serious and dangerous power struggle reached in its zenith or a worse situation during Yegba-Tsion’s sons (Senfe-Ar’ad, Hezbe-Asseggid, Qedme-Asseggid, Seb-Asseggid and Jan-Asseggid) reign (1294 to 1299).

This continuous succession problem was resolved around 1300, during the reign of Widim-Ra’ad (r. 1299-1314); when Amba-Gishen was established as ‘royal prison to avoid further power struggle among contending princes. According to the rule, all males tracing descent from Yikunno Amlak except the sons of the reigning emperor were imprisoned at Amba-Gishen. Amba Gishen was guarded by soldiers under a commandant loyal to the reigning monarch. When the reigning king/ emperor died the eldest son would be put on the throne and his brothers would be sent to Amba-Gishen due to many of heirs. However, if the dying king did not have a son the higher officials would discuss and make a choice. Then they would send an army to Amba-Gishen to escort the chosen and put him on the throne. This practice continued until Amba-Gishen was destroyed by Imam Ahmad Ibrahim Al-Ghazi in 1540.

4.2.2. Consolidation and Territorial Expansion

The center of the “restored” dynasty was at first in medieval Amhara (today’s South Wallo) around Lake Haiq. But, it gradually shifted its center into Shawa, in to the districts like: Menz, Tegulet, Bulga, Yerer, Entoto, Menagesha, Wachacha, Furi and Zequalla. From 1270,

until the establishment of Gondar in 1636, the medieval monarchs spent their reign in mobile court/ roving capital.

After ‘restoration’ one of the first tasks of Yekuno-Amlak was to consolidate his authority throughout the empire and expand his administration. He quickly subdued Yifat, the Muslim center adjacent to Shawa. Yet, until the coming of Amde-Tsion, the center and the territorial limit of the Christian kingdom was mainly in nowadays areas of Tigray, Lasta, the Amhara regions of Wallo and Shawa. It was mainly as a result of the internal power struggle.

Apart from the previous rulers, in relatively speaking, there was stability during the reign of Widim-Ra’ad. The Christian kingdom could bring extensive territories during the reign of Emperor Amde-Tsion (r.1314 to 1344). He was the first Solomonic king, who embarked upon a policy of wider and rapid territorial expansion. His main motives of expansion were economic and political (to control the trade routes and expand territories). During this period commodities flowed to the coast along, one: from Sudan to Massawa north of Lake Tana via Lasta; second, from central provinces through southern Shawa to Massawa or Zeila; and third from southern provinces with the route through Shawa to Zeila.)

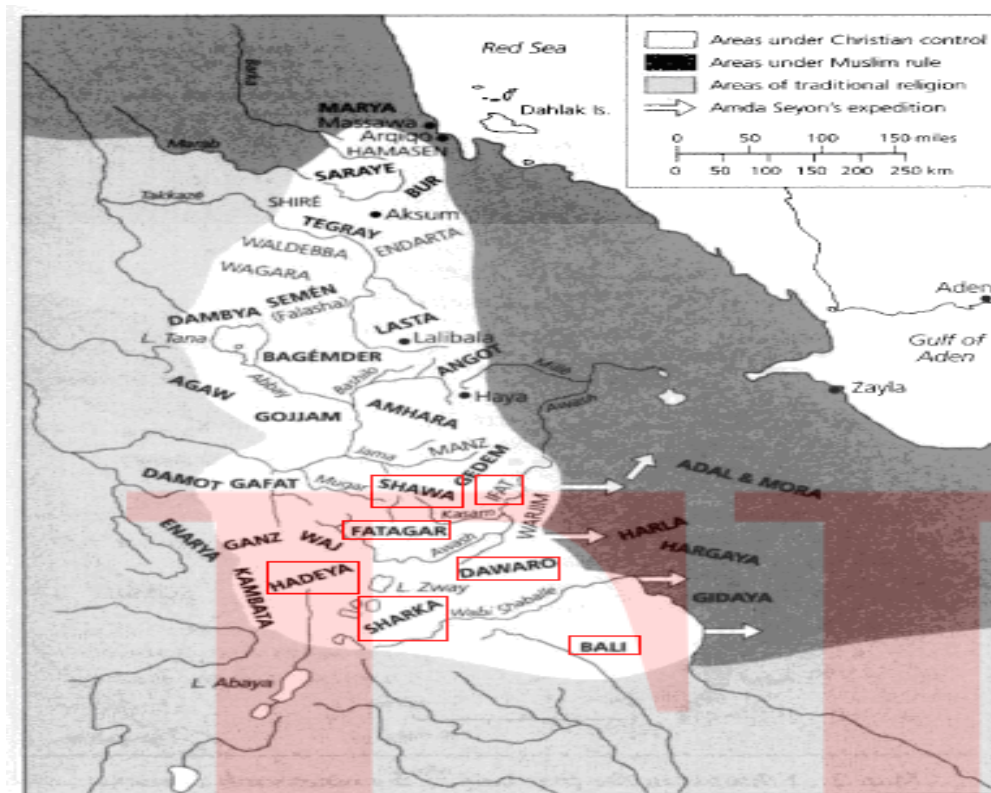
In the process of consolidating his power, Amde-Tsion subdued rebellions and was able to bring an end to the centrifugal tendency, which threatened the unity of the Christian Kingdom. He made territorial expansion in to:

- A. The Agaw (Awi) of Gojjam:** Amde-Tsion annexed the region around 1323-24. The expansion into Agaw was soon followed by the establishment of churches and monasteries.
- B. Bizamo:** this was conquered c. 1316/7 and existed until the end of the 16th century under the control of the Christian Kingdom.
- C. Damot:** the process of subjugation started by Yekuno-Amlak was effectively accomplished under Amde-Tsion when Damot became a tributary state of the Christian Kingdom c. 1316/17.

D. The Falasha/Bete-Israel: the successive campaigns of Amde-Tsion around 1332 pushed the people further into the inaccessible mountain districts north of Begemder from Dembeya in south to Tekeze in east & north. Yet, it was not final. The Felasha continued to resist and rebel against the growing Christian Kingdom's domination throughout the medieval period. **E. The Red Sea Coast:** Amde-Tsion was deeply concerned about the dangers of the development of Muslim power in the Red Sea Coast. It was an important route for diplomatic relations and the desire to share in or control the northern trade route between interior of Ethiopia and Muslim powers of Egypt, the Middle East and also beyond. In his continued northward march as far as the present Eritrea and the Red Sea, in his chronicle Amde-Tsion describes his victories: "I, king Amda Şiyon, went to the sea of Eritrea. When I reached there, I mounted on an elephant and entered the sea. I took up my arrow and spears, killed my enemies, and saved my people." To consolidate the control of the Christian state over the provinces of the north extending to the coastal areas of Massawa, Amde-Tsion claimed to get back territories once belonging to the great kings of Aksum. The north Muslims resented his campaign against the Muslim State of Ifat and Shawa and they might have cooperated with the rebellious army at Indarta in northern Tigray, led by Yaibeka-Igzi in 1320s. He first gave Indarta to his queen Bilen-Saba. However, Bahr-Sagad, the son of Amde-Tsion, became the governor of Tigre. It seems then that Amde-Tsion took immediate campaign in today's Eritrea region in 1325. After controlling the whole region he appointed a governor with a title of Makale Bahir which later on changed into Bahire Negash.

In the southeast, Muslim sultanates, which were located on the line of the trade, were made tributaries of the Christian kingdom of Amde-Tsion. In the south, the Gurage speaking areas and some of the Omotic kingdoms like Wolayta and Gamo were also brought under the control or at least under the influence of the Christian state. Amde-Tsion was in full control of all the trade routes and sources of trade of the Ethiopian region in the early 1330s.

The consolidation and territorial expansion of the Christian Kingdom continued during the reigns of the successors of Amde-Tsion.



Map 6: The Christian kingdom during the reign of Emperor Amde-Tsion (r.1314-1344)

4.2.3. Evangelization and Religious Movements

I. Evangelization

The evangelization process in Ethiopian region during the medieval period was very closely associated with the expansion and the consolidation of the Christian state. As the 14th century marked the maximum expansion of the Christian kingdom, at the same time, it contributed more for the expansion of Orthodox Church to the peoples of different areas. The Shawan plateau played the most important role for both the military activities of the Christian army and also propagating Christian teaching. In Shawa there was presence of early Christians, who had contact with their distant kinsmen of Christian dominated Northern part of Ethiopia (more with Amhara & Tgire). According to Taddese Tamrat (Church & State, 300 & 305), the province of Amhara was exposed to Christian influences much longer during the medieval period, but they were lacking cultural Christian centers of learning and

monastic activities until the time of Iyesus-Mo'a. Particularly his advent to Haiq opened new opportunities of learning for the Christians in the then time Amhara and Shawa. And this also opened an evangelization of the newly incorporated non-Christian areas.

Saint Tekle-Haymanot, who was born at Tsilalish in Zorere (in today Bulga), contributed more for the revival of Christianity in Shawa and the regeneration of the church in the southern part of Ethiopia including medieval Damot. During the time of Amde-Tsion, under the direction of the Egyptian bishop in Ethiopia Bishop Yaqob spread to non-Christians areas. He sent preacher in different parts of the country.

For instance:

- to east direction- Yohannes for Kil'at, Tadewos for Tsilalish and Matyan for Fatagar
- to north-west-Anorewos "the junior" for Moret & Wegda and Merqorewos for Merhabite.
- to the south and south-west- Anorewos "the elder" for Wereb and Sigaj Adhani for Damot, Iyosyas for Wej, and Yosef for Enariya.

In addition to the above, Emperor Amde-Tsion also consolidated the expansion of the Church even among followers of Christianity already existed in the region between the River Tekezze and Lake Tana including Gojjam.

II. Religious Movements

A. The Ewostatewos Movement

Monasticism assumed a dominant position in Ethiopian church only in the mid-13th C. the period witnessed rapid development of monasticism, and a religious movement called Ewostatewos movement arose. Ewostatewos established his own monastic community in Sara'e. There, he was joined by many students and taught until about 1337. His main argument was Sabbath, one of the Ten Commandments given to Moses. According to him, Sabbath should be strictly observed as holiday. At the beginning of the movement, he was opposed by an organized religious rival group of the clergy in Sera'e. Then he left the country in to Egypt. At Cairo he was accused by Ethiopian pilgrims of refusing to

communicate with them and of observing the Sabbaths. So his reception in Egypt was clearly unfavourable. At the end he passed on to Jerusalem, on the way, he died in 1350s.

Immediately after he left Ethiopia, his followers led by Abba Absad became weakened. However, the movement got renaissance when some of his followers such as Bekimos, Merkoryewos and Gebre –Iyasus returned back to home from Armenia after his death. All the follower of Ewostatewos soon became active and dispersed to different monasteries in northern Ethiopia. And also, the movement spread in the areas like Enfranz, northern Tigre, Sera'e and Hamessen. Gradually, the movement became strong with new team of better organization. The king and the Abun opposed their movement as the observance of the Sabbath is rejected as a Jewish custom by the Egyptian Coptic Church. The anti-Ewostatewos party among the clergy was led by the Abun of the Hayq Monastery, called Aqabe-Se'at Sereq Birhan. They were imprisoned and punished. This was because the king feared that dispute in the church could divide his kingdom. Accordingly, the local clergy persecuted and expelled them from the settled areas. In their search for suitable places, they were forced to withdraw into frontier areas or settle in peripheral areas, and founded the monasteries of Debre Bizamo Philipos, Debre San (Gebre-Iyesus among the 'Felasha' in Infranz) etc. Since all the members of the house of Ewostatewos did not receive Holy Orders at the hands of the Egyptian bishop, communities of Debre-Bizan, Debre-Maryam and others lived in an almost complete independence from the rest of the church.

The house of Ewostatewos emerged from the struggle with success. Towards the end of the reign of the King Dawit, the Ewostatian seem to have acquired complete freedom of movement throughout the kingdom based on Dawit's decree in 1404. This provided them with much scope for expansion. The final success of the Ewostatians was their acquisition of complete freedom to observe the Sabbath.

B. The Religious Reforms of Zara-Yaqob

Zara-Yaqob (r. 1434-68) who was the son of Dawit ascended to the throne with definite pro-Sabbath convictions. He felt that Christianity was not deeply rooted in most areas. The

Emperor wanted to end non-Christian practices by strengthening Orthodox Church. The assimilation of the traditional religious followers into the Christian community, and the creation of religiously homogeneous society was Zara-Yaqob's highest deal. He introduced a severe punishment against non-Christian practices and the abolition of worshipping traditional religions in his kingdom.

Therefore, Zara-Yaqob's attention was first drawn to the problem of setting the internal conflicts among the Ethiopian clergy and the creation of a prefect church-state union. To this end, he designed his own plan. He made peace with the House of Ewostatewos reviving Sabbath in the Ethiopian church and the Ewostatian agreed to receive Holy orders from the Ethiopian prelates. In addition, Zara-Yaqob introduced other reforms. He urged the clergy to be sent to remote areas to preach Christianity or teach and guide the people. On Saturdays and Sundays, every Christian was expected or required to go to the nearest church to attend church service, where the priests had to teach the people 'the Worship of God, his commandments, and the observance of his Sabbaths'. The king instructed the strict observance of numerous fasting and holy days. Every Christian had to have his own Father Confessor who looked after his spiritual wellbeing. He declared the sign of the cross had to be affixed on all the belongings of the Christians.

Lack of sufficient religious books was a problem, thus the king encouraged the establishment of a library in every church. There was revival of religious literature during the reign of Emperor Zera-Ya'eqob. He was a great writer. He himself wrote some books like Metsafe-Birhan, Metsafe-Me'lad, Metsafe-Sillasie, Metasfe-teqebo Mister etc. In addition, during his reign; Te'amre-Maryam was translated.

Apart to his religious reforms, in creating a uniform religious practice among his subjects, he applied very harsh rules. Thus, there were political reactions against his high handed rule.

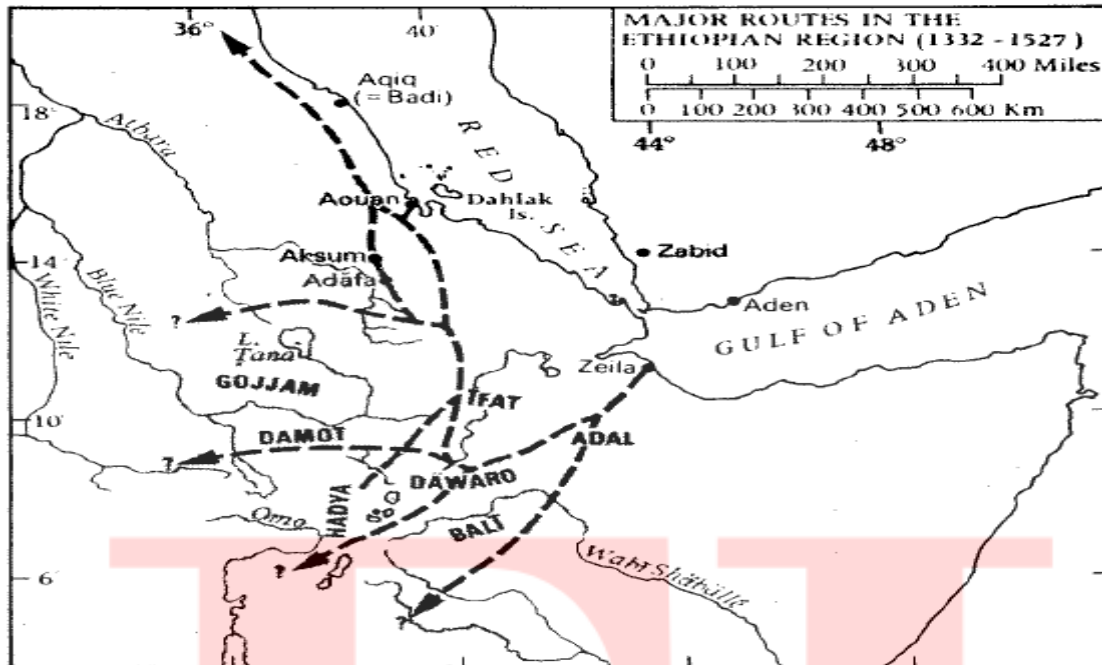
4.3. Political and Socio-Economic Dynamics of Muslim Sultanates

4.3.1. Political Developments in the Muslim Sultanates and the Rise of Adal

According to Taddese Tamrat, rulers of Ifat were tributary to the king of Damot at the beginning. Yet, Ifat freed itself from Damot in short period of time and extended its hegemony into neighboring Sultanates. It also made series offensive and defensive attacks versus the Christian kingdom. However, one branch of the Walasma exiles family, which realized that Ifat was becoming an easy target to the Christian kingdom due to its location, moved further to the southeastern lowlands and established new and vigorous Muslim Sultanate of Adal in the highland districts around Harar in 1367. The first center of this extended Walasma Dynasty was at a place called Dakar (Deker), a place located on the southeast of Harar. The Walasma family consolidated its power in the new center, and began another phase of offensive military campaigns against the frontiers of the Christian kingdom. The center of Adal later on in 1520 changed to the city of Harar and after the defeat of Imam Ahmad; a growing threat from a new force-the Oromo forced the sultanate to change its capital to Awsa in 1576/7, to the present Afar region.

4.3.2. Trade and the Expansion of Islam

During this time Islam was strongly established in the southeastern lowlands of the region that was the territory controlled by most of the Muslim sultanates. By using this region as strong base, Islam spread into the central and southwestern parts of the Ethiopian region through Muslim merchants and scholars. Trade was not only used as means for expansion of Islam in the Muslim Sultanates rather it was the base of their economy. The most known Muslim Sultanates during this period were Ifat (1285-1415) and Adal (1415-1577).



Map 7: Trade Routes and Muslim Sultanates in Medieval Ethiopia

4.4. Rivalry between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates

Zeila was the main outlet for the medieval period long distance trade. The ambition to control this trade route and commodities that passed through Zeila, led to rivalry between the “Solomonic” rulers and the Sultanate of Ifat. The competition among them became the source of conflict. Trade had long been the source of friendship, interaction, interdependence and conflict among the states of the region. The first recorded conflict between the Christian kingdom and Ifat took place in 1328. It was because of the reason the Muslim Sultanates organized their armies and took the first offensive action against the Christian kingdom. The sultan of Ifat Haqaddin I stopped merchants belonging to the Christian king, Amde-Tsion, confiscating the goods and capturing and imprisoning Amde-Tsion’s agent, Ti’iyintay returning from Cairo. These actions forced Amde-Tsion to wage a campaign against Haqaddin I; defeated and took him prisoner and eventually replaced him by his brother Sabradin. Both Ifat and Fatagar became under Sabradin. Sultanates of Hadiya and Dawaro were showing their alliance to Sabradin.

However, in 1332, Sabradin broke his allegiance to Amde-Tsion, mobilized all Muslims Sultanates from the lowlands and declared three pronged attacks (interestingly with the alliance of the Jewish inhabiting north fringe of Lake Tana) against the Christian kingdom. Yet, Ifat was defeated and sacked, Sabradin escaped to Dawaro. Amde-Tsion followed and imprisoned him together with the ruler of Dawaro, Haydara. The hegemony of Ifat came to an end after Amde-Tsion defeated Sabradin. After the defeat of Sabradin, Ifat was placed under Jamaldin (another brother of Sabradin) as tributary ruler to Amde-Tsion and Fatagar & Dawaro were incorporated. Amde-Tsion required from them annual tributes and freedom of movement for all caravans through Zeila.

As the then time strongest Sultanate Ifat was eventually weakened and became tributary to the Christian kingdom; the other Muslim sultanates like Sharkha, Harar, Bali, Dara, and Arbabani were also seriously weakened. It was based on these grounds that some members of Walasma moved their seat of power further east to Adal, from where they continued their struggle. To check their attacks on the highlands, the successors of Emperor Amde-Tsion conducted repeated campaigns into the lowlands. In 1376, internal struggle to the throne of Ifat resulted in Haqadin II's coming to power. He refused to pay tribute and rebelled against son and successor of Amde-Tsion, Sayfa-Arad (r.1344 -71), but, he was defeated and killed in battle in 1386. The successor of Haqadin II, Sa'adaddin II (C. 1386-1402) gained initial success but king Dawit I (r. 1380-1412) in 1402/3 extended his expansion and defeated him. Sa'adaddin II became refuge in Zeila and later on during the reign of King Yishaq (r.1413-30) in 1415 he was killed. After the death of Sa'adaddin and the control of Zeila, the Muslim sultanates in Ethiopia were weakened for a long time. Tens of sons of Sa'adaddin took refuge in Yemen and then came back from their exile to bear the title of "sultan of Adal" rather than Ifat. For this reason, Muslim Sultanates fought each other rather than united. The expansion of the Christian kingdom to these Muslim Sultanates turned Ethiopian kings in to 'Kng of Kings' or emperor. Yet, Yishaq lost his life fighting somewhere in Adal.

The "Solomonic" dynasty reached its peak during the reign of Emperor Zare-Yae'qob when the Christian kingdom gained some accesses to the Red Sea commerce and again maritime, imperial power become strong politically and religiously (built numerous churches and

monasteries, encouraged literature and art). Emperor Zare-Yaqob controlled Zeila, reoccupied Massawa and Dahlak became his tributary.

In 1445, Sultan Ahmad Badley mobilized all his forces and invaded the Christian kingdom but, he was defeated in the battle of Yeguba. The son and successor of Ahmad Badley, Muhammad Ahmad Badlay (r.1445-71) sent a message of submission to successor of Zare-Yaqob, Ba'ede Mariam (r. 1468-78) to continue to be tributary vassal of the Christian kings. On the death of Muhammad, however, Adal resumed its power and began struggle.

Be'de-Mariam campaigned against Adal by his stationed army from Dawaro and Bali. The first two of these campaigns were complete successes. The third and last in 1474 was, however, a great set back to the Christian army that lost its highest commanding officers.

The subsequent rulers of the Christian kingdom were proved to be weak in their dealing with Muslim Sultanates. Yet, after Zare-Yaqob had smashed the sultans of Adal and Hadiya, the Walasma sultans of Adal were obliged to change their policy of war against the Christian state. They preferred peace to war. They began to acknowledge the power of the Christian Emperor by paying annual tribute. One of these sultans of Adal was Mohammad ibn Azhar ad-Din (1488-1518). He made some attempts to harmonize relations with the Christian kingdom. However, the various Emirs of the southeastern region of Harar such as Leday Uthman, Mahfuz and Abubakar in collaboration with Garads, Emirs, Wazirs, Imamas, Qadis, army leaders continued to resist the Christian kingdom. Accordingly, Mahfuz carried out some effective raids into the highlands. However, Mahfuz died in 1517 in a battle with Emperor Lebne-Dengel (r. 1508-1540) and his son-in-law, Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, popularly known as Ahmad Gagn or the left-handed, took over.

N.B. Apart from these rivalries between the Christian Kingdom and Muslim Sultanates; people of the plain have interaction with those of the plateau just as lowlanders had dealings with highlanders. These interactions and interdependence in economic, social, cultural and political spheres laid the ground for the formation of modern Ethiopia.

4.5. External Relations

4.5.1. With Egypt

In 1272, Yekuno-Amlak sent an embassy to Egypt's Sultan Baybars requesting an Abun from Alexandrian Coptic Orthodox Church. Furthermore, both Egypt and Ethiopia continued to act as protectors of minority Muslims in Ethiopia and minority Christians in Egypt respectively mainly as of the coming of the Mamluks to power in Egypt. Egypt also wanted to insure secure flow of Nile (the Abay River) that originated from Ethiopia.

Mohammed ibn Qala'un in Cairo persecuted the Copts destroying their churches while Ifat dynasty interpreted this as a sign of political weakness. Amde-Tsion demanded restoration of churches destroyed with threat that failure to do so result in diversion of the Nile waters. Patriarch Marqos (1348- 63) sent words to Sayfa-Arad announcing his imprisonment by the Sultan. Sayfa-Arad mobilized a huge army and began a move towards Egypt, but the Sultan after hearing the news released the patriarch and sent a delegation and a gift to the king.

Dawit also took offense against Egypt, but was settled by patriarch Matewos (1328-1408) and by the Amir delegated. Dawit welcomed Egyptian diplomats and sent gifts to the sultan. He received from Jerusalem piece of the true cross and number of religious paintings including the famous "*kuerate resu*", which depicts figure of Christ crowned with thorns.

Zara-Yaqob wrote a letter to Sultan Barsbay in the year 1437/8. The letter was friendly, requesting the protection of Christians. However, three years later, Patriarch Yohannes XI wrote to Zara-Yaqob announcing the demolition of the famous church of Mitmaq (Debre-Mitmaq). He then sent envoys to Sultan Jaqmaq (1438-53) with a strongly worded letter. In reply to this message Jaqmaq sent envoy to Ethiopia, with complimentary gifts to the king and rejected the renewal of the church.

There were also similar traditions in which the Muslim of Ethiopia, on their persecution asked for the help of the Muslim rulers of Egypt.

4.5.2. Ethiopia's Relations with Christian Europe

According to Benjamin Weber, in 12th century, Ethiopians were mentioned in Jerusalem. He also added that European medieval authors: Isidore of Seville, Honorius Augustodiniensis and Vincent of Beauvais were aware of the existence of Ethiopia. It is also stated that Ethiopians were recorded in Milan in 1395, during Gian Galeazzo Visconti's coronation and three Ethiopians attended the Council of Constance in 1418. Guillaume Adam, a Dominican monk sought Ethio-European alliance since he knew the location and condition of the area. He planned to block the eastern trade at the Gulf of Aden with military cooperation of the Christians of Ethiopia. In another report presented to King Phillip of France in 1332, he also mentioned Ethiopians.

The earliest known message to Ethiopia from a European monarch is the letter of King Henry IV dated 1400 A.D. and addressed to the king of Abyssinia, Prester John. The identification of the king of Abyssinia with Prester Johan was firmly established in the fourteenth century. They even thought that it was possible to liberate Jerusalem with the help of this king. Hence during the reign of king Dawit, the peoples of Rome, Constantinople, Syria, Armenia and Egypt sent a letter to the king saying- "the rulers of Muslim rose against us, to destroy our faith in Christ." King Dawit received some Italian craftsmen consisting mainly of Florentines. Soon after the letter of king Hennery, the first embassy to Europe, was responded in 1402 led by a Florentine called Antonio Bartoli.

Alphonso de Paiva V of Argon received a delegation from Yishaq in the city of Valentia, in 1427. Yishaq's delegation to Europe was to ask for more artisans and military experts. The embassy of the Duke of Berry consisting craftsmen, Neapolitan Pietro, a Spaniard and a Frenchman reached Ethiopia in the reign of Yishaq. In 1432, Pietro only surviving the return journey was at Pera recruiting craftsmen to go back to Ethiopia.

In 1450 a Silican Pietro Rombulo, who had been in Ethiopia since the last years of Dawit's reign and who had previously carried out a successful trade mission to India on behalf of the king, was now sent to Europe as Zara-Yaqob's ambassador. An Ethiopian priest, Fikre-

Mariam and two other individuals accompanied him. The mission was to Alphonso of Argon, (also ruled as king of Naples and Sicily). King Zara-Yaqob sent delegates to Alphonso to get political and military technical aid. Alphonso wrote to Zara Yaqob and informed him that he sent him artisans and masons he requested.

The most authentic pieces of evidence for Ethio-Europe links are Egyptus Novelo (c. 1454) and Fra Mauro's Mappomondo (1460) which clearly depicted many places and peoples. Venetian Gregorio or Hieronion Bicini visited Abyssinia in 1482. Pedros da Covilhao/Peter de Covilham arrived at Abyssinian court of Eskindir (1478-1494) in 1493.

Among the famous female personalities in Ethiopian history, Queen Elleni who was an ex-Muslim chief of Hadiya baptized about 1445 on marrying King Zara-Yaqob (1434 - 68) is said to have possessed great wisdom and sound political judgment. Apart from a policy of appeasement she followed towards Muslim neighbors over the monopoly of the booming Zeila trade, Queen Elleni had foreseen the danger of Ottoman expansion and played role in establishing military alliance with Portugal against Ottoman Turks. In 1508 Portugal sent a person to act as an ambassador to Christian Ethiopia. Around 1512 Queen Elleni, the mother and regent of Lebne-Dengel sent her envoy an Armenian called Mathew to Portugal. The Portuguese court doubted his authenticity and was received coldly. The Portuguese Embassy led by Rodrigo di Lima, Duwarto Galliba and Francisco Alvarez reached Ethiopia in 1520 and left after six years. The objective was to establish a naval port against expanding Turkish power in Red Sea Area. The mission was not successful.

Learning activities

- What led rulers of the “Solomonic” dynasty to construct a ‘Royal Prison’ at Amba-Gishen?
- What was the Ewostatewos movement about?
- Discuss Emperor Zara-Yaqob’s religious reforms?
- Discuss the role played by trade in the spread of Islam in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Ethiopia?
- Describe the circumstances that gave rise to the sultanate of Ifat.

- What was the major source of rivalry between the Christian kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates in medieval and post medieval periods? What role did religion play in the conflict between the two?
- Discuss the motives and outcomes of Ethiopia's engagement with Christian Europe in the late thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries.

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Unit Five

Politics, Economy and Socio-Cultural Processes from Early Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Centuries (10 hrs)

Introduction

Dear learners,

In this unit, you will study the socio-economic and political dynamics from the early 16th century to the late 18th century. These contributed to the making of modern Ethiopia through the intermingling of peoples and shaping politics. The period marked conflicts and the expansion of Sultanate of Adal (1529-1543), population movements, religious expansions, interaction and integration across ethnic and religious diversities. In the period, societies and states in eastern, central, southern, and western also passed through different historical processes. This unit discusses these issues and the Period of Gondar (1636-1769), "Zemene Mesafint /Era of Princes" (1769-1855) and the Yejju rule (1786-1853).

Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- identify the nature of interaction and major reasons of conflicts between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal and the consequences;

- analyze the background to the involvement of Portuguese and Turks;
- explicate the major population movements and their contributions in the peoples and linguistic intermingling in Ethiopia and the Horn;
- identify the political, social and economic developments among the peoples and in Eastern, Central, Southern and Western Regions;
- explain the contribution of Gonder period to the development of urbanization, architecture, painting, literature, music, trade etc and political conditions and their effects during the Yejju rule and the “Zemene Mesafint.”

Unit starters

- Share orally the causes of the war between the Christian kingdom and Muslim principalities in medieval and post-medieval periods.
- Do you think trade and trade routes can be sources of conflict between states? How? Give examples.
- What do we mean by population movement and why and how does it occur?
- Imagine that your community changes its habitat from northern to southern Ethiopia. What do you think are the likely effects of the movement on the host community and vice versa?
- What do you remember from the discussion in unit one regarding language families and their geographical distributions in Ethiopia and the Horn?
- Do you know anything about the *Gadaa* system?
- Who was Rodrigo di Lima?

5.1. Interaction and Conflicts between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal

Revival of long-distance trade in the medieval period was accompanied by competition and struggle for control over the trade routes between the “Solomonic” kingdom and the Muslim principalities. The main trade outlet/inlet shifted to Zeila and old city-states of Mogadishu,

Brava, and Merca were used as ports for their hinterland. In the meantime, for the trade in the northeast, Massawa served as an outlet.

With the revival of trade, different towns and trade centers emerged along the route from Zeila to the interior. Travellers' accounts and chronicles made reference to these towns and ruins of mosques and residences mark the existence of market centers which followed and served the trade coasts. The *Prester John of the Indies* is an account written by the Portuguese priest, Francisco Alvarez, who came along the Portuguese mission sent to the court of Lebne-Dengel in 1520. Another one is *Futuh al-Habasha* ("The Conquest of Abyssinia") which was composed by the Yemenite Shihab ad-Din. *Futuh al-Habasha* provides firsthand information regarding Imam Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim Al-Ghazi's campaigns against the Christian Kingdom.

The ruins that mark the landscape around Jijiga and the highlands of Harar and Charchar attest the market towns that served the Zeila route. These include Weez-Gebeya in western Shawa/famous market on the Fatagar-Dawaro-Harar route, Suq-Wayzaro in old Damot, Suq-Amaja and the very famous market center Gandabalo on the Ifat-Awsa route. Gandabalo was largely inhabited by Muslim and Christian merchants serving the kings and sultans as agents.

Other big market towns include the ones that linked Amhara with Awsa, called Wasel in the vicinity of the present day Dessie, Qorqora/Qoreta (south of Waldiya) and Mandalay in southern Tigray. The towns of Dabarwa, the seat of the Bahre-Negash ("Lord of the Sea"), and Asmara were the two important entrepots of caravans in the hinterland of Massawa.

Muslim states had significant control over trade routes that passed through Zeila due to their geographical proximity, although contested by "Solomonic" kingdom especially after its revival and consolidation. This was followed by series of wars which were depicted as wars for religious supremacy in historical accounts of Christian or Muslim clerics. While mal-administration and exploitation of periphery made military mobilization possible, contention between the cross and the crescent gave ideological justification for the wars. However generally, the interest to control trade routes lies beneath the conflict between the Christian

kingdom and the Muslim sultanates that continued for over two centuries, culminating in the wars between the Christian kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal that lasted from 1529 to 1543. In Muslim sultanates, internal strife, corruption and anarchy intensified and new leadership was desperately called for. Such leadership came from Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi/Grag. Ahmad was raised by his devout Muslim kin in one of the oases on the route to Zeila called Jeldesa. He was a rigorous and doctrinal believer of Islam. He soldiered for Sultan Jared Abun of Adal, who during his few years in power called for Islamic puritanism. Ahmad was inspired by the sultan that when Jared Abun was assassinated, Ahmad gave up his belief in secular Muslim rule. According to local traditions, he withdrew to the countryside and started calling for faultless Islamic practices. Here came fundamental change in cause of Muslim-Christian confrontations. After Imam Ahmad's rise to power, the battles were not just fought for control of the long-distance trade route going through Zeila but mainly because there was a demographic pressure from Afar and Somali nomads pushing to approach Harar and the Christian kingdom. Since several centuries' lowland inhabiting non-Christian nomadic cattle herders, had wanted to expand to high plateaus for better and enough pasture lands and attempted to do so but only to be held back by the Christian army. With overpopulation and overgrazing in Somali and Afar of eastern Ethiopia, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, raiding and counter-raiding at water holes or animal rustling intensified. Sometimes such raids escalated into full-scale wars among the lowlanders.

Ahmad was successful with his remarkable leadership ability together with the assistance that he received from religious personalities who convinced Muslim leaders of Afar, Somali and Harari to not fight amongst themselves but to unite and expand to the Christian kingdom to resolve their material shortages and at the same time wage a holy war, Jihad. He was able to gain audience as imam and recruited force of tribesmen to fight the Christian kingdom.

Lebne-Dengel was enthroned when he was only eleven. Assisted by the elderly Elleni and due to internal conflicts in Adal, the Christian state initially retained its interest and even advanced into Muslim territory scoring significant victories in the early sixteenth century. However, shortly, Adal fell to Ahmad's army. The imam's army fought fiercely and subdued the periphery. People in the region abandoned their clergy, soldiers, and officials in place of

Ahmad's men, and had to accept the demolition of their churches, holy books, and relics. Bale, Sidamo, Hadiya and Kambata were overcome quickly and the heartland was at risk.

By the time Ahmad thought he was ready for confrontations, he refused to pay tribute and this was followed by an invasion of Christian kingdom in 1527. In 1528, Lebne-Dengel mobilized a vast force from Tigray, Amhara, the Agaw territories, Begemdir, Gojjam, and Shawa and encamped about fifty kilometers east of what is now Addis Ababa. There was the problem of logistics and the Christian army leadership failed to adopt a common strategy to defeat Adal's force. On the other hand, enthusiastic Imam Ahmad's army managed logistics and with its small-sized army, it had better mobility and flexible tactics with unified command and an excellent leadership. Therefore, the larger and professional Christian army was defeated at the battle of Shimbira Kure, near the present day Mojo in 1529. After the victory, the Muslims occupied Dawaro, Shawa, Amhara, and Lasta. They continued north passing the Amhara plateau and by 1535, Ahmad's empire stretched from Zeila to Massawa on the coast and including the Ethiopian interior. As he penetrated, Ahmad established a civil administration constituted from his own men and collaborators from occupied territories. All of these forced the Christian king Lebne-Dengel to retreat, he finally died in 1540.

Competition for supremacy over the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean between Portugal and the Ottoman Turks gave the prolonged conflict between Christian kingdom and Muslim principalities a global dimension. Persians, Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians, and Turks, traditional international trade intermediaries, who were under Ottoman Turks were hit by discovery of a seaway to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 and tried to prevent rival Portuguese ships from trading with India. Therefore, Portugal looked up to the Christian kingdom as an ally and started the old "semi-spiritual quest" for Prester John. From the first decade of the century, messengers were being sent. However, actual military alliance did not take place because Ethiopia was not a sea power to give sensible maritime support to Portugal against Ottoman Turks. On her part Ethiopia had asked Portugal's military assistance against its Muslim rival.

Having noticed movement of diplomatic missions between Christian kingdom and Portugal, the Turks and Arabs encouraged Ahmad. Shihab ad-Din claimed that about one hundred

Yemeni horsemen armed with muskets had fought at Shimbra Kure, but that does not seem to be true. Even though both sides, Christian and Muslim, had some muskets and a few bigger guns, this was not decisive in the battles yet, at least not until 1540 because they neither had gunpowder nor the training to make effective use of them. In 1540 the Imam turned to his Muslim ally, Turkey, for assistance and regional Ottoman authorities provided two hundred Muslim, mostly mercenary, musketeers and ten cannon.

Lebne-Dengel was succeeded by his son Gelawdiwos (r. 1540-1559) who continued to face the wars this time with more intensity because Ahmad had received Turkish musketeers mercenaries. In the mean time, after the request made by Lebne-Dengel in 1535, about four hundred soldiers, also armed with matchlocks, under the leadership of Christopher da Gama, youngest son of Vasco da Gama, came in January 1541 to fight on the side of the Christian kingdom after significantly been reduced in number due to difficulties in the journey. However, in August 1542 the Christian army was defeated. In the battle, about two hundred Portuguese and their leader Christopher da Gama, fighting for the Christian kingdom were killed and the leader was beheaded. After the success, Imam Ahmad rewarded his allies with his booty from the war and sent them back home and let his army camp. On the part of the Christians, preparations were made for final confrontation under the leadership of Emperor Gelawdiwos. Due to limited resources, the monarch employed hit and run strategy which severely affected Imam's army. Ahmad's army could not use its previous quality of easily mobility because they did not know where the offensives came from. On February 25, 1543 while Ahmad was encamped near Lake Tana, he was attacked and killed after a fierce fighting.

Two women were powerful in the politics of the period: Seble-Wangel and Bati-Delwombera. Seblewongel participated in the war against Imam Ahmad in 1542 when Christians lost 200 of the Portuguese soldiers and their commander Christopher Dagama. As a result, she advised the march to the south in order to contact a Christian army under her son, Emperor Gelawdiwos (r.1540-59) for the battle of Woina-Dega. Similarly, Bati Del Wanbara was the wife of Imam Ahmad Al Ghazi. She was a daughter of a Muslim military commander of Adal known as Mahfuz. Tradition claimed that Del Wanbara had instigated her husband to avenge the death of her father. She accompanied her husband throughout his expeditions and

she is said to have marched even in a state of pregnancy during which she was unable to use mules. Indeed, she delivered her two sons during the campaigns of 1531 and 1533 in Ifat and Tigre, respectively.

Emir Nur bin Mujahin came at the helm of Adal's power after the death of Imam Ahmad. In 1559, Gelawdiwos led a campaign into Adal and lost his life fighting Adal's force under Emir Nur. The war did not continue as both sides were exhausted due to centuries old conflict. They were also felt threatened at the magnitude of the Oromo population movement. Thus, the Christian kingdom retreated from its center in present-day Shawa to the north and established its center in Dembiya, north of Lake Tana. Likewise Emir Nur built a wall surrounding Harar to defend it from the Oromo, who had begun to occupy Harar plateau.

The war cost the country hundreds of thousands of lives, and much of its capital. By the early 1550s, Gelawdiwos had restored the "Solomonic" empire, as it had existed at the beginning of his father's reign. However, the whole region was worn out and weak from the war. Muslims, especially in the border provinces of Ifat, Dawaro, and Bale, remained unaffected, and in the south, conditions were suitable for the Oromo to occupy large areas of highlands.

5.2. Foreign Interventions and Religious Controversies

As with the state, the church was weakened by the material destruction and loss of life brought about by the wars against the Adalities and followed by the Oromo population movement. The destruction of property and deaths of its clergy hampered the operation of the Church and therefore, its service as an ideological arm of the state. At the same time, the monarchy could not count on the traditional political and military apparatus to withstand the continued expansion of the Oromo deep into the Christian kingdom and then to win back the "Solomonic" empire. Thus, besides in the military, revival was sought in the church.

Ethiopian emperors may have regarded an alliance with Roman Catholicism as a tactic to secure sufficient modern weaponry and training to win back the "Solomonic" empire. In contrast to the then weak Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the hierarchy and authoritarianism of Roman Catholicism must have been deeply attractive to the emperors. Missionaries followed

the soldiers. In 1557, a total of 160 Jesuit missionaries along with their bishop, Andreas de Oviedo, came to Ethiopia with the aim of converting Orthodox Christians to Catholicism. The Jesuits promoted Catholic doctrine of two different, and therefore separate, natures of Christ-divine and human which was opposed to Monophysite theology of Ethiopian Orthodox Church which argued that Christ, through union or Tewahedo had a perfect human nature inseparable from divinity. The leading members of the mission who played key role in efforts to evangelize the country include Joao Bermudez, Andreas de Oviedo, Pedro Pais Paez and Alphonso Mendez. The Jesuits began their evangelical effort with the son and successor of Lebne-Dengel, Gelawdiwos (r.1540-1559), hoping that the rest of the society would follow suit. Gelawdiwos listened and engaged in doctrinal debates with the missionaries, but he was not prepared to give in. Instead, he defended the teachings of Orthodox Christianity in a document entitled the Confession of Faith. Minas and Sartsa-Dengel who succeeded Gelawdiwos one after the other were too busy fighting against the Oromo and the Turkish forces to entertain the Jesuits in their courts. The Jesuits got relative success with Emperor Za-Dengel (r. 1603-1604) who secretly converted into Catholicism, but Za-Dengel's reign was too short for the Jesuits to effect the desired result. Za-Dengel was overthrown by Yaqob (r. 1598-1603; 1604-1607) who befell a similar fate in the hands of Susenyos (r. 1607-1632).

Susneyos, as was challenged by provincial leaders who refused to pay tribute, faced other challenges. The Funj sultanate of Sennar attacked along the northern frontier into Begemdir, and the Oromo continued infiltrating into Shawa and Gojjam. As a person who lived among the Oromo and linked by marriage to them, Susneyos' policy with regard to the Oromo was integration. He then integrated Oromo units with the forces of central government and Ethiopian politics to consolidate his power and then stabilize the country. Probably as a means to this, Susneyos sought for an alliance which he met through the diplomatic, advisory, and educative Pedro Paez, a Spanish Jesuit. In 1612 Susneyos converted to Catholicism and announced it to be state religion later in 1622. In the meantime in 1617-8 several anti-Catholic voices mounted following the changes in liturgy and religious practices.

Even worse, with the monarch's consent, another Spanish Jesuit, Afonso Mendez who succeeded Paez as Ethiopia's Catholic bishop ordered reconsecration of Orthodox priests and deacons and rebaptism of the mass. Besides he called for the suspension of Jewish customs such as male circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath. Additional pronouncements include prohibition of preaching in Ge'ez, fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, reverence for Ethiopian saints and the ark of covenant (*tabot*). Meanwhile, he ordered eating pork, Latin Mass and Gregorian calendar to be adopted. The reforms led to revolts led by the ecclesiastics and the nobility. Even loyal followers of the emperor including his own son Fasiledes (r. 1632-67) were opposed to the changes initiated by the Jesuits.

After 1625, controversies, rebellions, repressions mounted and the country came to the verge of falling apart. In a battle in June 1632, about 8000 peasants reportedly lost their lives in one day. Finally, the emperor abdicated the throne in favour of Fasiledes, who countered the Catholic transformation. Fasiledes restored Tewahedo's position as the state's official religion, expelled the Jesuits and punished local converts including Susenyos' uncle and the most fervent supporter of Catholicism, Se'ela Kristos. By fearing another religious conflict Emperor Fasiledes introduced a new policy called closed-door policy which isolated Ethiopia from all Europeans for about a century and a half. Conversely, he initiated and adopted a policy of close diplomatic relations, and even formed alliance with the hostile neighboring Muslim states on both sides of the Red Sea to ensure that no European crossed into the Christian highlands. In 1647, he concluded an agreement with the Ottoman Pashas at Suakin and Massawa to the effect that the latter should block any European from entering the country. By doing so, Fasiledes was able to restore peace and order. Ethiopia's diplomatic break from Europe remained effective until the beginning of the nineteenth century with the exception of secret visits by a French Doctor Charles Jacques Poncet and the Scottish traveller James Bruce in 1700 and 1769 respectively.

5.3. Population Movements

The causes of the movements could be attributed to the cumulative centuries long socio-political movements of the medieval period as the military conflicts and natural factors. Population movements of the period had far-reaching consequences including the integration

of peoples across ethnic and religious diversities. One of the major consequences of the movements was ethnic and linguistic intermixing of peoples that shaped the modern social setting of Ethiopia and the Horn.

5.3.1. Population Movements of the Somali, Afar and Argoba

The military conflict between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal in the late 15th and the early 16th century was partly responsible for the population movement of the Somali, Afar and the Argoba. The territories of the Somali and the Afar were in the conflict zone and hence were the first to be affected by the consequences of the military conflict. These peoples changed their settlement area to avoid the conflict. Below is a very brief history of these peoples and their response to the conflict.

A. Somali

The Somali have been subdivided into four major clans i.e. Darod, Dir, Hawiya and Isaq that inhabited Eastern Berbera, Zeila hinterland, North of Benadir Coasts and Bulhar hinterland respectively. There are also sub-clans like Bur Bibbugn, Gada Bussi and Sab as well as mixed ones like Garri. Clan warriors (Waranleh) fought grievances (Godob/ Heer) over pasture lands of Gubban, Ha'ud, Ogo etc, but were solved by clan council/shir & religious holy men (Wadad), who arranged blood compensation (Diya/Jilib).

According to Ibn Said (1214-74), an Arab geographer, the Hawiya had settled in the territory around Mogadishu. The other Somali clans including Merahim, Yiber, Habermagad, Dir, Isaaq and Darod occupied the coastal territory between Mogadishu and Babel-Mandeb. Prior to the 16th century, drought and famine forced them to move towards the south, southwest and west. In the subsequent decades, the Somali continued to expand in the same direction until they fully occupied their present territory.

B. Afar

Afar primarily have lived in northeastern Ethiopia and in northern Djibouti, although some have also inhabited southern point of Eritrea. Afar main classes: *asaimara* ('reds') have been

dominant politically and *adoimara* ('whites'), who are found in Mabla Mountains, have been workers. Men traditionally sport *jile*, famous curved knife. The Afar had indigenous democratic institution known as *Makabanto*. The Afar people were also first mentioned by Ibn Said under the name "Danakil". During the 13th century, they occupied the lowland territory near Bab el-Mandeb. Before the 16th century, due to drought and hunger, the Afar moved towards the east until they reached the middle Awash. Like the Somali, their territory laid within the conflict zone. During the conflict, their pastoral economy helped them to survive the destructive effects of the conflict.

Along with closely related Somali and other adjacent Muslims, Afar are also associated with medieval Adal Sultanate that flourished many historic cities such as Maduna and Abasa. Following the collapse of the power of sultanate of Adal in the 16th century, the Afar established their sultanates like Awsa, Girifo, Dawe, Tadjourah, Rahaito and Gobad. Awusa Sultanate succeeded the earlier Imamate of Aussa in the middle Awash. The latter polity had come into existence in 1577, when Muhammed Jasa moved his capital from Harar to Awsa. At some point after 1672, Awsa declined and temporarily came to an end in conjunction with Imam Umar Din bin Adam's recorded ascension to the throne. The Sultanate was subsequently re-established by Kedafu around 1734, and was thereafter ruled by his Mudaito Dynasty. Primary symbol of the Sultan was silver baton, which was considered to have magical properties. Awsa's economy was mainly depended on Bati-Ginda'e trade route. Later it became center of Islamic learning led by preachers like Tola Anfre.

C. Argoba

The Argoba were also parts of the population movement of the 16th century. Early reference to the people of Argoba is insufficient. There are two versions on the origin of the people of Argoba. The first version holds that they descended from the eighty-two followers of Prophet Mohammed who came to the Horn of Africa and settled at Yifat. The second version claims that the origin of the Argoba is not Muslim-Arab immigrants, but an ancient and indigenous people who accepted Islam very early from religious leaders who came from Arabia. Nonetheless, the Argoba were agents of trade, Islamic expansion and Muslim state formations in Horn. The Argoba were also the targets of the expanding Christian Kingdom in

the medieval period. Owing to their location on the caravan trade routes and conflict areas, the Argoba were perhaps the worst affected societies in the Christian-Muslim conflicts. The result was the destruction of sultanates and dispersion of the people.

5.3.2. Gadaa System and Oromo Population Movement (1522-1618)

A. The Gadaa System

Etymology of *Gadaa* has been derived from *Ga* means law and *Daa* meant God. There is also a claim that it has been derived from Oromo word *Gaaddisa* which means shade. *Gadaa* system was the constitution of the Oromo through which they administered, defended their territory, maintained, and developed their economy. There are scarce studies on the historical evolution of the Gadaa system. History among the Oromo is the patterned process and chronologically recorded events based on the eight-year segment of time in the *Gadaa* system. Studies based on the Gadaa calendar indicates that, 8 year represented one *Gadaa* period, 5-*Gadaa* period or 40 years represents one generation and 9 generations or 360 (40x9) years stand for an era. Accordingly, the Oromo passed through mysterious eras of *Gadaa Bidiri* Dhoqqee which existed for about 5, 400 years. Then the Oromo passed through the known eras of *Xayaa*, *Xasaa*, *Muunyoo*, *Suufuu*, *Maaddillee*, *Abrojjii*, *Daawwee/Dhittacha*, and *Warra Daayee/Wardeeni*, each of which survived for 360 years and altogether 2880 (360 X 8) years until the beginning of *Gadaa Boorana-Baarentuu* around 1450 A. D. Overall, *Gadaa* traced back to nearly 9, 000 years ago (before present/BP). This implies that the system was an old institution that was subject to transformation from ancient to recent. At the beginning of 16th century, the Oromo had a highly organized system that had already developed into a complex socio-economic and political institution. It was for this reason that many scholars suggest that the system must have existed long before 16th century.

Under egalitarian *Gadaa*, all citizens/*lammii* have equal privileges and responsibilities which is called ‘*Qixxee*’ or Equality. Females had fair socio-economic rights through *Siiqqee* institution even though could not get political authority because of transportation and other

problems, which made difficult to supervise the whole nation as expected from leader. Chiefly, females had discretionary powers on family property. When disagreement occurred between a husband and a wife, it was a husband who should leave house. A husband had no right to use or exchange family possession without the permission of his wife. A husband who tries to digress such custom would be ostracized as *Qorqodaa/Caabanaa/Qakkee*.

In the *Gadaa* system, two distinct categories that worked in parallel existed: the *Gadaa* grade and the *Gadaa* class (*Gogeessa*/parties). There were ten different age-based grades and five different parties to which each *Gadaa* grades belonged. The *Gadaa* grades made the system work in cycles and each grade had tenure of eight years. Thus, legal male members of community (*Miseensa Ilmaan Kormaa*) born with in period of one *Gadaa* rule of eight years (*Hiriyaa*) have been divided in to age grades or generation sets. The following table illustrates *Gadaa*-grades, ages and responsibilities attributed to the grades.

Table III: *Gadaa* Grades

s.n	Gada Grade	Age	Responsibilities
1	<i>Dabballee/Suluda</i>	birth-8	-socialization age, enjoyed rights of childhood; -brought up with great care of mothers, who have been identified by <i>gulmaa/guftaa</i> as emblem; - given heifers as <i>handhuuraa</i> /private property; - boys developing hair styles like <i>gubbisa</i> , <i>quncoo/ tuchee</i> etc and girls' <i>guduru</i> , <i>qarree</i> etc after five years.
2	<i>Gaammee/Ruuboo</i>	9-16	- learning historical and cultural tradition; -performing light works like herding calves and play sundry games.
3	<i>Foollee</i>	17-24	-engaging in military training, agriculture and others by observing <i>aadaa</i> /culture and <i>seeraa</i> /law of the society; guarded those in power; fought against injustice; -hunting wild beasts, galloping horses and performing heavy works like taking cattle long distance in search of pasture (<i>darabaa/foora</i>); -nominating future leaders (<i>hayyu</i> council) on basis of wisdom, ability, bravery, behavior & achievement, not on descent, at the age of 21 years.
4	<i>Qondaala</i>	25-32	warrior class of military service under the direction of <i>abbaa duulaa</i> (military leader); -defending a country being organized in <i>cibiraa</i> , and singing bravery songs like <i>geerarsa</i> , <i>mokkee</i> and <i>xunnee</i> .

5	Raaba-Doorii	33-40	-expected to gain knowledge of leadership philosophy -candidates' preparation to assume full status; -allowed to marry (change from <i>qeerroo</i> /single to <i>suubboo</i> /married), but fathering is possible only at <i>Luba</i> stage.
6	<i>Luba</i>	41-48	-Matured and skilled group that shoulder and discharge societal responsibilities; -They gained full privileges and acted as leaders; -ascent utmost authority ladder with limited period & extent from clan up to nationwide suzerainty; -their wives are called <i>kalaalee</i> .
7	<i>Yuba I</i>	49-56	-senior advisors of <i>Gada</i> government and educators;
8	<i>Yuba II</i>	57-64	-received a great deal of respect as wise experienced authorities and repositories of law;
9	<i>Yuba III</i> :	65-72	-responsible to conduct series of ceremonies and rites.
10	<i>Yuba IV</i>	73-80	

After *Yubaa* stage, members have become folk tellers or *Jarsa Gadamojjii/Raaqa/Ginya-Qululluu* (above 80 years, whose wives are called *cifiree*).

In each grade, individuals have gained formal and applied wisdom to discharge series of socio-economic & political roles. Individuals have joined one of the classes permanently but passed from one grade to the next every eight years until they completed the tenth grade.

There are five *Gadaa* in cycle called *Gogeessaa*, which have transferred power to each other every 8 years peacefully, comparable to modern multiparty system as sons become *Lubaa* 40 years after their fathers. Yet previously, sets of names used by sons were different from those of fathers and a given name repeated itself every eighty years as follows:

Table IV: *Gogeessaa* sets among Boroo-Aanaa and Barii-Aantuu Confederations

	Botoo-Aanaa <i>Gogeessaa</i>		Ituu-Humbannaa (Bareentuu) <i>Gogeessaa</i>	
S. N ^o .	Fathers' <i>Gogeessaa</i>	Sons' <i>Gogeessaa</i>	Fathers' <i>Gogeessaa</i>	Sons' <i>Gogeessaa</i>
1.	Birmaji	Aldaada	Badhaadha	Wabassa
2.	Malba	Horata	Bultuma	Bassira
3	Muudana	Biifole	Mardiida	Da'ibassa
4	Roobale	Sabbaqa	Horata	Ni'ukussa
5	Duulo	Kiilole	Fadata	Daa'imo

*Alternative sets among the Booran also include Dibbaqa/Sabbooqa, Dibbeessa/Libaasa/Makula, Darara/Halchisa; Dhallana/Fullaas.

In the system, specified responsibilities were assigned to members of Gadaa class that they should accomplish during their stay in each grade. In this regard, the six grade was very important since officials were elected from the members based on their ability and recorded achievement in the lower grades. The elected officials would assume executive leadership power and constituted the Gadaa government/administrative body. They administered the people in accordance with the law of the system. After the service of eight years, the officials and their class/party would hand over power to their immediate junior i.e. the fifth grade.

Table V: Chief officials of Sabboo-Goonaa (Southern Booranaa)

S. N ^o .	Title	N ^o	Position
1.	<i>Abbaa Harbooraa</i>	1	Head of the state
2.	<i>Abbaa Kontomaa</i>	2	First & second heads of state
3.	<i>Hayyuu Adulaa</i>	3	Assistants of Abbaa Gadaa Harabooraa
4.	<i>Waayyuu</i>	4	Counselors of Abbaa Gadaa Harbooraa & Abbaa Gadaa Kontomaa
5.	<i>Hayyuu Garbaa</i>	14	Assistants of Abbaa Gadaa Harbooraa & Abbaa-Gadaa Kontomaa
6.	<i>Hayyuu Meendhichaa</i>	10	Counselors of Hayyuu Garbaa

Table VI: Tuulamaa-Maccaa Yaa'ii Saglan/Saylan Booranaa (Nine Entire Presidium Members)

S. N ^o .	Title	N ^o	Duties
1.	<i>Abbaa Muudaa</i>	1	Father of Anointment
2.	<i>Abbaa Bokkuu</i>	1	Keeper of wooden or metal scepter, sign of Head of State authority
3.	<i>Abbaa Gadaa Fiixee</i>	1	Chief Executive (Head of Government/Administration), the highest authority
4.	<i>Abbaa Maatii</i>	1	Vice Executive & in Charge of Social Affair

5.	<i>Abbaa Caffee/Abbaa Dubbii</i>	1	Parliament chairperson/speaker who presents presidium decision to assembly
6.	<i>Abbaa Seeraa</i>	1	Memorizer of laws and results of assembly deliberations
7.	<i>Abbaa Alangaa</i>	1	Judge who executes the decision
8.	<i>Abbaa Duulaa (Mootii)</i>	1	In charge of the army (commander in chief of the army)
9.	<i>Abbaa Sa'aa (Dinagdee)</i>	1	Economic Minister

A. Oromo Population Movement (1522-1618)

There are two dominant hypotheses in the Oromo studies concerning their origin and demographic 'expansion'. The first hypothesis is the south-north ward that is based on the 16th century population movement. The second hypothesis upholds that the Oromo originated from the north, moved or pushed southeastwards by the expanding Christians and Muslims. In the first place, the question of 'origin' is epistemologically wrong because the Oromo constitute a highland and lowland communities from north, west, east, central and south that have moved back and forth in these directions for several years and were displaced from and returned to original territories at different periods. The majority of the population practiced mixed farming in the highlands and pastoral economy in the lowlands. However, the Oromo in the highlands and the lowlands maintained their ties through various institutions.

Recent studies based on historical, linguistics, material culture, and inter-Cushitic comparison support that Oromo history was part of the wider regional processes and patterns in northeast Africa. Based on evidences from linguistic studies, domestication of plants and animals, clan stories and place names such studies presented that ancestral places of settlement of the proto-Oromo and other Cushitic peoples were in the north. Studies by Christopher Ehret in particular show that by early 6, 000 BC the ancestral Cushitic speaking groups had moved from lower Nubia to Eritrea as well as north and central Ethiopia. At the time, the Cushitic speaking groups were engaged in the cultivation of cereals and like their Nilo-Saharan neighbors were keeping livestock. In the sixth and fifth millennium, the proto-

Cushitic are said to have formed various subdivisions and dispersed north-south direction to the regions between Red Sea Hills, the Sudan and Tanzania.

Whatever the case, Oromo culture, ethos, philosophies and beliefs show their long and sustained relationship with other Cushitic peoples in northeast Africa. It is difficult to clearly indicate when the Oromo achieved distinct identity. However, evidences show that they are indigenous to Ethiopia and the Horn, and their Gadaa system evolved from an age-set socio-economic and political system of proto-Cushitic stock in ancient times. Therefore, the Oromo had already settled in the whole parts of East Africa before the first millennium A. D. Yet, although leaders like Abbole, Habroo, Cangaree Korboo, Haruu Maaruu and Namoo Dooyyoo attempted to strengthen Gadaa in 12thc, the prolonged Christian-Muslim conflicts (13-16th century) pushed the Oromo to the south-east. It is apparent the Oromo revived, reformed and re-strengthened Gadaa in response to conflicts between the Christian State and Muslim Sultanates that might also forced them to shift Gadaa central caffee (parliament) and Abbaa Muudaa seat from Odaa Nabee to Odaa Roobaa and then to Madda Walaabuu in 1450.

Precipitated by the conflict between the Christian Kingdom and Muslim Sultanates that put pressure on them mainly in the rift valley areas, the Oromo organized under Booranaa and Bareentuu military leagues and began movement in 1522. The Oromo forces took north direction and passed through a corridor between Mount Walaabuu and Lake Abaya. When they reached half way between Lake Abaya and Hawassa, they took westward and penetrated across the Bilatte River to the southwest. However, resisted by the Wolayta State, they headed northwards to the lakes region of the Rift Valley.

An account authored by Abba Bahrey, an Orthodox monk who lived in Gamo, does not give clear information on Oromo clans who took part in the movement. Yet, the Bareentuu (Walo, Rayyaa-Aseebuu, Itu-Humbanna and Arssii) expanded to the north and across the rift valley and upper course of Wabe-Shebale River respectively. While the Boran moved to the present day territory, the Guji tradition claims that the Guji were forced to move southward to the present day because of the attack by the Christian army under Zara-Yaqob (r.1434-1468).

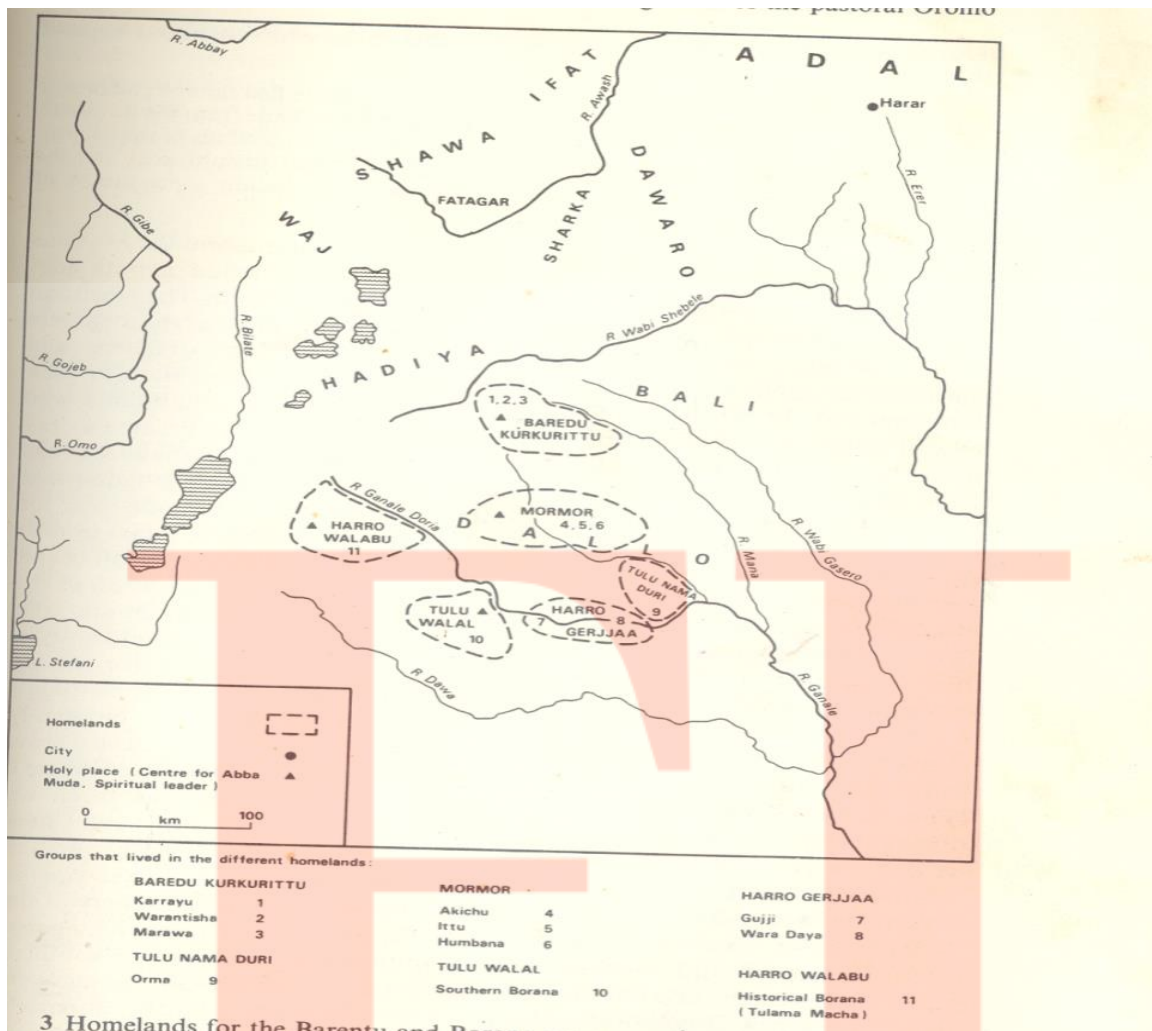
The Oromo fought twelve Buttaa wars until 1618. Accordingly, the Malbaa (1523-1530) defeated Abyssinian regiment Batira Amora led by Fasil and liberated the whole Baallii while Muudanaa (1531-1538) regained up to the edge of Awash River. The Kiilolee (1539-1546) routed Christian regiment Adal Mabraaq at Dawwaaroo while Biifolee (1547-1554) advanced to Waj & Ereri crushing Abyssinian Buksar Amora led by Portuguese commander Ayres Di'az. The Michillee (1555-1562) overwhelmed Hamalmaal at Dagoo and Jan Amora corps as well as Adali led by Emir Nur Mujahiddin at Mount Hazaaloo and forced Harari to construct Jagol Wall. The Harmuufa/Hambisaa (1563-1570) fought Giyorgis Hayile led by Minas/ Adiyam-Saggadi (r.1559-1563) at Qacina & Wayyata; occupied Angot, Ganzyi, Sayint etc. The Roobalee (1571-1578) was defeated by Sartsa Dingil's (r.1563-1597) cavalry led by Azzaj Halibo at Wayina Daga in c. 1574, but crushed Zara'a Yohannis forces. The Birmajii (1579-1586) occupied Ar'ine in Waji, crossed Jamaa to Walaqaa and beset Daaragootii. The Mul'ata (1587-1594) attacked Damot, Bizamo, Gafat, Dambiya and Tigray. The Duuloo (1595-1602), Malbaa (1603-1610) and Muudanaa (1611-1618) expanded to West & Northern parts of the Horn of Africa while others like Wardaay moved to Kenya and Bur Haqaba and Majertiin in Somalia. Among others, Gadaa system and particularly the Gadaa military organization was the reason for the successes of the Oromo.

The Oromo in due course revived, reformed or established assembly centers as they moved far away from their major center i.e. Madda Walaabuu in Bidiree village of Baalee. Among Baareentuu groups, Arssii (Siikkoo and Mandoo) moved from Bareedduu Kurkuruu between Walmal and Maannaa Rivers to Dalloo Baaruk/Deebanuu and Odaa Roobaa. Itu-Humbanna reestablished their common center at Odaa Bultum around Karra/Gate Qurquraa in Hararghee.

From Ituu sub clans, Galaan set up centers at Baabboo and Qunnee while Kuraa made Galamso their center. Humbannaa set up hub around Gabaa River. Waloo, Raayyaa and Aseebuu set up their centers at Garaadoo/Makoodii.

Sabbo-Goonaa (southern Borana) set up centers at Tulluuu Namduri, Mount Walal, Gaarres/Mormor and Gaayo. Gujii (Kontam-Daarimu) set up centers at Haroo Girjaa in Jamjam-

Dooriyaa and Me'ee Bokkoo. Tuulama-Macca/Northern Booranaa made Odaa Nabee near Dukam their common center. However, Macca went to distant areas and formed center at Oda Xuxe Bisil Osole between Billoo & Gedoo Rivers around Ijaajii; Odaa El Dalloo in Liiban; Bokkuu Xulee & Cittuu around Ambo; Odaa Bulluq in Horroo Guduruu and Odaa Doogii in Ilu-Abbaaboor. The Maccaa also formed confederacies of Sadachaa/three from Obo, Suubaa & Hakaako clans, and Afre/four from Hoke, Calliya, Guduru & Liiban and moved across Gumar, Shat, Konch etc. based on Makkoo Bilii's laws of land occupation. The Limmuu under Abbaa Duulaas like Teessoo had to crush the resistance of Inarya rulers like Badancho, Gu'amcho and Banaro. Though Jimma area was penetrated by clans like Abbu Kaakoo, Harsuu, Laaloo, Qoree etc under Diggoo Jaarsoo, it was Baabboo Koyyee who crushed the resistance of Gaaroo (Booshaa) King, Budoo and founded Odaa Hullee that served as Gadaa center until erudite female Gadaaleader, Makkaahoree.



Map 8: Gadaa centers

5.4. Interaction and Integration across Ethnic and Religious Diversities

The political, social, and economic processes of the medieval period were the major factors for the people's interactions across regions. Such interactions occurred during peace and conflict times. The cases in point were the trade contacts and conflicts to control trade routes, religious expansion, and territorial expansion and population movements. One of the major consequences of the interactions in the medieval period particularly in the population movement of the 16th century was the integration of peoples across ethnic and religious diversities in Ethiopia and the Horn. Population movement of the period relatively covered extensive geographical areas in the region. It involved diverse ethnic groups, cultures, and religions from south to north and from east to west. It is apparent that territorial and religious

expansion by the Christian kingdom diffused Christian tradition from north to the south. Similarly, the wars of Imam Ahmad and the population movement of the Somali and the Afar caused the expansion of Islam into the central parts of Ethiopia.

The Oromo contact with diverse peoples in the 16th century brought far-reaching integrations among peoples across ethnic and religious background. The Oromo integrated non-Oromo through two adoption mechanisms: Guddifachaa and Moggaasaa. The former involved fostering a child to a given parent in which the fostered child deserves all rights and privileges of real child. The latter was the system of bringing the non-Oromo clan into the gosa (Oromo clan). Moggaasaa was the practice of incorporation that involved inclusion of individuals to groups through oath of allegiance with all the rights and obligations that such members entailed. Moggaasaa was undertaken by the Abbaa Gadaa on behalf of the clan. The adopted groups gained both protection and material benefits without changing their original identity. Moggaasaa recognized the cultures of those who were adopted and at the same time granted full citizenship to them. The process significantly contributed to national integration.

The interactions also resulted in an exchange of socio-cultural values and institutions. A number of peoples in the neighborhood of the Oromo adopted Gada system. Interactions among peoples were also one factor for revival of long-distance trade. Equally, the Oromo were exposed to cultures and traditions of the people with whom they came into contact.

5.5. Peoples and States in Eastern, Central, Southern and Western Regions

5.5.1 Cushitic States

Gedeo

According to a tradition, the origin of the Gedeo is traced back to an aboriginal clan called Murgga-Gosallo. Another tradition that might have to do with the Oromo practice of mass adoption known as guddifacha, traces the origin of the Gedeo, to Daraso, who was older brother of Guji (Guji's ancestor) and Boro (Borana's ancestor).

According to this tradition, the seven Gedeo clans; Doobba'a, Darashsha, Gorggorshsha, Hanuma, Bakarro, Henbba'a and Logoda descended from the seven sons of Daraso which he got from two wives. The clans were grouped in two houses, the first being the shoole baxxe (senior) house where the first four clans belonged including more than 25 sub-clans and the second called sase baxee (junior) house where the last three belonged having 10 sub-clans. Each clan was exogamous and was assigned for particular duty such as ritual, traditional medicine or leadership.

Before the conquest and incorporation into the Ethiopian empire in the late nineteenth century, the Gedeo had a culture called baalle, a traditional governance system that worked with age classes and ranking. The baalle had seven grades with a 10-year period each creating a 70-year cycle. Sasserogo was a federation of three territories; Sobbhho, Ributa and Rikuta sharing one Aba Gadaa who leaves office every eight years to be replaced by a new holder with the next age set at baalle ceremony. It was at this ceremony that all positions ranging from the top, Aba Gadaa down to *Hayitcha* were assumed. The Gedeo must have shared this practice from Guji Oromo. Like the neighboring Sidama, with whom they shared a very close language, their economy was based on the cultivation of *enset*. The Gedeo called the Supreme Being, *Mageno*.

Sidama

The Sidama originally traced back to the Cushitic population that occupied a large area in the northeastern and eastern parts of Africa stretching from Sudan to Tanzania. Currently, the Sidama live in the southern parts of Ethiopia occupying lowlands of about 1500 m a.s.l in the Great East Africa Rift Valley that cuts through Lakes Hawassa and Abaya up to 3000 m a.s.l in the eastern Sidama highlands of Arbegona, Bansa and Arroessa Districts. Agriculture, although done traditionally, remained the basis of Sidama's economy. *Enset* (false banana) and coffee are Sidama's important food and cash crops respectively.

The Sidama had a traditional system of governance led by the *Mote* (king). The *Mote* exercised political and administrative authority in consultation with the council of elders called *Songo*. *Songo* members raised any agenda for discussion within the council and submitted their decisions to the *Mote* for approval. Although there was no written constitution, rules were known by heart through generations and practiced accordingly.

The cultural and ritual leader in Sidama society was the *Woma*, selected for his ability as a peacemaker, bodily perfection, oratorical ability, wisdom and caution. The *Woma* could not participate in war or cattle raiding as he was considered a man of peace. The *Woma* handled cultural matters such as offering sacrifices to the spirits. He also performed other rituals such as circumcision and marriage.

Sidama society was divided into generation-sets called *Luwa*. The system had five grades each lasting for eight years. These are *Darara*, *Fullassa*, *Hirbora*, *Wawassa* and *Mogissa*. Candidates for *Luwa* received a five-month military training and war songs like *gerarsha* under the leadership of the *gaden* with his deputy called *Ja'lawa*. The *gaden* settled disputes within his *Luwa*, besides handling the defense of Sidama society together with the *Mote*.

Another important institution of Sidama society is *Seera*. *Seera* was the social constitution of the Sidama people governing social life based on the Sidama moral code, *halale* (the ultimate truth) to judge the right and wrong. Although it was not written and defined with strict

enforcement mechanisms, people abide by the rules of *halale* to avoid curse or ostracization by the society.

Kambata

Many contradictory statements exist regarding the formation of the state of Kambata, as represented by the Kambata name-bearers today. Mostly, however, local traditions agree that Kambata was neither ethnically nor linguistically composed a homogeneous bloc before the sixteenth century. The area encompassed Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic peoples. As far as the stratification of the society goes, at the bottom, were potters, tanners and hunters. In the middle were cultivators and at the top were nobles of whom some were Semitic-speaking military personnel from northern Ethiopia. By about 1550-1570, four communities of separate origin coalesced to form the contemporary state of Kambata which means “this is the place” (where we live). The first one, Kambata in the narrow sense, had its original homeland around Mount Hambericho in the heartland of Kambata territory. The other three namely the Dubamo, Donga and Tembaro trace their homeland from Sidama highlands.

If the above processes led to the formation of the nucleus of the state, the ethnogenesis of Kambata also benefitted from Omotic and Semitic peoples who moved into the region at different times. Emperor Yeshak (r.1414-29) annexed Kambata proper and controlled the area between Omo and Bilate Rivers which he incorporated into the Christian Ethiopian Empire. In 1532, the region was captured by Imam Ahmad’s army which furthered the interaction of peoples. At the end of the sixteenth century, the groups recognized as and conscious of the name Kambata related to one of the seven dominant clans in the region. The people were ensete farmers sharing similar culture and speaking the same language called Kambatissa which belongs to the Highland East Cushitic family together with Kabena, Alaba, Hadiya, Sidama, Gedeo and Burji groups.

The Kambata had a traditional administrative institution called the Hambericho Council. The council had seven members each representing the seven clans in the region. With a king at the top, the council ruled Kambata until the late nineteenth century.

Hadiya

The origin of the state of Hadiya goes back to the thirteenth century. It was mentioned in the *Kebre-Negest (Glory of the Kings)* and it referred to the area west of the Islamic states in the federation of Zeila. The people were heterogeneous both linguistically and culturally. Semitic-speaking agricultural people dominated north of the state while the southern part was largely inhabited by Cushitic-speaking pastoral communities. There was a considerable Muslim population. By about 1332, the ruler of the Christian kingdom, Amde-Tsion, subjugated Hadiya after defeating its ruler, Amano who supported by a Muslim “prophet” Bel’am aligned with the then leader of Ifat, Sabraddin to confront the Christian force.

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Hadiya’s political importance was considerable with sizable population and vast territory. In 1445, Hadiya king called Mahilqo rebelled against Emperor Zare-Yaqob (r.1434-68) and was consequently replaced by his uncle Bamo. To stabilize the situation, Zare-Yaqob made a political marriage. Accordingly, Princess Elleni, from Hadiya, who became an important historical figure, married Emperor Zare-Yaqob. Another Hadiya leader, Garad Aze refused to pay tribute to Emperor Sartsa-Dengel (r.1563-1598), but was suppressed in 1568/9.

Abyssinian-Hadiya relation was interrupted following the wars between the Christian kingdom and Adal and the Oromo population movement until Emperor Menilek’s force conquered the region in the late nineteenth century. After these two major developments in the region notably the latter, Hadiya’s population became even more diverse. However, descendants of the old Hadiya can be traced from five different linguistic clusters: the East Gurage, the Oromo, the Sidama, the Kabena and Alaba, and the Hadiya proper with its sub-groups-the Mareko, Lemu/Badogo, Soro, Shashogo and Badowacho. As with the Kambata and Sidama, the Hadiya language belongs to the Highland East Cushitic family and their languages are intelligible to members of these ethnic groups.

Konso /Xonso

The name Konso or Xonso is invariably used to refer one of the ancient peoples in Ethiopia and the Horn who spoke affa Xonso (Konso language) and their land. The literal meaning of the term is a “heavily forested hill/ area”. A century ago the highlands of Konso, which was covered by dense forest, had been the traditional home of Konso people while the low-lying environment along Sagan and Woyito river valley served as hunting grounds. Konso attracted the attention of local and international researchers interested in the evolution of human evolution region, as it is one of the earliest human settlement sites in the world.

Agriculture was and remains to be the major economic activity of the Konso. Farmers practiced a fairly balanced and integrated system of specialized agricultural technology. The location of mainland Konso within mosquito infested hot and dry lowlands at the edge of the Great East African Rift Valley led farmers to adopt intensive agriculture. Farmers combined crop production with cattle breeding. At the same time, they adopted soil conservation techniques notably the construction of terraces which proved helpful to convert rugged and hilly areas into permanent cultivation. Farmers were also adept at selecting plant genes that withstood harsh climatic conditions. Such complex agricultural practices enabled farmers to produce sufficient food on small plot of land for their sustenance. Besides agriculture, Konso’s economy depended on bee-keeping and craftworks. All of these activities attest the ingenuity of local adaptation strategies.

Until the late nineteenth century, the Konso people lived in walled villages namely Karati Turo and Takati which were further divided into wards (Kanta). There was no central authority who acted as sovereign power over the three regions. Each village was ruled by a council of elders called hayyota who were selected through direct participation of male members of the village. Membership to the council was not hereditary but rotated every eighteen years.

At the core of the socio-political organization of the Konso appear to be the clan or lineage group and xhelta- generation set. The Konso were divided into nine exogamous clans namely

Toqmaleta, Elayta, Saudata, Pasanta, Kertita, Ishalayta, Mahaleta, Tikisayta and Argamyta. Meanwhile, male members of each Konso village were divided into generation sets called xhelta. The xhelta had fixed cycle of years starting from birth, although they varied across villages- eighteen in Karat, nine in Takati and five in Turo. The major function of the generation set was informing the responsibilities expected of each age group.

5.5.2 Semitic States

The Emirate of Harar

Harar is one of the earliest Muslim centers in the region of Ethiopia and the Horn. In the sixteenth century, Harar became the capital of Walasma of Adal replacing Dakkar until 1577 when it was shifted to Awsa due to the pressure from the Oromo. Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim used Harar as a center from where he launched his campaigns into the Christian kingdom in 1527. The Oromo had begun to occupy Harar plateau and the famous Harar wall was built to defend the city. Harar became a walled city where the sultanate of the Harari developed.

In the mid seventeenth century, Emir Ali ibn Da'ud (r. 1647-1662,) in cooperation with the Oromo established a dynasty which was to rule for nearly two centuries and a half. It was strengthened by Amirs like Abdul Shakur (1783-94). The Amir's council, Majilis engaged in supervising Mosque land, Waqf and offering other assistance to the Amir. The emirate grew in importance to be a steady center of Islamic culture and power. Its economic power grew as it controlled trade routes from the Gulf of Aden ports of Zeila and Berbera. Its authority was established over the surrounding Oromo and Somali through trade, inter-marriage and expansion of Islamic teachings. Egyptians were attracted by such a prominence that they sent an expeditionary force in 1875 and controlled the emirate for nearly a century. Although it was later restored, Menilek's expansion to the region shortly followed in 1887.

Shawan Christian Kingdom

Medieval Christian state centered in Shawa before it moved to the north during the wars between the Christian kingdom and Muslim sultanates and the Oromo expansion of the sixteenth century. The new northern state center maintained links with the Shawan region for some time. Local powers started emerging in areas like Merhabete and Bulga and later

Menz got prominence controlling not only Amhara but also Oromo to the south and southwest. Kings, such as Iyyasu I in 1696 led expeditions to ensure control over the region.

“Solomonic” dynasty of Shawa Amhara was formed by the Menz ruler Warada Qal Negasi Kristos (r.1696-1703) and eventually controlled districts like Asandabo, Debdabo, Makfud and Yifat. The second king was Merid Azmatch Sebestie/Sebastyanos (1703-1718). Abuye/ Abiyye (1718-45) made Haramba, his capital and tried to subjugate surrounding Oromo before he was killed by Karrayu Oromo. In addition to his unsuccessful attempts to control Afars and Abitchu Oromo, Amaha Iyesus/ Amayyes (r.1745-75) declared authority over Bulga, Efrata, Menz and Tegulet with his capital at Doqaqit which later shifted to Ankober. Asfa Wosen (r.1775-1808) conquered Antsokia, Asbo, Gedam, Gishe, Merhabete, Morat and Shawa Meda. The dynasty became very strong under negus Sahle-Sellase (r.1813-47), the grandfather of Emperor Menilek II. In his reign many travelers visited Shawa and he even signed “treaty of friendship and commerce” with the British in 1841.

Shawa’s economy was mainly based on agriculture supplemented by trade and craft. Near the capital, Ankobar, there was an important trade center in Aleyu Amba administered by the Shawan court.

Gurage

The Gurage live in southwestern Ethiopia, surrounded by the Awash and Gilgel Gibe Rivers (a tributary of the Omo River) on the north and southwest respectively, and Lake Ziway on the east. According to local traditions, the groups that are subsumed under the term Gurage originated in northern Ethiopia as the descendants of military conquerors. The main Gurage clans and their sub-divisions are the following; Inor group (Inor, Enner, Endegegna, Gyeto and Mesemes), Chaha group (Chaha, Muher, Ezha, Gumer and Gura) and the Kistane group (Aymallal, Dobbi, Gordana, Gogat and Galila). Additional groups included: Gadabano, Masqan and Nurana. The staple crop in Gurage land is *enset*.

The Gurage had traditional system of governance developed over the centuries. There was, however, no centralized leadership. Power was vested in clan or lineage groups. The descent groups displayed corporate rights, obligations, and influence. Gurage's notable customary modes of governance include the *Yajoka Qicha* and the *Gordanna Sera*.

5.5.3 Omotic States

Kafa

According to traditions, this powerful kingdom emerged in fourteenth century. Around mid seventeenth century, the state had come to prominence. The ruling Minjo dynasty and the medieval kingdom of Ennarya had close contact. The Oromo expansion might have forced the ruling house of Ennarya to flee south of the Gojeb which as a result brought Christianity and the royal title tato to Kafa.

As with a number of Cushitic and some Semitic peoples of the south, Kafa's economy was based on the cultivation of *enset* on peasant farms supported by trade. Besides working on their land, peasants rendered free labor service and tilled royal estates with the support of slaves who were acquired through raiding or trading, or as payment for debt. As far as trade is concerned, a prosperous commerce took place with Oromo states of the Gibe region. Major trade items, such as, musk, coffee, slaves, Ivory, gold, honey-wax, and civet were exported via markets like Tonkolla, Tiffa, Qeya etc.

From the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, the kingdom expanded to Bonesho, Mashengo, Maji, Nao, She and Chara. At the apex of the administration of the kingdom was the Tato with his major political center at Bonga. Another seat of power was Anderacha, seven miles to southeast. The Tato was assisted by a council of seven advisors called Mickrecho. The mikrecho served to moderate the power of the king but they played important roles in succession as well.

The Kafa are known for their culture of digging deep trenches called Kuripo. The Gojeb also served as natural defense against external invasion and it might have contributed to their relative independence until 1897.

Wolayta

The name Wolayta denotes a specific ethnic group in southern Ethiopia and their powerful kingdom which first emerged as a state back in the thirteenth century. Wolayta had a strong centralized state which flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a result of successful wars that the Wolayta fought against their neighbors and the material, human and territorial gains thereof. At the apex of the social and political hierarchy was the Kawo (king), assisted by an advisory council of nobles called Ballimalla. Two successive dynasties ruled Wolayta before its forceful incorporation into the Imperial Ethiopian state in the late nineteenth century: the Wolayta-Malla and the Tigre. Founded in the thirteenth century, the Wolayta-Malla seems to have ruled until the end of the fifteenth century. It was then superseded by the Tigre dynasty, so called because it was supposedly founded by Tigrean migrants from northern Ethiopia. The kingdom lost political autonomy following its conquest by Emperor Menelik's forces in 1894.

The land of Wolayta is known for its fertility and moderate climate, with green vegetation cover for the most part of the year. All land was nominally owned by the king who granted it to his dependents. In practice, land relationships were ordered according to three basic principles of social organization i.e. kinship, polity and social status. Accordingly, rights over land were vested in the lineage group, the crown (royal estate) and the nobility. There were also communal lands allocated for grazing and social gatherings to which all members of the society except artisans had equal access. The king rewarded people with land on grounds of gallant deeds in battle and other important contributions to the state. By grants of land or by threats of dispossession the reigning monarch ensured loyalty to the state. Except those who worked on the royal estate, landholders paid tribute to the king. The dominant food crop was enset (*Enset Ventricosum*).

Yam

The Yam or Yamma state was located along the eastern banks of the Gibe or to the northeast of the Kafa kingdom. Major Yam clans include Gezi, Haema, Kamoso, Kanashiro, Kaworn, Malaqo, Orbatu, Wona and Zatalu. Initially, an indigenous dynasty called Dida or Halmam-Gamma ruled Yam from its palace in Dudarkema/Zimarma near Oya, in the vicinity of Bor Ama Mountain. Besides being at the top of the political ladder, the Amno (king) of Yam acted as a chief priest with attributes of divinity. A state council of 12 clan representatives named Nanktessor with its chairman Waso assisted the Amno in administering the state. Erasho were the provincial governors and they were responsible for digging ditches called bero and erecting a nearly fifty meter wooden or iron pillars at the center of the kingdom around Brisi Bitu so that the war father, the Nomiaaw, could patrol the surroundings. Especial messengers, Wosi carried orders from Amno down to district chiefs, Gagna and vice versa. In the fourteenth century, the last king Oyokam/Amo Dasha was overthrown by northern migrants who founded a new dynasty called Mowa (Howa) with its center at Angari. In the nineteenth century, the neighboring state of Jimma Abba Jifar brought the Yam under its control which itself was absorbed into the imperial state of Ethiopia under Menelik towards the end of the century.

Yam's economy combined agriculture, trade and crafts. The black smiths, Yirfo, the tanners and potters, Fuga lived in segregation in the west/ Bulogi.

5.5.4 Nilotic States

Berta and Gumuz

The Berta are one of the Nilo-Saharan speaking peoples that inhabited the present Beni-Shangul Regional State. Local traditions link the Berta to the Sennar in eastern Sudan, in the area of the former Funji Kingdom (l. 1521-1804). It is said that they moved to western Ethiopia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The place where they first settled in western Ethiopia was known as Bela Shangul or "Beni Shangul" which literally means 'Rock of Shangul' in reference to a sacred stone around a mountain in Menge woreda. In addition to

the Berta, the area is home for the Gumuz. Islamic influence had been strong on the Berta and other Nilotes because of their trade and social contacts with the northern Sudan.

Anyua

The Anyua, also known as the Anyuaa people, predominantly inhabit areas along Pibor, Sobat, Gila, Akobo, Agwei, Oboth, Baro, and Alwero Rivers on the western borderlands of the present-day Gambella region. The people speak Dha-anywaa, a sub-branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family. The Anuak had an indigenous administrative system whereby each village lived under a chief called Kuaari who along with the nobles, Nyiye, managed the distribution of farm and grazing fields, settled disputes etc with the community. Although local traditions mention a certain person by the name Oshoda as the founding father of the Anuak, the administration of the territory was not centralized. Economically, they are engaged in small-scale cultivation, fishing and hunting. While most Anuak practiced Christianity, they also believed in traditional religion.

Nuer

The traditional homeland of the Nuer extended across the savannas and marshes of the Bahr el-Ghazal and the Upper Nile regions. Since the nineteenth century, they had been largely settled in the plains of Gambella along the Sobat and Baro rivers and parts of the Sudan. The mainstay of Nuer's economy was cattle breeding supplemented by farming. The Nuer had developed a rather complex spiritual culture around their cattle which were used as bride wealth as well. The Nuer had an age-set system combining social and political functions. Nuer boys had to pass through a severe test and a series of rites connected with it before they were initiated into adulthood.

Majanger

The Majanger formed the southern end of the Nilo-Saharan settlement that covered the escarpment of the Oromo inhabited highlands to the Baro plains. Linguistic evidence relates the origin of the Majanger to the Boma plateau in South Sudan. Gradually, they moved northwards and settled in forested areas of western Ethiopia. By mid twentieth century, their settlement extended to areas near Dembidolo in the north. Economically, the Majanger practiced shifting cultivation and animal husbandry. Other economic activities of the Majanger include beekeeping, hunting and fishing.

5.6. The Period of Gondar (1636-1769) and Zemene-Mesafint / Era of the Princes (1769-1855)

5.6.1. The Revival the Christian Kingdom

The nobilities renewed their allegiance to Emperor Gelawdiwos and his armies, the emperor also forgave for Muslims and others for their past disloyalty. It was resulted to quickly retake possession of the whole of the northern and central plateau. Lots of highland Muslim community submitted to Gelawdiwos and were not harmed. He was tolerant toward his Muslim subjects and aimed at national conciliation and to develop revival of smooth relations with the Muslim world. The restoration of the pre-war territories in South, particularly in the southeast (in the Muslim dominated areas) was not easy task likewise that of his success in the North and Shawa. It was because of this that the emperor was busy in reorganizing his kingdom. Wazir Abbas attempted to form a state composed of Dawaro, Bali, and Fatagar. But the issue was settled in a battle in 1545. While, this victory in the region did not provide long lasting effect, Muslim rulers west of the Rift Valley continued the struggle against the Christian monarch and conditions in the south were complicated by the Oromo population movement. The recovery and the reconsolidation of Christian kingdom continued by performing campaigns. The Christian northerners were settled as garrisons (Chewa) in the South and on the borders. The new Chewa regiments were not only meant to defend the empire but also to facilitate integration by the diffusion of Christianity and the northern

culture among the local population. The process was further enhanced by the nearly uninterrupted presence of the royal camp in the southeastern provinces during the last decade of Gelawdiwos reign. The rising challenging events during the early parts of reconsolidation of the Christian kingdom from 1550's were the partial recovery of Adal, the Ottoman threat, Jesuit interlude and the expansion of Oromo Population movement in to the center.

When Emperor Gelawdiwos was going to control Damot, the surviving Sultanate of Adal under the leadership of Nur Ibn al-waazir Mujahid (Son of Ahmad's Sister, who became amir in 1551/52) made efforts to organize and lead the Adal-Harar Muslims for a revenge war against the Christian Kingdom. The widow, Bati dil Wombera, made promise to marry Nur, if he could avenge the loss of the soul of her husband, but his first attempt of against the Christian kingdom was unsuccessful even his seat, Harar, was sacked in 1550. Yet Harar recovered from its defeat and stood for offensive. In 1559 the forces of Amir Nur ('had been named amir al-mumin by the people of Harar') initiated and supported by the people of Harar and Bati Del Wanbara marched to the north in to Shoa control Fatagar. Punitive expedition under Hamalmal was sent by Galawdiows (he was from Gojjam) to stop them but couldn't. Gelawdiwos himself met the Muslims with small army. His forces were defeated, and he was killed and beheaded on Good Friday in 1559 and his head was taken to Harar.

In the long run, the Muslims were unable to continue their victory; and in particular Amir Nur was forced to retreat to Harar due to the internal power struggle between them and because of the Oromo attacks of his base area, Harar.

In 1557, when Yishaq (the Bahir-Negash) was accompanying Gelawdiwos in the south east Ethiopia (Harar), the Ottoman Turks under Ozdemir Pasha by leading three thousand soldiers took control of Massawa and Arkiko, and established their fortress and erect a tower at Dabarwa. They also pushed forward and massacred the monks of Dabra Damo, and the Church. In 1559, Yishaq together with the Tigrrians and the chiefs of North provinces defeated the Turkish forces. As a result of this, the Ethiopians reoccupied Dabarwa and the Turks were forced to retreat to Swakim, north of Massawa.

However, towards the last years of Minas (r.1559-1563) Yishaq revolted and allied with the Turks. In 1562 the organized force defeated Minas and he was forced to flee in to Shawa. Therefore during the reign of Emperor Sartsa-Dengle (r.1563-1598), Yishaq was the main focus of rebellion. Yishaq began negotiation with the Turks and Muslim of Harar. On 7 December, 1578 Sartsa-Dengle defeated combined armies of Yishaq and the Turks at Addi Qorro where both Yishaq and Zamur Pasha were killed. The remaining Turks solders retreated. The king then moved into the fortress Dabarwa, broke down its walls and destroyed its mosque. On his return Sartsa-Dengle conducted campaigns against the rebellions of Agaw, Gumuz, Felaha/Bete-Israel, Sidama, Enarya and the Oromo.

While Sartsa-Dengle was in Enarya, the successor of Yishaq revolted and allied to the Turks and helped them to reoccupy the Dabarwa region. The emperor then moved to Arkiko and first attacked the fortress there but he had to retire to mountains of Tigre to eliminate the rebels once for all. Having accomplished this, the king returned to Dabarwa, South of Massawa. The coastal areas were restored to the Christian kingdom. Based on peace made in 1589, between the emperor and Pasha Kadawert, Arkiko and Massawa were given to a local Beja (Belew) chieftain. The Ottomans were there, however because of the decline of Ottoman government the Turks did not try to conquer Ethiopia.

5.6.2. The Gondar Period Political Developments: “Close Door Policy,” Reforms, “Byzantine Politics”

One of the political developments of this period was the northward orientation of the political center of the Christian kingdom from the Northern Shawan highlands to the Lake Tana region and Gondar area. It was because of the temporary recovery of Adalites and the Oromo population pressure. Basically, the period of Gondar was started from the reign of Emperor Sartsa-Dengle that means, when the political center of Ethiopian emperors shifted to Gondar Area. Emperor Minas stayed in Eastern Gojjam at Mangest-Samyat, but in the meantime he shifted his center of power into the Lake Tana region. Emperor Sartsa-Dengle attempted royal camp at Guzara/Enfranz in 1571. Emperor Susenyos also tried to establish his capital in the near surrounding of Gondar like at Qoga, Gorgora, Danqaz and Azazo.

Apart from this, it is mostly known that the actual beginning of the Gondar period or “Gondarine Period” was from its foundation as a permanent capital in 1636 by Emperor Fasiledas (r.1632-67) that continued up to the beginning of “Zemene-Mesafint”.

Among ten emperors ruled during the “Gondarian” period, the kingdom achieved its glory during the reigns of its first three successive emperors: Fasiledas (r.1632–67), Yohannes I (r.1667 – 1682) and Iyasu I (r.1682 – 1706).

Among the major reforms during this period were restoration of the Orthodox faith, the establishment of the royal Prison of Amba Wahnii to solve the rivalry problems by Fasiledas. Emperor Yohannes by alarming the progress of Islam as he allied with the Muslim world called a council and decided to establish Addis Alem as a separate quarter for Muslims. During the reign of Iyasu, a system of land measurement was introduced in Begemder, the Fetha Negest (the civil code) revised, land tenure system, taxes, and customs were reformed. After the Oromo population expanded into the central and the northern part of Ethiopia, the Oromo warriors widely participated in central army of Gondar. During this period, relatively good degree of integration between the surviving Christian communities of Shawa and the Oromos were formed.

At the beginning, unlike their predecessors, the “Gondarine” emperors led leisure life. However, after a period of Iyasu I, life in the court of Gondar affected by internal political instability and it has come to be known as “Byzantine politics”. It was characterized by and Gondar became the center of intrigues, short-lived monarchs, assassinations, instabilities, chaos, coups d’état and poisoning of kings by power claimants. The assassination of Iyasu the Great opened the beginning of instability. Iyasu the Great was assassinated by a faction led by his son Takla-Haymanot. Takla-Haymanot was crowned in the spring of 1706 before the death of his father and was in turn assassinated by Tewoflos. Tewoflos was again killed by Yostos, who was also poisoned and replaced by Dawit III, who himself was fallen to poisoning and replaced by Bakkaafaa. Bakkaafaa tried to bring stability with the support of his Oromo warriors and his formidable queen, Mentewab of Quara.

With incapacitation of her husband, around 1728, and beginning from 1728 to 1768 the Gondarine court politics was dominated by the famous Queen Etege Mentewab together with her brother Walda Le'ul (1732-1767, he remained a pillar of the kingdom until his death, in 1767). He dominated the reigns of Iyasu II (1730-1755) and Iyoas (1755-1769). At the death of Walda Le'ul, however, Mentwab was challenged by her Wallo Oromo daughter-in-law Wabi/Wubit Amto (her Baptized name was Bersabeh), with support of her brothers Brillee and Luboo. In reaction, Mentwab invited Ras Micka'el Sehul of Tigray to support her against the Wallo. Later after the death of Mentwab, Iyoas asked Ras Mika'el to return to Tigray. Nevertheless, he refused, and killed Iyoas himself, put 70 years old man Yohannes II on power. Immediately when Yohannes II showed discomfort, Ras Mika'el killed him and put his son under throne name Takla-Haymanot II (1769-1777) on power. This opened the way to the Era of Lords or Zemene Masefent (1769-1855).

5.6.3. Gondar Achievements

Gondar became the center of state administration, learning, commerce, education, art and crafts for more than two centuries. The first three kings were successful not only in political affairs but also in cultural developments. Gondar had great influence on the country's cultural developments. This enabled Gondar to repeat the splendors of Aksum and Lalibela. The cultural achievements of the period led some writers to describe Gondarine period in history as Ethiopian Renaissance.

Architecture

When Gondar served as a permanent capital, for about one hundred fifty years Ethiopian kings built significant secular buildings like castles, bridges, residences, bath, library, towers, fortifications and there are squared, round and unknown shape of churches. In the cities compound the most impressive building known as Fasil Gemb, there are different palaces corresponded to Emperor Fasiledas, Yohannes I, Iyasu I, Dawit III, Bakkaafaa and regent Queen Mentewab. The Gondarine architecture would have started before the reign of emperor Fasiledas during the reign of Emperor Sartsa-Dengle at about 1586, at Guzara near Enfranz. Even it goes back to the reign of Lebne-Dengel (r.1508-1540) that is the pointed oval dome over the center of the church of Bahir Gimb Mikael considered as built by him.

Fasiledas castle architectural styles usually have two stride and almost square; circular domed corner towers. Not only castle, bridge building did not originate with the reign of Fasiledas. Rather, Emperor Sartsa-Dengel is said to have built a very fine bridge near his palace at Guzara, and Emperor Susenyos likewise erected a bridge over Blue Nile at Alata.

Painting

With a wealth of religious paintings on manuscripts and on wood, ornaments, weapons and other accessories especially, the churches built by Queen Mintwab were known by beautiful paintings, cross and an art works.



Picture 5: the Qesqam Palace built by Empress Mentewab

Literature

The Imperial and provincial scriptoria produced a great number of manuscripts. Besides the Gospels, the Miracles of Mary, the Lives of Ethiopian Saints and the Litanies, and many other kinds of illuminated manuscripts were also produced. Gondar is also known for its traditional medicine, music and poetry.

Trade & Urbanization

In the early days Gondar was a commercial center that connected long distance trade routes of the southern region with Massawa and Matama in the Ethio-Sudan border. Gold and salt were used as the currency in the market. The appearance of daily market was known.

With spread of urbanization, the city became residences of foreign communities like Indians, Greeks and Armenians. Its total number of population reached 60,000-70, 000. In addition to its political and commercial importance it served as religious center of Christians, Muslims and Bete-Israel Jewish. Mainly, it served as the center of Ethiopian Orthodox Church (residence of the abun & Ichege) until the mid of 19th Century. Many of Orthodox churches served as education centers (known by excellence in teaching aqwaqwam), liturgical chanting was centered at Gondar.

5.6.4. Major Features of Era of Princes (1769-1855) and Yejju Dynasty (1786-1853)

A. The Meaning and Beginning of Zemene Mesafint

The combinations of the two Amharic word Zemene-Mesafint (Zemen refers a certain period of time or it is equivalent to an English word era and Mesafint literal meaning English word prince) has a literal meaning of era of princes or it refers to the Biblical “the era of Judges”. Apart to this, even the princes were not in actual position of political power rather the political power was in the hand of different regional lords. The exact time of the beginning of the Zemene-Mesafint is not reached on consensus by scholars. However, most scholars in their different books and writings remark that the period from the assassination of king Iyoas in 1769 by Ras Michael Sehul (the collapse of the monarchy) up to 1855 is known as Zemene-Mesafint; while, others argued that it started when Ali seized power in 1784 by defeating Emperor Tekle-Giorgis at Aferawnat and continued up to 1855.

B. The Main Political Regions and the Features of Zemene Mesafint

Ras Mika’el was ruthless, cruel, high handed and manipulative. His bloody measures made him highly unpopular and his making and unmaking of kings angered other nobles. Moreover, the announcement of his support of the Karra Haymanot; at the end of his dominance led to the collaboration of the lords of Gojjam, Amhara, Lasta and Wallo that defeated him at the battle of Sarba-Kussa in 1771. His rivals and immediate successors followed him in making and manipulating kings by enthroning and dethroning. However, his period was known by signs of relative peace.

Ali Gwangul(Ali I or Ali Talaq is considered as the founder of “Yejju dynasty” in 1786. The main political regions that Zemene-Mesafint lords ruled were Tigray, Semen, Dembiya, Begemidir, Lasta, Yejju, Wallo, Gojjam and Shawa (act as an independent from these politics). When compared to each other the “Yejju dynasty” was the leading power during the “Era of the princes” by establishing center at Debre-tabor.

Yejju Dynasty reached its zenith under Gugsu Marso (r.1803-1825) who made incessant struggle against Ras Walde-Silassie of Inderta-Antalo and Dejjazmatch Sabagadis Woldu of Agame. In 1826 Hayle-Mariam Gebre of Simen was crushed by Gugsu's successor, Yimam (r.1825-1828). Maru of Dambiya was also killed at the battle of Koso-Ber in 1827.

According to a number of historical accounts Zemene-Mesafint was characterized as follows:

- Ethiopia was divided into several regions with no effective central authority. In other words, the monarchial state was collapsed or disintegrated.
- The monarchs continued only in name/ puppet. Due to the growing power and influences of the regional warlords the monarchs totally lost their authority.
- The regional lords constantly fought with each other for aggrandizement of their territory and to become the guardian of the king of kings at Gondar.
- Coalitions and alliance between regional lords were constantly formed and dissolved.
- The internal crisis further aggravated by the doctrinal divisions and controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church that was divided in to disputant sects. Tewahedo (called *Karra* by its opponents) believed in one birth of Jesus Christ. It taught that Christ anointed himself and was born from Mary through his divine wish. It was dominant in Tigray and Lasta. Hulet Lidet/Two Births (Qibat/Uncion) accepted eternal birth as the first, but also claimed that at moment of his incarnation, when he was born into the world, Holy Ghost anointed him. This sect was dominant in Gojjam. Sost Lidet/Three Births (Ya Tsaga Lij/Son through Grace) taught that Christ was first born in eternity as divine being, was born again in womb of Mary being anointed by Holy Ghost and nine months later was born into the world as

- perfect man and perfect divinity. This sect was dominant in Gonder and Shawa. Therefore, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was unable to play its former unifying role.
- The burning of several churches and castles, which were the cultural heritages of Gondar.
 - The Yejju lords did have predominance or hegemony over other lords of northern Ethiopia.
 - It was a period in which the prevalence of poverty, social, political and economic crisis were intensified.
 - The end of “Close Dore policy” and Ethiopia's door was opened to Europe.

Learning activities

- Who was Shihab ad-Din?
- Assess the changes and continuities in the relations between the Christian kingdom and Muslim sultanates taking Imam Ahmad’s rise to power as a break.
- What were the major factors for the defeat of Lebne Dengel’s army in the hands of the Imam’s force at the battle of Shimbira Kure?
- Assess the circumstances that led Portugal and Ottoman Turkey’s involvement in Ethiopia’s domestic affairs in the sixteenth century?
- What were the major consequences of the decade and half long war between the Christian kingdom and Muslim sultanates?
- Briefly describe the following terms:
 - Tewahedo
 - Ye-tsega lij
 - Qebat
- What was the ‘close door policy’ about and how did it affect Ethiopia’s relations with the outside world?
- Discuss the process and outcome of the Jesuits’ evangelical efforts in Ethiopia.
- Why do you think Susenyos adopted Catholicism as a state religion?
- Discuss the function of the Chawa system and its contribution to the intermingling of peoples along the borders between the Christian and Muslim inhabited areas.

- Assess the relations between Sartsa-Dengle and Yishaq in the context of the encroachment of Ottoman Turks against Ethiopia's sovereignty in the sixteenth century.
- Explain the contribution of the Oromo, Afar, Somali, and Argoba population movements to Ethiopia's socio-cultural conditions at present?
- Explain the causes and effects of population movements of the Afar, Somali, and Argoba in the early sixteenth century?
- Discuss the causes and effects of the Oromo population movement?
- What was the purpose of the buttaa ceremony and how did its function change in the context of the Oromo population movement in the sixteenth century?
- What is the Gada system and how did it function in Oromo society?
- Which values of the Gada system contributed to social integration?
- Discuss the similarities and differences between Gada, Luwa and Baalle systems of the Oromo Sidama and Gedeo respectively.
- Discuss the origin, growth and political administration of the following polities.
 - Kambata
 - Wolayta
 - The Emirate of Harar
- What were the major features of the Zemene Mesafint?
- Discuss the social, economic and political circumstances that gave rise to the Zemene Mesafint.
- Explain key developments during the period of the Yejju dynasty.
- Briefly describe major achievements of the Gondarine period.

Unit Six

Internal Interactions and External Relations in Ethiopia and the Horn, 1800-1941 (10 hours)

Introduction

Dear Learners,

This unit is devoted to a survey of a history of the region from the early 19th century to 1941. It tries to explain series and complex interactions and external relations that shaped the regions modern history. The region experienced the rise of trade, state formations, power rivalry, empire building, modernization and major battles to resist foreign dominance. In the 19th century, several autonomous states existed at different stages of socio-economic and political developments. The economic activities ranged from hunting and gathering to a well-developed agriculture and trade. The political organizations of some of the states were monarchical system in nature while some others followed indigenous political systems of different kinds. Despite, the peoples and states were politically divided, they maintained strong economic relations with one another that created a single economic unit in the region. It is apparent that power rivalry and empire building of the late 19th century sought to control such lucrative resource bases and trade routes. Simultaneously, Ethiopia and the Horn faced threats from colonial powers because of which peoples of the region fought major battles including Maqdela, Gura, Gundet, Adwa, Maychew and liberation from the Italian rule in 1941. This unit also explains the role of personalities in confrontations against colonial powers.

Unit Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- point out the different states that existed in Ethiopia and Horn before the formation of modern Ethiopia;
- analyze the political system, culture and economy of the autonomous states;
- discuss the significances of agriculture and trade in the economy of the region;
- explain the process of territorial expansion of northern Ethiopian Christian Kingdom to the south leading to the formation of modern Ethiopia;
- appreciate the Ethiopian resistance to foreign powers.

Unit Starters

- Share orally the role played by long-distance trade in the relations between peoples of Ethiopia.
- What role did population movements play in the interaction and integration of peoples in Ethiopia and the Horn?
- What was the enduring interest of Ethiopian monarchs in establishing contacts with the outside world? What major obstacles did they encounter in the process?

6.1. The Nature of Interactions among Peoples and States of Ethiopia and the Horn

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, many independent peoples and states existed in Ethiopia and the Horn. In the north, several states existed including the Gonder and others states independent of Gonder rulers. One of these was the kingdom of Shawa that emerged as a strong state. In the south, several peoples established independent polities and states. The Muslim communities also possessed well-organized Sheikdoms or emirates. The major factors for the rise of these states were the rich agricultural resources and lucrative trade.

6.1.1. Peoples and States of Qabena, Gibe, Leqa, Aqoldi, Khomosha, and Bela-Shangul

A. The State of Qabena: in the southern portion of central Ethiopia, Hadiya, Alaba, Kambata, Gurage and Silte constituted independent political entities in the period. They economically, depended on agriculture. Local merchants actively involved in local trade and to some extent in the long distance trade. Trade routes that connected the interior with the coast passed through these territories. Among these, the Gurage land was an important market centre and political entity. Important trade centers such as Soddo and Ayamallel were located in Gurage land and are said to have been established by King Sahile Sillasie (r.1813-47) of Shawa. The Gurage had their political organization. Their leaders were known as Abegaz or Azmatch combined political and military authority. In 1875, Gurage land was divided into five Negariti or drum districts of Qabena, Walani, Gadabalo, Abso& Mohir. However, western Gurage and Hadya State of Qabena emerged as a strong political entity. It became a centre of Muslim revivalist movement in the northeast of the Gibe River. Stirred by Muslim refugees from Wallo, and with possible connections even with Mahdists Sudan, the movement swept across a large part and was attended by a fast rate of Islamization.

B. The Gibe States: Towards the beginning of the 19th century, several monarchical states known as mootummaa emerged among the Macca Oromo at the expense of the Gada system. Many factors accounted for the transformation of the Gada system. In the process, the war leaders of the Gadaa system (abba-duulaa) and powerful individuals usurped the power of the Gadaa government. The abba-duula accumulated wealth from the control and taxation on long distance trade and utilized the opportunity to rise to power. This development especially took place among the Oromo around Gibe where the following five monarchical states emerged.

i. Limmuu-Inaaryaa: Limmu-Inarya was the earliest of the Gibe states. It was formed by Bofoo/Abbaa Gomol (1800-1825) who abdicated in favor of his son, Ibsaa/Abbaa Bagiboo (1825-1861).It reached the height of its power during Ibsaa's reign, when Agalo, Badifolla etc. were brought under control. Ibsa was succeeded by A/Bulgaa (1861-1883).

ii. Guumaa: Jiilchaa A/Bal'oo of Ciraa killed Sarbaaroodaa of Daagoyyee; began state formation and succeeded by his son Onchoo (1810-1830) who was in turn followed by Jawwee (1840-1854). It was from Guma locality/Onjaa that slave raiders captured Ajjaamee/Bilillee. German prince Herman Pickler Muskau purchased her at Cairo in 1837; changed her name to Mahbuba meaning beloved and made her his mistress. However, she suddenly died of poisoned food she ate in fortnight on October 27, 1840.

iii. Gomma: formed by A/Bookee (1800-1829) who was succeeded by his son A/Manoo (1829-1840) who conquered Qattuu and converted to Islam by Muslim Ulama/scholars. A place called Coocee-Kattaa Muudugaa in Gomma is said to have been the origin of coffee.

iv. Jimma: Ose Kobbii (A/Faaroo) and Daangilaa (A/Magaal) began state formation that was completed by Sannaa/Abbaa Jifaar I (r.1830-1855) who formed Jimma Kaka/confederacy and left a consolidated state to his successors like A/Reebuu (1855-1859) and Abbaa Booqaa (1859-1861). There were iron mining center at Daakkaanoo and smelting center at Kittoo.

v. Geeraa: formed by Tulluu Gunjii (1835-1838), followed by A/Baassoo and A/Raagoo I (1838-1848).

C. The Leeqaa States: Leeqaa-Naqamtee was founded by Bakaree Godaanaa in 1840, and reached its height under his successors Moroda and Kumsa. Leqa-Qellam was located in the south western of Wallagga. It was founded by Tullu and became powerful under his son, Jote being centered at Gidaam and controlling the areas around Sayyo-Dambi Doolloo.

D. Iluu: the Tumme clan leader Caalii Shoonoo set up the well consolidated richest state of Ilu-Abba Bor. It was from Ilu that Hika/Onesmus Nesib/Abba Gammachis was captured and sold in to slavery nine times before Menkulluu Swedish mission freed, and educated him.

Each Oromo monarchical state had officials like Abbaa Gurmu/prime minister, Abbaa Mizan/treasurer & foreign affair minister, Daango/Daggi/Abbaa Keella/immigration chief, Lammi/

ambassador, Abbaa Burqaa/Qoro/governor, Abbaa Ganda/Abbaa Laga/district chief, Abbaa Buusii/Abbaa Funyoo/tax head, Abbaa Jigaa/murder judge and Abbaa-Qawwee/body-guard.

E. Nilotic Sheikdoms: around course of Blue Nile, Sheikdoms mentioned below were established through parallel imposition of Arabic-speaking Sudanese mercantilists over Berta and Gumuz inhabitants based on agriculture, gold mining and frontier trade in early 19th c.

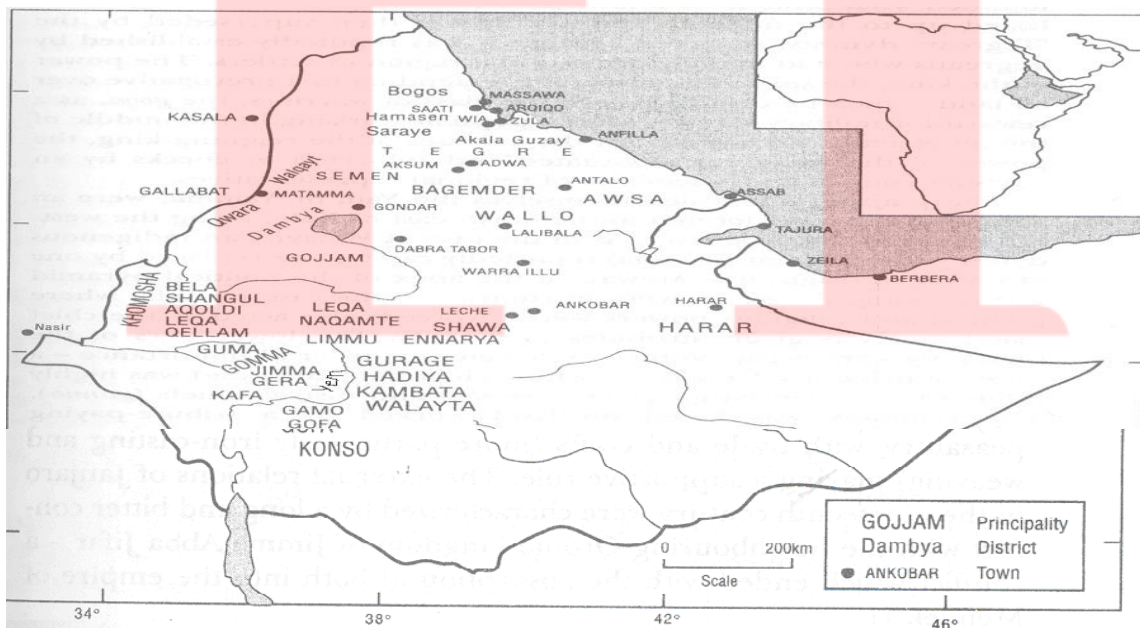
i. Asosa (Aqoldi): this got preeminence under Sheikh Khojale al Hasan.

ii. Bela/Beni-Shangul: this became famous under Abd al Rahman Khojale.

iii. Khomasha: reached zenith under Khojale Muhammad Wad Mahmud.

iv. Guba: this attained similar prominence in the southwest of Gojjam.

The influences of Islam from the Sudan and cross border trade were the main reason for the rise of these states. The rich gold of the region also attracted foreign powers like the Mahdists and Egyptians who attempted to use the sheikdoms to control.

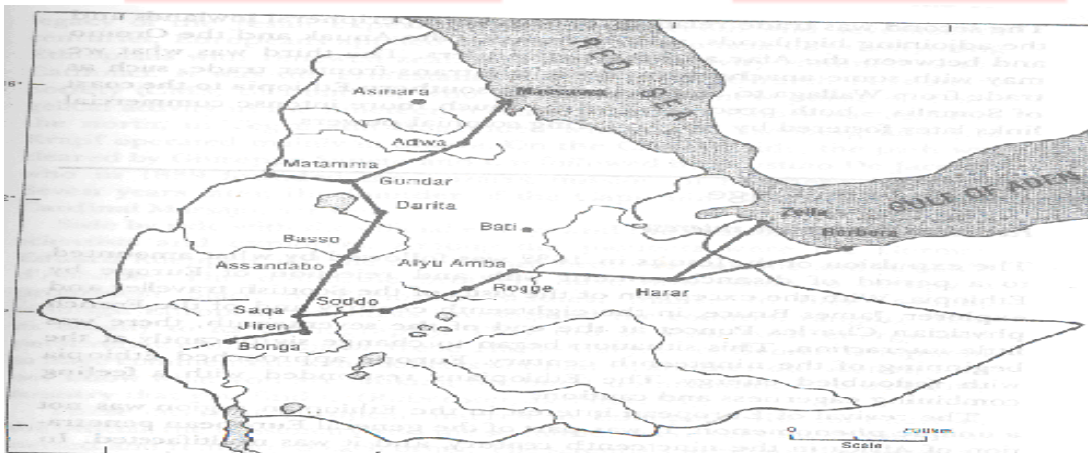


Map: Various Peoples and States of Ethiopia and the Horn c. 1800.

6.1.2.The Role of Trade and Trade Routes in the Interaction

Beginning from the early 19th century, trade flourished connecting the Ethiopian region from south to north and west to east. As a result, it became one means of maintaining strong relations across peoples of different areas and background. In the period, two main trade lines linked various territories of Ethiopia. Southwestern Ethiopia was the starting point of the two main lines. The trade route that originated from Bonga, the capital city of Kafa kingdom, linked peoples and states of the south western Ethiopia with the northern part of the Ethiopian region. The main market centers on this line were Bonga, Hirmaataa (in Jimma), Saqa (in Limmuu-Inaaryaa), Billoo in Leeqaa Naqamtee, Asandaaboo (in Guduru), Basso-Yajube (in Gojjam), Yifaji Darita (in Begemider) and Gonder. From Gonder, one line bifurcated to westward through Cilga Matamma/Qallabat taking commodities to be sold to Sudanese Jallaba merchants. The other ran through Adwa (in Tigray), Asmara and entered Massawa. Still another split at Basso to move via Ancharro and Dawwe in Walo & Awusa in Affar to Tajura, Obbok & Rahe'ita in Djibouti.

The second major line of trade route began from Jireen in Jimma and ran via Agabjaa-Andoodee-Tolee to Sooddoo in southwest Shawa; Roggee near Yerar. Then, the line passed through Aliyu Amba or Abdul Rasul in northern Shawa and ran eastward to Harar. From Harar the route branched into Zeila and Berbera, the most important commercial centers in Somalia. Then Ethiopian products transferred mostly to Jidda, Hude'ida, Mokha& Makkah.



Map: Trade Routes of the Horn in the Nineteenth century

In the trade between the interior and the coast, varieties of items were exchanged. The main sources of lucrative trade items were southwestern regions. Among these, gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, skins, civet, musk, honey, wax, coffee, various spices and slaves. Slaves were either hunted in or bought from the western periphery and exported to Arabia, Persia and India. Likewise, foreign products were mirrors and iron wares. Items as exchange mediums included salt bars (amole), iron bars, wines, cowries' shells, beads, pieces of cotton cloth (abujadid), Maria Theresa Thaler (MTT) etc. For internal trade, amole was the only important commodity and source of wealth. It was mined in Taltal plains at border of Affar & eastern Tigray and then suitably shaped for transportation. The town of Mekelle emerged as the salt was cut in and distributed to the highlands from the area under supervision of the governor of Enderta with the title of Balgada, who had the tributes as tax judge, grew in importance and rivaled Bahr Negash (the governor of the maritime province to the north). Maria Theresa Thaler was a coin introduced to the Horn of African region at the end of the 18th c. On the Red Sea Coast, MTT was used with other kinds of European and Middle Eastern coins.

Diverse peoples of different ethnic and religious background involved in the trade. At each market centers, local peoples were active traders. However, Muslim merchants were the most dominant traveling from interior to the coast. Among these were Muslim Northern merchants/Jabarti and Muslim Oromo merchants of southwestern region known as Afqala. Similarly, the Argoba from the kingdom of Shawa were active merchants in the trade between Harar and the northern Somali coast.

6.2. Power Rivalry

Power rivalries had an old history in Ethiopia and the Horn despite varying degrees of strength on prevailing economic, military and political conditions. As discussed under "Zemene Mesafint," there were rivalries among regional lords. Building imperial power on

the debris of "Zemene Mesafint," required the use of forces to subjugate the regional powers seeking autonomy. Empire builders fought their ways to power with centrifugal powers.

The man who ended the Era of Princes was Kasa Hailu, who had become a free-lance soldier under his brother Kinfu in crushing Egyptians at Wadkaltabu in 1837. When Ras Ali II (Ali Alula/Ali Abba Bula) gave Quara to his mother Empress Manan/Halima, Kasa moved to jungle and became a bandit. Manan sent expeditions under generals like Wandeyrad against him, but he easily defeated them at Illoha, Chago & Segel. Ali then recognized him as Qwar governor and arranged for him to marry Tawabach Ali in 1847. Yet, when his army incurred heavy casualties from Egyptian forces at Dabarki in 1848, Kasa was forced to turn his attention first against regional lords and confront foreign enemy. He rapidly defeated Goshu Zawde of Gojjam at Gur Amba on November 27, 1852; Biru Alighaz, Aben, Yazew & Balew at Togusa (Gorgora Bichen) on April 12, 1853; Ali at Ayshal on 29 June, 1853 and Wube of Tigray at Darasge on 8 February, 1855. Then Coptic bishop, Abuna Salama anointed Kasa on 9 February 1855, as King of Kings, Tewodros II.

Emperor Tewodros (r.1855-1868) faced stiff resistance from local powers. In Gojjam Tadla Gwalu, a member of the local dynasty, remained contender to Tewodros until he was crushed at Injbara. In Walqayt, Tiso/Tasew Gobaze threatened his authority to the level of once even occupying Gondar. In Lasta, Wag Shum Gobaze Gabramadhin later Emperor Takla-Giyorgis (r. 1868-1871) raised the standard of rebellion after he had seen his own father executed by Tewodros. In Shawa, Sayfu Sahla-Sellase and Bazabeh, the man whom Tewodros himself had appointed made open resistance. Similarly, in Wallo, Dejjach Liban Amade the emperor's appointee, joined by an even stronger opponent, Amade Bashir, who remained Tewodros's rival along with Adare Bille and Warqit & Mastawit. Niguse and Tassama Waldamicha'el of Simen also posed serious challenges up on Tewodros. In 1867, the growing oppositions from his rivals forced Emperor Tewodros, who had dreamt of uniting Ethiopia, to retreat and establish his last stronghold in Maqdela. In addition, in the military expedition of the British to Maqdela in the late 1867, Bezabeh Kasa Mercha (Yohannis IV) gave guidance and material support to the British troops. He also received a large quantity of firearms from General Robert Napier, the commander of British expedition.

Following the death of emperor Tewodros in 1868, a war broke out for emperorship. Three contenders for the throne namely Wagshum Gobeze of Lasta, Ras Kasa Mercha of Tigray and Nigus Menilek of Shawa aspired to be emperors. In fact, they reigned in that order with the throne names Takla-Giorgis (r.1868-71), Yohannis (r.1872-89) and Menilek II (r.1889-1913). Like Tewodros, Yohannis faced challenges from power contenders from Gojjam, Gondar, Yejju, Hamasen and Shawa. In Gojjam, Adal Tasama (Nigus Tekle-Haymanot) assumed power by killing his contender Dasta Tadla, although Yohannis tolerated his regional dynasty. The strongest regional challenger of Emperor Yohannis was Menilek II of Shawa. Menilek was calling himself king of kings, expanding his territories towards Wallo and contacting foreign countries independently. This serious rival also did not pay tribute. Yohannis did not tolerate him but his confrontation with Egyptian compelled him to postpone his decisive war with Menilek. In 1878, peace initiatives came from Menilek because of the probably military superiority of Yohannis. This was concluded at Liche Agreement on which Menilek agreed to pay tribute, drop the title of King of Kings, and stop his independent dealing with foreign powers. However, both Tekle-Haymanot and Menilek did not remain loyal to Emperor Yohannis. For instance, in 1888, they made a plot on the emperor when he was troubled by simultaneous aggression from the Italians and Mahdists. However, despite the continuing challenges of regional forces, Yohannis was able to maintain his sovereignty until his death at Metema in the battle with the Mahdists in 1889.

6.3. The Making of Modern Ethiopian State

The process of territorial expansion and making of modern Ethiopia involved the conquest and the incorporation by imperial power of independent peoples and states from the early 1870s to 1900. The above section indicated that centuries long socio-economic and political interaction among peoples in the region such as trade, population movement, war etc brought contact of diverse aspects among the existing peoples and states that shaped the modern political setting. Despite this, independent peoples and polities existed in many regions up to the end of the 19th century. During the 19th century, several states in the region emerged and entered into territorial competition with the plan of resource control and empire building. In other words, empire building was an agenda of several imperial powers that rose in the 19th

century. The difference was the level of their strength, ambition and foreign relations. Quite better in this case were states that existed in the northern and central Ethiopia who were able to establish military strength by exploiting their access to the sea and relations with colonial powers. As indicated above, Tewodros II, Yohannis IV and others made empire formation their project and fought their ways. Yet, the most successful was Emperor Menilek II.

The project of conquest driven by interest to control land and trade routes was not new to Menilek II. What made Menilek expansion new were the intensity and the degree of success. Besides, his conquest coincided with European powers colonial expansion in Africa with whom he concluded partition of territories. The control of resourceful centers that enabled the emperor to build military muscle as well as the determination of his generals counted for the success.

One caustive factor of territorial expansion to resource rich areas was the Great Famine *kifu Qen* (Evil day) 1888-92. It was the most recalled drought, famine and epidemic in the history of Ethiopia and the Horn. It was remembered in terms of its intensity, magnitude, and socio-economic crisis. It affected different parts of the Horn with different scales. For instance, the cattle disease spread to Somali and in due course spread to South Africa. The disaster forced Menelik II to march towards south and southwest for resources.

Before 1870s, following his predecessors footsteps, Menilek had already subjugated the Tuulamaa Oromo. Yet, in Tuulamaa and Eastern Maccaa territories, most defiant of Shawan conquest were Tufaa Munaa of Gimbichu, Ashee Anbassaa of Salaalee, Duulaa Ara'ee of Gullallee, Cangaree Sooqilee and Birratuu Goolee of Meettaa and Bachoo, Turee Galatee of Sooddoo, Birratee Waaraa of Kuttaayee and Caboo chiefs. However, the Abbichuu noble Goobana Daaccii collaborated with Menilek to crush these resistances and conquer Ada'aa of Moojoo Boxora, Bachoo Shabo Borde, Caacaa of Daabee, Cuukkoo of Roobii Garasuu, Eekkaa of Habeebee Tufaa, Jamoo of Tiksee Jimaa, Jiddaa of Dooyyoo, Mandiidaa of Cangi/Gaarii Duufaa, Sooddoo of Tufo Kalu, Sulultaa of Siida Dabalee etc.

In 1875-76, Menilek made campaign towards the Gurage. The northern Gurage, the Kistane peaceful submitted because of their religious affinity, geographical proximity and fear of surrounding Sooddoo Oromo. On the other hand, the western Gurage, led by Hasan Enjamo of Qabena which had elements of Hadiya-Gurage coalition, inflicted a number of defeats on the Shawan forces until Menilek's general, Ras Goobanaa crushed Hasan's forces in 1888.

In the western side of Gibe River, Nigus Tekle-Haymanot of Gojjam had first established his control in mid 1870s. Yet, Horroo forces led by Abishee Garbaa Hurruubaa overwhelmed Gojjamite forces led by Tekle-Haymaanot's commander, Ras Darasu in vicinity of Coomman valley. However, Qadiidaa Waannabee of Jimmaa Raaree persuaded Abishee to surrender after which Abishe was taken through Kokor to prison in Gojjam where it was said he chewed his fingers from anger & frustration and died. Gojjamites then installed Abishe's brother, puppet Fandalala. Competition between the Gojjame and the Shawan was terminated with the defeat of the Gojjam forces at the battle of Imbaaboo on 6 June 1882. In fact, the Imbaaboo victory was Menilek's passport to the extensive and rich regions of the southwest.

Yet, Garbii Jiloo of Leeqaa-Billoo, Tuuchoo Daannoo of Leeqaa-Hordaa, Ligdii Bakaree of Leeqaa-Naqamtee, Geendaa Busan of Sibuu-Siree, Mardaasaa Konche of Nonnoo Migiraa, Turii Jagan of Noonnoo Roggee and leaders of Limmuu & Gudayyaa formed confederation. Their coalition devastated Abyssinians led by Dasta, Dilinassawu & Tasamma Nado at Gurra Doobbaa in Bonayyaa near Waamaa and chased them up to Gudar River. League of Waaccuu Dabaloo of Sibuu Gaantii, Joorgoo Dagaagoo of Noolee Kaabbaa, leaders of Wambaraa and others also bitterly fought conquerors and their tutelages like Morodaa & Amantee Bakaree at Samboo Darroo between Gimbii & Najjoo.

Guumaa King A/Joobir and his brother A/Diggaa fought at Bakkee Ganjii against Gojjame. Firrisaa A/Foggii of Guumaa made Jihad versus Menilek scoring victories at places like Santo from 1889-1901. Yet, while Firrisaa's brother, Wayyeessaa died in battle, another brother Imama/Qoroo of Siddii fled to Menilek's court and his sister, Alima/Ballatishachawu A/Joobir married Ras Tasamma. A/Booraa of Gommaa crushed Shawans led by Basha

Aboyye at Tijjee while A/Boossoo was beaten by Räs Damissawu Nasibu's army in 1900 after series fighting. There were also skirmishes at places like Bakkee Qacoo in Geeraa.

Tasamma's army crushed resistance from A/Quxal of Gachii on upper course of Dhidheessaa and conquered Bunnoo. Fatansaa Ilu's forces made attacks upon Tasamma's troops at Gabba & Qarsaa Googilaa, but Fatansaa's forces were routed and he was imprisoned at Barrooyii.

Menilek encountered fierce resistance from the Arssi who fought with spears and arrows against firearms from 1878 to 1886. The Arssi were led by notables like Leenjiso Diigaa, who scored victory at Doddotaa; Gosaa Dilamo who crushed Shawans at Qaldhataa and Gooroo Bubbee/Roobaa Buttaa. Menilek barely escaped with life in December 1883. Yet, with intelligence service of koso vendor widow Halkoo & Roobalee Kuullaa, and submission of Suufaa Kuusoo of Jaawwii & Daammuu Ussuu of Hexoosaa as well as biological warfare with smallpox, Shawan forces led by Ras Darge Sahlasillase made the final assault on the Arssi at Azule on 6 Sept. 1886. This was followed by Aannolee amputations (female right breast and male right limbs were cut off, accompanied by castrations in the extreme cases).

Similarly, the eastern Oromo/Itu Humbanna led by Bakar Waaree and the Harari led by Emir Abdullahi (r.1885-1887) repulsed the initial Shawan thrust led by Dajjach Walda-Gabr'el. Yet, the eastern Oromo and the Harari were outgunned and outmaneuvered in the final engagement at Calanqoo, on 6 January 1887. Menilek's cousin, Dajjach (later ras) Makonnen Walda-Mikael was appointed a governor of the province.

Furthermore, Dawuro-Konta and Kambata were occupied in 1889 and 1890 respectively. Ogaden, Baalee and Sidamo were controlled in 1891. Gamo Gofa was conquered in 1894. Wolayta, the powerful southern kingdom, was incorporated after one of the bloodiest campaigns of the whole process of expansion. Kawa (King) Tona's instigation of the [Dawro] and the Konta peoples, to the west of Wolayta against Menilek's authority added fuel to the confrontation. Menilek personally led the campaign. He was accompanied by Ras Mikael of Wallo, Fitawrari Gabayyahu/Gaboo Gurmuu, Liqa Makwas Abata Bwayalaw, Dajjach Baalchaa Saafoo/Abbaa Nafso, Ras Walda-Giorgis and Abba Jifar II of Jimma. With

collaboration of Wolayta personalities like Wazitu Wabilo, Lomina and Adaro, the Shawans defeated Tona in 1894. Nonetheless, Wolaytan incessant stiff opposition led to Wolaytan genocide by Menilek's forces as explained by Venderheym.

Gedeo was annexed in 1895. Fitwari Habtegiyorgis Dinagdee/Abba Machal/Abba Mala built a fort at Megga and took over Booranaa & Konso in 1896-97. The years after the battle of Adwa marked the success of Menelik to extend his control over peripheries. The successes were partly because of military superiority and boundary agreement with colonial powers. The process of the incorporation of Kafa paralleled the Wolayta experience in terms of the human cost. The final battle between the Shawan forces and Kafa took place in 1897. Shawan force was led by Ras Walda-Giorgis, Dajjach Tasamma of Gore, Dajjach Demise Nasib of Horro Guduru & Arjo and Abba Jifar II of Jimma. Ras Walda-Giorgis became the Governor of Kafa after the defeat of Tato Gaki Sherocho. Beni Shangul was occupied after Fadogno battle and campaign up to Famaka in 1897/8. Waldagiyorgis also conquered Goldea; Russian Dajjazmatch Leontieff conquered Maji and extended up to Turkana Lake in 1898/9. Tasamma Nado also conquered up to Baro (Sobat) and Nasir in Gambella.

As in the case of the medieval period women were the most decisive figures in the modern politics in Ethiopia and the Horn. Like Itege Mintiwab, Empress Menen and Tewabech (daughter of Ras Ali and Tewodros' wife), Empress Taytu (wife of emperor Menelik), apart from her roles in the centralization process, she played significant roles in military affairs using their spirited personalities. Empress Taitu commanded her own contingent of about 5000 infantry and 600 cavalymen and accompanied her husband to the Battle of Adwa. She was considered as an intelligent, wise, and self-assured woman to whom Menilek owe much for his success.

The process of centralization and establishing a unitary state continued by abolishing regional autonomies in the early decades of the 20th century. In the process, Wallo, Bagamedir, Gojjam and Jimma were reduced to mere provinces.

6.4. Modernization Attempts

The period from 1800-1941 also witnessed the attempts of imitating western culture which was considered as marker of modernization. Although several Ethiopian regional rulers were interested in European technologies Emperor Tewodros had a preferable degree of information/contact about western technologies than his predecessors. He was very aware of the importance of European technologies to transform his people and country. For this purpose, he attempted to approach Europeans for the introduction of western science and technologies.

It is apparent that his defeat by well trained and equipped Egyptian troops at the battle of Debarkai in 1848 forced him to reform his troops and to produce modern weapons that would withstand foreign military technology or to put the country “on an equal footing with European powers.” As a result, he introduced military titles, like *Yasr Alaqa*, *Yamsa Alaqa*, and *Yashi Alaqa*, tried to organize and replace the regional armies of *Zemene-Mesafint* with a national army, & a salaried army and finally with the help of European missionaries & artisans tried to manufacture fire arms at his workshop, “Gaffat (near Debre-tabor). At Gaffat about 35 Cannon were produced known as “Sebastopol.” He also tried to build a small navy in Lake Tana.

Administrative reforms of Tewodros more focused on the centralization of power and securing financial base. He introduced a policy of “general pacification” warning everyone should return to his lawful avocation, the merchants to his store, and the farmer to his plough. He tried to separate church and the monarchy. He reduced the churchland and the number of priest that brought him into conflict with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and it once facilitated to his failure.

In the case of socio-economic reforms, he began the construction of Ethiopian first embryonic road network to link Debre tabor with Gondar, Gojjam, and Maqdela. He also made attempt to put an end of the slave trade. Attempted land reform, encourage more stable

marriages, the use of Amharic become more developed, tried to establish traditional library at Meqdella, expanded the culture of expressed ideas by writing letters(Especially, between 1840-1850 E.C he wrote about 32 different letters to different foreign individuals Queen Victoria). With regard to religion, he tried to solve the religious doctrines controversy that continued from the 17th century. He enacted a decree that banned the politics of the religious doctrinal crisis. His efforts were not successful as he entered into combat with foreign powers and his people in the process of modernization.

With similar interest, emperor Yohannes IV attempted to reform administration. He recognized and allowed the then competent regional lords to exercise power. These included Menelik II of Shawa, Adal Tessema of Gojjam.

Modernization attempts during the reign of emperor Menelik included many aspects. Particularly in the post Adwa period was marked by the establishment of a postal service and telecommunications/the telephone-telegraph system, the beginning of construction of railway line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa.. The opening of bank (the bank of Abyssinia) and the introduction of paper money. In terms of administration, the emperor introduced a European style of ministerial system/ministers in 1907. He appointed Afe-Nigus Nesibu Meskelo (Minister of Justice), Azazh Metaferia Melke-tsadiq (Minister of Imperial Court), Bejirond MulugetaYigezu (Minister of Finance), Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Dinegde (Minister of War), Negadras Hailegiorgis-Woldemikael (Minister of Commerce & foreign relations) , and Tsehafe-Tizaz Gebreselase Woldemikael (Minister of Pen). His reign also witnessed the opening of a hotel in 1907 (Itege Hotel), a modern schools (Menelik II School in 1908) and also the foundation of Russian Red Cross hospital in 1906 and a Russian-run hospital (Menelik II Hospital) in 1910.

During his reign from particularly from 1913-16, Lej Iyasu had also made several reforms. He attempted to reorganize State finances. For the first time, Iyasu tried to put a distinction between state property and the monarch's personal property. It was reflected during his reign, after Menelik's death when Empress Taytu "asked to share her husband's wealth." He is said to have replied that 'the gold and the silver in the palace were for the government of the

people than the private property of the empress. In 1915, he established Dire-Dawa Municipality and re-organized its police with salaries and uniforms.

In addition to these, he also took several administrative progressive measures to strengthen the process of Ethiopian modernization like: avoided Quragna system, tried to amend Leba shay It was a method whereby unknown criminals were ‘discovered’), introduced a policy of auditory of governmental accounts, introduced city police/Tirnbulle/ and he also tried to integrate Ethiopian Muslims into the administration.

His period is also remabered by the innovations like a mechanical flourmill, a printing press, and a munitions factory and private industrial enterprises like: sawmill, a grinding-mill, a tannery; and a soap-factory were introduced.

During the period of Diarchy (r. 1916-1930) there were several modernization attempts in broader scope. The two rulres namely ras Teferi (later emperor Haile-silassie) and empress Zewditu had different views towards western culture. Because of his close link with foreigners, ras Teferi had keen interst in modernization by which he wanted to boast the country’s image on the international stage. This was marked by the entry of Ethiopia into the League of Nations and his grand tour to Europe in 1923 and 1924, respectively. Some remarkable reforms based on European model took place following his coronation as emperor Haile-Silassie I in 1930. Soe of the reforms were the centraliztionof the governmnt, promulgation of Ethiopia’s first constitution, in 1931 (despite its drawbacks), establishment of Imperial Bodyguard in 1930, with the help of Belgian military mission and the opening of Ethiopia’s first Military Academy at Holeta by the help of a Swedish military mission in 1934.

6.5. Socio-Economic Issues/Developments

The period from 1800-1941 was also marked by changes in socio-economic conditions including trade, slavery, agriculture, urbanization and manufacturing. Factors for these changes included the socio-economic dynamics in the region and at international level.

6.5.1. Trade and Slave Trade

In the period, both local and long-distance trade flourished and trade was the major economy of large number of population. In the period under discussion trade, slavery, agricultural economy, manufacturing, and urbanization were interdependent. Earlier in this unit, we have learnt that both local and long-distance trade flourished in the 19th century. The major commodities traded were ivory, slaves, civet, and gold. Slaves probably the major export items to Sudan and Arabia in the 19th century. The demand for agricultural products, manufactured products and labour apparently necessitated more engagement in raids for slavery, cultivation, manufacturing and even hunting.

Slavery, the practice of owning slave existed since ancient civilizations. It developed under conditions of social stratifications. The social, economic and legal positions of slaves differed across time and space. However, in many cultures from ancient to modern the causes of enslavement were failure to debt (tax), committing crime, war captive, and the birth of slave children to slaves. Before the 16th century, in Africa, slavery was endemic and part of the structure of everyday life. During the time slaves were household workers, domestic workers such as working on the land, incorporated in armies, and traders." Since the 16th century, the Dutch began importing large number of slaves into their colonies. With the beginning of plantation agriculture in South America, and the need of human labour exacerbated slave trade in Africa. Powerful people were engaged in slave trade and sold their people who failed to pay tax and war captives into slave. The horrors of slave trade were the large-scale slave raids that brought family breaks, social and economic deterioration.

Slave and the slave trade have been long history in Ethiopia and the Horn. During the 19th century, human labour was required in agricultural works, armies and as a source of revenue through selling into slavery. Thus, several regional and local rulers enslaved people for these purposes. Slaves were traded as commodities in the local market and port markets. In Ethiopia, several slave markets evolved in the 19th century. Slavery reached its peak in Ethiopia and the Horn in the 1880s when Menelik II waged extensive war for territorial expansion. In the wars with peoples in the southern half of the country, many war captives were sold as slaves in different markets. As a result, Jimma and Hirmatta became slave markets. This was also due to the geographical location of Jimma as a cross road to the caravans coming from north and south western. In addition, market centres from Bonga to Mettemma and Missiwa served as market centres. Sources indicate that Abba Jifar II was referred to as "the ruler of the kingdom of slave" and later as the biggest slave trader in the world." The majority of slaves were produced through raiding, kidnapping, and war captives.

Rulers such as Tewdros, Yohannis and Menelik of the period attempted to regulate slave trade without abolishing slavery itself. Measure to stop slave trade was began in 1920s. In 1923, slave trade was banned and in 1924, a decree was issued for emancipation of slaves. In the 1920s, some freed slave children were kept under the leadership of Hakim Warqenhe Eshetie. However, slave trade continued unofficially right up to the end of the Italian occupation. The impact was obviously social and economic deterioration of the country in general and that of the enslaved families.

6.5.2. Manufacturing

In many cultures in Ethiopia and the Horn, there were age-old indigenous ways of producing/making tools or food productions. Such manufacturing activities involved simple procedures, techniques and produced limited quantity of produce. For instance, the production of tools, furniture, and dresses, food including local drinks were processed by using traditional techniques based on manual labour.

One result of the contact with the industrialized world since the mid 19th century was the adoption or introduction manufacturing technologies. Although evidences do not trace the

exact period of the beginning of modern industry in Ethiopia, there is a consensus that the strong interest of rulers in the region for the introduction of western technologies and the subsequent contacts with the industrial world since the mid 19th century contributed to the introduction of manufacturing. The beginning of diplomatic relations and openings of legations in the post Adawa period was followed by the coming of many expatriates who either came with the skill or became agents of the introduction of modern manufacturing. Foreign citizens from Armenia, Greece, Italy and India also brought the entrepreneurial capacity to develop manufacturing industries locally. Among modern manufacturing: Holleta Grain Mill and Massawa salt were set up in 1896 and 1904, respectively. Up to 1927, about 25 factories were established in Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Asmara and Massawa. These included cement factory, wood and clay, tanneries, soap and edible oil plants, ammunition factories, brewery, tobacco processing plants and grain mill. Most of them were established by private entrepreneurs. From 1928, including in the short lived Italian rule more than ten manufacturing industries were set up. Among these Artistic Printing Press and Ambo Mineral Water plant were established before Italian occupation.

6.5.3. Agriculture and land tenure

The period of the 19th and early 20th centuries was the time when agricultural economy grew and the demand for land for cultivation and grazing increased. The system favored the powerful groups to control land that resulted in the change of property right or the preexisting land tenure system. The role of agriculture in the local economy and the politics of the period could be understood from the territorial competition and expansions to control surplus producing areas. Monarchies favored agricultural production and trade since the revenue from the sector was a source of wealth for the emerging monarchies. This altered people's relation to land making some privileged and the others unprivileged. As it is held "...the powerful always drew strength from relating to the land in particular ways and retained their positions by manipulating against others' beneficial uses of it, land tenure dramatically changed" in the period under discussion.

The quest for land and surplus production were one factor of territorial expansion by Menelik in the late 19th century. Land was required to at least settle and feed the warriors and their families. Hence, Menelik occupation of the southern half of the country brought introduced new resource relations. The state institutionalized different forms of surplus expropriation and mechanisms to ensure political control in the regions "peacefully" submitted and the regions that fiercely resisted. The former relatively enjoyed self-administration but subject to pay fixed tax (qurx-gibbir). The latter was placed under the naftegna-gabbar system whereby the new order swiftly removed the indigenous land tenure system in favor of the riflemen. In the latter case, the major force of change was the settlement and exploitative nature of the naftegna system that altered both settlement pattern and agricultural system. The general effects of the implantation of the naftegna-gabbar system were the creation of two classes of societies: the minority landholder and the majority landless. The landholders were largely government agents while the landless were the local society who were reduced to gabbar.

The most influential factor of change in agriculture and land tenure was land measurement (the qalad system of the 1909/10). The purpose was to obtain sufficient land for sale. Land was it obliterated the access to agricultural resources in diverse ways. The system introduced fresh rules in which certain social classes gained access to land, which also contradicted the customary communal land tenure system. The majority of the people had neither the money nor the interest to buy their own land. Land was categorized into lam (cultivated), lam-taf (partly-cultivated and taf uncultivated). Land measurement destroyed the access to agricultural resources in diverse ways. The system introduced fresh rules in which certain social classes gained access to land while reduced the majority of the people to landless as they had no money to buy land. The system continued until the Italian occupation who returned land to tenants.

6.5.4. Urbanization

The period from the early 19th century to 1941 marked the evolution of towns owing to different socio-economic as well as the demographic and ecological factors. During the period, on one hand, the expansion of both local and long distance trade since early 19th

century transformed age-old market and socio-political centers into towns in Ethiopia and Horn. In this case, several towns located on the long-distance trade in western Ethiopia grew into both towns and political centers. In addition, the opening of railway road from Djibouti to Addis Ababa since 1917 was followed by the evolution several fast growing towns. Towns including Dire Dawa, Adama, Bishoftu, Metahara and others were the results of the opening of the railway and the expansion of trade. On the other hand, politico-religious centers in several parts of the region evolved into towns. This was true mainly in the northern parts of Ethiopia. Many centers that once served as "royal camps" evolved into towns and parallel to this many towns declined with the demographic change when "royal camps" shifted to other centres. One of the towns that grew from such process was Addis Ababa. Addis Ababa was chosen as a place to live in by the Empress Taytu Betul, after Emperor Menelik II shifted his seat to there from in 1886. The new site's major attraction was its hot springs, Fel-Wuha. Similarly, since the late 19th century, in Southern Ethiopia, a number of towns emerged when Menilek's generals established garrisons in suitable locations in order to maintain control of the conquered provinces. The presence of the military governors and soldiers provided such areas as permanent areas of economic-political and religious activities. Such centers of administration known as *katamas* (garrison towns) became centers of trade and eventually grew into towns. Towns including Goba, Asalla, Arjo, and others were garrison that grew into towns. During the Italian rule (1936-41), several of the above towns grew in volume and other new towns evolved as the result of the socio-economic and political activities of the period.

6.6. External Relations: Challenges and Threats

6.6.1. External Diplomatic Relations and Treaties

One consequence of the *Zemene-Mesafint* was the end of the "close door policy." Thus, beginning from the early 1800s, regional rulers made independent foreign contacts and treaties. During the 19th century, the agents of these external relations were travelers. They came to Ethiopia and the Horn, with the overt motive of adventure, religious missionary, scientific research, friendship and trade relation on behalf of their government, and with cover mission of colonialism."

One of the earliest private travelers was Henry Salt reached to the court of *Ras Wolde-Silassie* of Tigray on 28 August 1805. He came for “scientific” reasons but he claimed that his mission was to establish friendship between England and Ethiopia.

Several travelers of British nationals including Samuel Gobat and Christian Kugler, C.W. Isenburg, Giustino De Jacibis arrived in 1830s. Travelers from Germany like Cardinal Massaja and Eduard Ruppell (a German scholar) arrived in 1846; the d’Abbadie brothers: Arnauld and Antoine (France geographers) since 1838; Capitain W.C. Harris, an official British mission visited Shoa; John Bell, Walter Plowden in the 1840’s, the Italian Geographic Society in 1869 and the like arrived for trade relation and scientific purpose.

One result of these contacts was the agreement between *Negus Sahle-Selassie* of Shewa and British captain W. Harris in 1841 as well as the French Rochet d’Hericourt, in 1843. In addition, Walter Plowden also signed treaty with *Ras Ali* in 1849.

On the other hand, regional lords had established contacts with religious centers in the Middle East, particularly with Jerusalem. During the period, Egyptians threatened the Ethiopian religious community settlement at Deir Al-Sultan in Jerusalem. As a result, in the early 1850s, strong lords like *Ras Ali* and *Dejjazmach Wube* ‘sent letters to queen Victoria of England to request support against the Egyptians.

External relations during the reign of Tewodros II seems more elaborate and oriented towards obtaining western technological knowledge and military support to fight foreign threats.

Emperor Yohannes IV like Tewodros tried to create strong relations with European. He understood that European expansion was serious threat to Ethiopian independence. When he confronted external challenge like Egypt, he tried to solve through negotiation than war. War was his last choice as he fought with Egypt in 1875/76 and Mahadist Sudan in 1889.

One major diplomatic relations Yohannes concluded was Hiwot /Adwa Treaty. It was peace negotiation signed between the emperor and British on behalf of Egypt through her envoy

Rear Admiral William Hewett on 3 June 1884 at Adwa. The purpose was to safely evacuate the trapped Egyptian troops in Ethio-Sudanese border through Ethiopia. In rewards Ethiopia was to restore Bogos and, freely use Massawa for the transit of goods and firearms.

Based on the agreement Emperor Yohannes facilitated the safe evacuation of Egyptian troops. Britain restored Bogos to Ethiopia and against the treaty, Britain secretly transferred Massawa from Egypt to Italy in February 1885. One consequences of the treaty was that Mahadist determination to avenge Yohannes that led to the battle Metemma on 9 March 1889 and his death.

In terms of diplomatic relations and quelling external threats, Emperor Menilek II, was more successful through maintain the balance among powerful forces of the period. He first made commercial relation with Italy and gradually he acquired military equipments from Italy to secure his territory. At the same time he concluded treaties and obtained support from French, Russia, and Britain. As the result of the success at the battle of Adwa, different foreign countries opened their legation at Addis Ababa to establish relations on formal basis.

During the late 19th century European had interest to control Red Sea area. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Red Sea region acquired great strategic and commercial importance. One of the great powers was Italy. The relations Italy had with the Horn began when an Italian private shipping company had bought the port of Assab from local chiefs in 1869. In 1882, the port of Assab was transferred to Italian government. Italy strengthened foothold in 1885 when Britain secretly transferred Massawa from Egypt to Italy. By using these basis as spring board Italy began to penetrate into northern Ethiopia and occupied Sa'ati, Aylet and Wia to Mereb Melash but they were defeated at battle of Dogali by Ras Alula Endida. Following the battle signed treaty of neutrality with Menilek in October 1887.

Ethiopia's relation with Italy reached its climax with the signing of Wuchale Treaty. It was drafted by Antonelli and signed on 2 May 1889, at Wuchale, Wollo between Emperor Menelik-II of Ethiopia and count Pietro Antonelli on behalf of Crispi of Italy. It has twenty articles and written both in Amharic and Italian languages. However, Article III and XVII have had major difference on the two languages versions. The Italian version of Article III,

indicates the “effective occupation” of Italy to legitimize their further expansion towards the Marab River. While the Amharic version states that Ethiopia could use Italy to conduct its foreign affairs as optional Article XVII of the Italian version indicates Menelik’s foreign contacts must be through the agency of Italy. This happened because Menelik and his supporter *Grazmach* Yoseph Neguse had nothing to do with Italians language, while, Antonelli had knowledge of Amharic and he was very active in International diplomacy. As a result, Italy easily announced this to all European and gained recognition except Russia. In January 1890 the Italian government formally declared Eritrea as their colony. The two articles became points of conflict between the two countries.

Italian action to colonize Ethiopia through misleading treaties; persuasion and the subversive methods failed when Menelik publically abrogated the Wuchale Treaty in February 1893 and when Tigrian lords including *Ras Mangasha Yohannes*, *Ras Sebat Aragawi* and *Dajjach Hagos Tafari*, began to fight against the Italians through collaborating with Emperor Menelik. Italians determination to occupy Ethiopia and Ethiopian resistance against colonialism led to the battle of Adwa, where the latter became victorious.

Furthermore, Emperor Menilek made boundary agreements with the then neighboring colonial powers like French-Somaliland (the present day Djibouti) on 20 March 1897, with British-Somaliland (now Somaliland) on June 1897, with Sudan on 15 May 1902, with the Italian colony of Eritrea on 10 July 1900 and also with British East Africa (Kenya) in 1907 and Italy- Somaliland in 1908. These boundary agreements shaped modern Ethiopian boundary.

In addition to the above, international politics of the 20th century shaped Ethiopian foreign relation. For instance, during the First World War (1914-18) Lij Iyasu sided central powers from the belief that the defeat of the allies (France, Britain) might allow Ethiopia to push Italy out of Eritrea and Somalia. For his purpose, he also supported the Somali nationalist leader, Said Mohammed Abdille Hassan against Italy and Britain. One of the successes of Ethiopian’s foreign relation in the early 20th was Ethiopia’s admit to League of Nation in 1923. In the following section, we will discuss some major treaties concluded and battles Ethiopia fought to defend external threats.

6. 6. 2. Major Battles Fought Against Foreign Aggressors and Patriotism

Ethiopian peoples fought different battles at different periods against foreign threats. The following section discusses the patriotism, determination and cooperation as well as the success and failure of Ethiopian peoples to defend their country.

The Battle of Dabarki (1848)

Debarki was fought between It was fought between Kassa Hailu (later Emperor Tewodros II) of Quara and Egyptian forces in 1848. Although the forces led by Kassa Hailu lost the battle, the military imbalance particularly the modern artillery and disciplined Egyptian troops gave a lesson to Kassa to modernize his troops, acquire modern technologies and initiated him to widen the horizon of territory from regional level to countywide.

The Battle Maqdella (1868)

Tewodros II had early relation with Britain through the two British travelers, Walter Plowden and John Bell to obtain help and against aggressors like Egypt. Especially, in 1862, he sent a letter to Queen Victoria, while, the assigned British consul Captain Charles Cameron comeback to Ethiopia via his considered threat Egypt without any response to his request. Suspecting him as supporter of Egypt, Tewodros imprisoned Captain Cameron and others. In addition, British's letter under Hormuzed Rassam also bears no hope an eager Tewodros for an eager Tewodros.

In response, Britain sent a combined force(32,000) led by Sir Robert Napier from Bombay through Massawa. This force reached Meqdela by the support of Dejasmach Bezibiz Kassa of Tigray (later Emperor Yohannes) and *Dejasmach* Wagshum Gobeze of Lasta in April 1868. On April 10, 1868 about 3,000 to 8,000 fighting men's of Tewodros including his general Gebrye were defeated by the British at the battle of Aroghe, and on the next two days the Emperor released the captives.

Finally, the people called: “እግዚር ያውቃል እርሳቸው ወንድ፤ ጦሩ ይዘላል እንድ ሺህ ከንድ”። “God knows he is a brave man, his spear jumps one thousand cubits”; on 13 April 1868, Emperor

Tewodros committed suicide. On April 13, 1868, the British troops burned his fortress; manuscripts, religious and secular artifacts, Crown of Emperor Tewodros II was looted and transported to England. The defeat at the battle of Meqdela shows the cost of division and rivalry among regional lords of the period.

The Battles of Gundet & Gura

Egyptians showed keen interest to occupy Ethiopian region and the Horn particularly in the 19th century. Following their occupation of the Sudan, Egyptians attempted to occupy Ethiopia. With the motive to build an empire in North-East Africa with master of the source of the Nile, in 1875, Khedive Ismail Pasha invaded Ethiopia in three directions. Mohammed Rauf Pasha led the Zeila front and the result was the occupation of Harar Emirate (1875-1885). Werner Munzinger, the architect of the whole of Ismail's invasion to Ethiopia, led about 500 Egyptian troops equipped with cannons and rocket tubes through the Tajura. Finally, colonel Arendrup and Arekel led 2,000 well armed troops through Massawa. Emperor Yohannes and *Shaleqa* later Ras Alula mobilized 20,000 forces and fought the Egyptian at the battle of Gundet 16 November 1875. Egyptians were severely defeated. Egyptian again reorganized their forces and sent to avenge the defeat at Gundet. However, Ethiopian forces again defeated them at the battle of Gura (7 – 9 March 1876).

It is vital to understand that Egyptians were supported by European powers. For instance, the architect of the war, Werner Munzinger was Switzerland born adventurer and former French Consul in Northeast Africa. Colonel Arendrup himself was a Danish Citizen, and General Charles Stone was fellow-American.

The Battle of Mattama

As indicated above Hewett Treaty caused clashes between Mahdist and Ethiopian forces that lasted from 1885 to 1889. The first clash was at Kufit between Ras Alula and Uhtman Digna in September 1885. Initially, the Ethiopian force was victorious. However, when emperor Yohannis IV was in Northern Ethiopia checking the Italian advance to Mereb Melash, the destructive invasion of the Mahadist destroying churches and monasteries reached Gondar. Hence, in January 1887, Yohannes sent *Negus* Tekle Haymanot of Gojjame to defend the

Mahdists who defeated them at Metemma. One year later the Mahdists led by Abu Anja, defeated *Negus* Tekle Haymanot's troops at Sar Wuha in Dembya. By the time, emperor Yohannis made national call: «የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ሆይ!! ኢትዮጵያ የተባለችዉ ሀገር፡ 1ኛ እናትህ ናት፤ 2ኛ ክብርህ ናት፤ 3ኛ ሚስትህ ናት፤ 4ኛ ልጅህ ናት፤ 5ኛ መቃብርህ ናት። እንግዲህ የእናትን ፍቅር፣ የዘዉድን ክብር፣ የሚስትን የዋህነት፣ የልጅን ደስታ፣ የመቃብርን ከባድነት እስከህ ተነስ! Hence, on 9 March 1889, the Emperor marched to Mattema to fight Mahadists where he died.

The Battle of Adwa and Its Aftermath

The disagreement on the Wuchale Treaty finally led to the big battle between Ethiopia and Italian forces. This was because Italians determined to colonize Ethiopian and Ethiopians determined to defend. For their motive, Italians crossed Marab River and arrived at Adigrat and to Amba-Alage. Following emperor's proclamation for general mobilization about 100,000 heroes and heroines assembled from every part of the country without any religious, ethnic, cultural, sex, linguistic, positions, and other differences stood for the inevitable war with Italians. This force led by *Fitawrari* Gebayehu Gurmu defeated the Italians at Ambalage and forced them to retreat to Mekelle. In January 1896, by the leadership of *Ras* Mekonnen Ethiopian forces defeated Italians at Mekelle. The strategy was commonly called the “siege of Mekelle” and was considered to be designed by Empress Tayitu. At Adwa, again, Ethiopian forces led by Emperor Menilek, Empress Tayitu and war generals like *Ras* Mikael, *Ras* Makonnen, *Ras* Alula, *Ras* Mangasha, *Fitawrari* Gebeyehu, and *Negus* Takla-Haymanot defeated the Italian brigades. At the battle, 8,000 Italian fighters killed, 1, 500 wounded and 3, 000 were captured. On Ethiopian side without any prisoners of war, about 4,000-6,000 were killed.

Despite different interpretations on the results of the battle of Adwa, the heroic national campaign, cooperation and common successes of peoples in Ethiopia had a positive implication for the national integration. Ethiopian Orthodox Church participated with St. George *tabot*. The victory reflects sense of independence, national pride, uniqueness in Africa and it becomes the shared memory for Ethiopians. Above all, Italy recognized the independence of Ethiopia with the signing of the Addis Ababa treaty in 1896. European

powers of the time including Italy, France, Britain, Russia, United States, Germany, Belgium, Turkey, and others also recognized the independence of Ethiopia through opening legations at Addis Ababa.

The success of Ethiopians at Adwa had an enduring legacy in the relations between freedom fighters and colonizing powers. The victory of black people on white colonizers initiated entire African who was fighting against colonialism. Well-known Pan-Africans like Marcus Garvey inspired his followers in his “Back to Africa” movement with a victory of Ethiopians. He used the phrase like “Ethiopia thou land of our fathers” and Ethiopianism becomes the symbol of anti-colonial movements. Japan also used Ethiopia’s experience when it fought against Russia in 1904.

6. 6. 3. Italian Occupation (1936-41) and the Patriotic Resistance Struggle

6.6.3.1. Background of the War

Following their defeat at Adwa in 1896, the Italians suspended their expansionist colonial policy in north east Africa for a short time. However, they were just waiting the right time to execute their interests in any possible way.

Italy eventually got its ideological strength in 1922, when Fascists led by Benito Mussolini held power in Italy. The Fascists who were committed to the principle of restoring the power and glory of the ancient Roman Empire decided to remove Italy’s humiliation at Adwa).

Initially Mussolini didn’t disclose his war ambition against the sovereignty of Ethiopia rather he was playing diplomatic ‘cards’ till the coming of the ‘right time.’ To achieve their goal of occupation of Ethiopia, they raised two significant policies as they tried to use before the battle of Adwa. These were ‘subversion’ & ‘rapprochement’. The policy of subversion which aimed in deteriorating unity of the empire via sowing dissatisfaction in Tigre, Begemidir, Gojjam and Wallo and this was made the responsibility of Corrado Zoli who was the governor of Eritrea (1928-1930). Whereas the Italian legation in Addis Ababa, headed by Guiliano Cora led the policy of ‘*rapprochement*’, a pseudo reconciliation tactic which was trying to persuade the Ethiopian government about the establishment of cordial relations

between the two countries. For instance, the signing of the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Peace and Friendship was the manifestation of the success of the *rapprochement* policy. Here, beside to their legation in Addis Ababa, the Italians had also consulates in provincial towns such as Dessie, Adwa, Debre-Markos and Gondar. These consulates played significant role in propagating dissatisfaction and gathering vital military as well as political intelligence. In addition to such preparations, the Fascists were also able to get indirect diplomatic support from Britain and France for their colonial interest in Ethiopia.

Here, although it is difficult to pin point one particular year when the decision was made by Mussolini to launch the intended invasion, 1932 appears to have been crucial year. Mussolini who made all necessary preparations to launch an invasion against Ethiopia was only searching for small pretext, and then fortunately he found Walwal incident. The Walwal Clash (5 Dec. 1934) was the result of the post-Awa boundary agreement limitations: lack of demarcation on the ground & lack of effective administrative control on the frontier regions. However, the Italians refused to give back Walwal and even attacked the Ethiopian soldiers who were stationed nearby. Thus, this situation gave birth to the so called Walwal Incident.

Surprisingly, although the number of Ethiopian dead during this border clash was three times as high as the Italians, it was Italy which demanded totally unreasonable apology and reparation from Ethiopia. Then Ethiopia which refused to accept Italy's demand took the matter into the League of Nations and a period of useless process to resolve the conflict followed. However, in the meantime Mussolini, who already got the desired pretext, was finalizing his preparations to launch a total invasion.

6.6.3.2. The 1935 Invasion and After

The Italians executed their aggression via two major fronts: The Northern and the eastern Front. The war was started in the Northern Front when the Italians crossed the Mereb River on 3 Oct. 1935 and launched a three pronged invasion and controlled Adigrat, Adwa and Mekelle. Until 1936, Ethiopia did not make actual resistance for two reasons: to expose the Italian aggression to the world and to stretch enemy's line of supplies by dragging them into the center. In January 1936, Ethiopian counter offensive marched north through three fronts. Ras Emiru H/Selasie led the western front, Ras Kassa Hailu (also commander of the entire

front) and *Ras Seyum Mengesha* led the Central front and *Ras Mulugeta Yigezu* (War Minister) led the eastern front.

Ethiopians failed and this battle historically known as the First Battle of Temben (20-24 Jan. 1936). On 20 January 1936, the Ethiopian army launched a major offensive against the Italians seeking to isolate Meqelle, but failed to realize its objective due to lack of coordination among the above mentioned war leaders. On January 24, the Ethiopian force lost to the Italians at the first Battle in Temben. This was followed by an attack on the Ethiopian force which was stationed in what seemed to be an impregnable natural fortress of Amba Aradom, to the south of Mekelle. The Italians scored yet another decisive victory in which the commander of the Ethiopian army, *Ras Mulugeta Yigezu*, lost his life. Besides modern weapons, the Italian force had superiority in the air to the Ethiopian force. Moreover, the forces of *Ras Kassa* & *Ras Seyum* who were outnumbered by the Italian troops lost the Second Battle of Temben (27-29 February 1936). *Ras Kassa* & *Ras Seyum* narrowly escaped from the battlefield and joined the Emperor at Korem.

On the western front, the Ethiopian army under *Ras Emeru* put strong resistance against the advancing force of the Italians. Thanks to *Ras Emeru*'s better leadership quality, the number of deaths of Ethiopian soldiers was less than what it had been in the Northern Front.

The series of battles between the Ethiopian and Italian forces in the Northern Front culminated in Maychew on 31 March 1936. Although the Ethiopian army (especially members of the *Kebur Zebegna*) under the command of the Emperor put strong resistance against the Italians, they were not able to consummate the battle with victory. Many Ethiopian soldiers lost their lives from gunpowder and air bombardment during the battle. Still others were killed by Raya Azebo Shiftas/ bandits on their retreat. Then the Italian forces controlled Desie and Addis Ababa on 4 April 1936 and 5 May 1936 respectively. The Ethiopian army in the Southern Front was better equipped and led by able leaders relative to the North. *Ras Desta Damitew* (in the south) and *Dejazmach* Nesibu Zamanuel (in the southeast) were leaders of the Ethiopian troops in this Front.

The Ethiopian army lost to the Italians at two major battles in the Southern Front: Qorahe (November 1935) and Genale Dorya (12-14 January 1936). In the ensuing battles, the Italian Askaris (recruited from Eritrea) deserted the Italians and joined the Ethiopian force which boosted the moral of *Ras Desta's* defeated troops. *Ras Desta* continued to challenge the Italians until he was captured and executed in early 1937. The number of soldiers the Italians lost during the fighting in the Southern Front was larger than the North which slowed their advance to the center; Badoglio entered Addis Ababa before Graziani even crossed Harar.

On 2 May 1936, the Emperor fled the country and on 5 May 1936 the Italians entered Addis Ababa. Between Haile Selassie's departure and the Italians control over the center, Addis Ababa was beset by burning of buildings, looting and random shooting. The major targets of the violence were the rich, foreigners and the imperial palace. Many foreigners saved their lives by taking refuge in foreign legations.

Here, the entry of the Italian forces into the capital in the middle of such chaos was a relief for both the foreigners and the natives since the Italians were able to bring peace and order to the city. At this juncture, some scholars suggested that the Italians deliberately delayed their entry so that the people of the city would consider them as an 'angels' of peace, and easily accept their rule. Anyway, after their control of the capital Marshal Badoglio immediately reported the situation to Mussolini. Benito Mussolini on the other hand announced to the people of Italy and the world about their control of Ethiopia using the phrase "Ethiopia is Italian!"

The Italians immediately merge Ethiopia with their colonies of Somaliland and Eritrea. Then they named the combination of their colonies as Italian East Africa (IEA). The newly formed Italian East Africa had six administrative regional divisions that dismissed former international boundaries. These were: Eritrea (including Tigray) → its capital was Asmara; Amhara (including Begemidr, Gojjam, Wallo & Northern Shewa) → its capital was Gondar; Oromo & Sidama (including Southern & Southwestern provinces) → its capital was Jimma.; Harar → its capital was Harar; Somalia (including Ogaden) → its capital was Mogadishu; Addis Ababa (later changed to Shewa) → it was capital of the entire colony.

During the 5 years Italy's control of this colony the following Italians were appointed as governors consecutively: Marshal Badoglio (till the end of May 1936), Marshal Graziani (till Feb. 1937), and finally Amadio Umberto d'Aosta (the Duke of Aosta).

Generally, the Italian administration of IEA was characterized by a top-heavy bureaucracy and Corruption. For instance, the last governor of IEA, the Duke of Aosta himself characterized 50% of his officials as inept & 25% as thieves. Moreover, Marshal Badoglio himself reportedly pocketed about 1, 700,000 Maria Theresa Thalers confiscated from the Bank of Ethiopia, in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. In the economic respect, the Italians weakened & destroyed non-Italian foreign firms & replaced them with governmental enterprises that controlled the industry, trade & agriculture.

The Italians were relatively successful in the sectors of trade and industry as compared to the agricultural sector. For instance, the Italians planned to settle Italian farmers in selected Ethiopian areas such as Wegera, Chericher & Jimma. However, their agricultural plan was failed (they only accomplished 10%) due to the Italians incapability to secure the rural arable areas from the patriots.

As legacy of the Italian Rule: As indicated above, the Italian's administrative control was largely confined to the urban areas due to the strong patriotic resistance. Thus, their legacy was also largely reflected in the towns than the rural areas which were actually out of Italians effective colonial rule. Generally, the legacy of the Italian colonial rule can be explained in the following brief points:

- Architecture, urban expansion like Addis Ababa's expansion;
- Introduction of urban supply of clean water and electricity;
- Social legacies, (The emergence of considerable amount of mixed population, expansion of prostitution, adoption of European habits-including eating & dressing styles, and adoption of Italian words) and
- Road construction and development of motor transport.

6.6.3.3. The Patriotic Resistance and Liberation

The struggle continued but it suffered from serious internal weakness. The resistance was handicapped by the Ethiopian collaborators called the *Banda*. Another weakness of the resistance movement was that it was divided and that there was no one national organization to coordinate the activities of the many bands dispersed in many parts of the country. Relations between guerrilla bands were characterized by parochialism and jealousy. Some guerrilla groups spent more time fighting one another than attacking the declared enemy.

Despite these weaknesses, the patriots carried on a stubborn resistance against Italian fascism, until suddenly they got external support from Britain in 1941. Ethiopian struggle for independence merged with World War II, when Italy declared war on France and Britain on 10 June 1940. Mussolini decided to enter the war on the side of Germany in hope of outside support; the internationalization of the conflict was a good opportunity. For Haile Sillassie too, the situation was important.

His requests for assistance were finally answered by the British government that decided to drive out Italians from East Africa. On 12 July 1940, London recognized the Emperor as a full ally. The British launched a three pronged attack on the Italians. In the north, General William Platt led the forces that attacked the Italians in Eritrea. In January 1941, Colonel Sanford and Major Wingate accompanied the Emperor from Sudan into Gojjam at the head of British and Ethiopian troops called the Gedeon force. General Cunningham led the attack from Kenya. The advances were rapid largely due to the demoralization that the patriots had caused among the Italians. Emperor Haile Sellassie entered Addis Ababa on 5 May 1941.

Learning activities

- Discuss the socio-economic and political circumstances that gave rise to the Gibe monarchies in Ethiopia?
- Discuss the role of local and long-distance trade in the interactions between peoples and states of Ethiopia and the Horn?
- Discuss Emperor Tewodros' administrative policies and military reforms and their outcomes.
- Briefly describe *Lij* Iyasu's efforts to reform the country's justice system and the police force.
- Discuss the operation of the *leba shay* system.
- Discuss the internal and external circumstances that led Menelik II's conquest of southern territories?
- Assess the divergent paths Emperors Tewodros II, Yohannis IV and Menelik II pursued in the administration of the empire.
- Account for the circumstances that led to the foundation of Addis Ababa as the empire's capital.

Unit Seven

Internal Developments and External Relations, 1941–1994 (5 hours)

Introduction

Dear Learners,

This unit examines major social, economic and political developments in Ethiopia from 1941 to 1994. It does so by reviewing key institutions and processes that underlay the relationships between the Ethiopian political center and the provinces and the country's relations with the outside world. Specific issues the unit considers include: consolidation of imperial power, opposition movements, the 1974 Revolution, and the replacement of the monarchy by a Marxist-leaning military government-the *Derg*. The *Derg* undertook a series of revolutionary measures that brought about profound social, economic and political changes in the country relatively quickly. In the long term, however, the measures did not prove valuable to increase and sustain agricultural productivity and thus improve the condition of peasants. Meanwhile, the *Derg* had been beset from its first year in power by strife within the government, regional and ethnic rebellions and separatist movements besides the war with Somalia. Finally, the raging civil war in the north against the backdrop of decelerating economy combined with changes in global politics led to the demise of the *Derg* in 1991. This was followed by the formation of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) and then the promulgation of a new constitution that established a federal form of government led by the EPRDF. Through the examination of the various topics and historical developments, the unit aims to further encourage students to

study the history of Ethiopia and the Horn in general and that of their country in particular.

Unit Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- identify and discuss major socio-economic and political developments in the country from 1941-74.
- assess the role and influence of the British and the Americans in Ethiopia's domestic and foreign affairs in the post-liberation period.
- analyze the causes, course and consequences of the 1974 revolution.
- account for the revolutionary measures of the *Derg*.
- discuss the fundamental and immediate factors for the fall of the *Derg* regime.
- describe the essential nature of the EPRDF led government with reference to the measures it took shortly after assuming power.

Unit Starters

- What considerations informed the decision of the British government to help Ethiopia in June 1940?
- Do you remember who colonels Sanford and Wingate, and General Alan Cunningham were?
- How did the patriots of Gojjam react to the arrival of the Emperor?
- Which day should be observed as an Ethiopian Victory Day - April 6 or May 5? Why?

7.1. Post-1941 Imperial Period

7.1.1. Political Scene: Restoration and Consolidation of Imperial Power and External Relations

Ethiopia and Britain

In the post 1941 period, Britain recognized Ethiopia's status as a sovereign state with mutual diplomatic accreditation, but it continued to exercise the upper hand because of the role it played in the liberation of Ethiopia from fascist rule. Another reason for the preponderant influence of Britain in Ethiopia's domestic and international affairs was the continuation of WWII (c. 1939-45) which required adequate provision for the Allied defense to win the war. Accordingly, despite protests, the British considered Ethiopia Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA). The 1942 and 1944 agreements that Emperor Haile-Selassie I was forced to sign with the British show the ascendancy of the latter.

The 1942 agreement gave Britain a final authority over Ethiopia's foreign affairs, territorial integrity, administration, finances, the military and the police. The British minister in Ethiopia enjoyed precedence over other foreign diplomats in Ethiopia and Britain was to approve employment of other nationals by Ethiopian government. Even more, British citizens held key posts in Ethiopian administration as advisors and judges while at the same time they maintained total control over the country's police force which was set up in February 1942. Additionally, British aircraft had exclusive aviation rights and the emperor had to obtain approval from the Commander in Chief of the British Forces in East Africa, Sir Philip Mitchell, to implement sovereign matters such as declaration of war or state of emergency. Britain also decided details on disposal of Italian prisoners of war and civilians and the administration of Italian properties in the country. In terms of finance, the British assumed control over currency and foreign exchange as well as imports and exports.

The emperor resented such restrictions to his powers and made some diplomatic engagements. With this and the help of the USA and friends of Ethiopia such as Sylvia Pankhurst, Britain relaxed the restrictions imposed upon the Ethiopian government. The second Anglo-Ethiopian agreement, signed in 1944, shows some of the concessions the emperor won from Britain. According to this agreement, the priority accorded to the British minister over all other foreign diplomats in Ethiopia was lifted. The Ethiopian government could now employ non-British foreign personnel and it regained control over a section of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway, a vital line of external communication. Control over this route assured Ethiopia free access to foreign goods and services including arms and ammunitions. The British also agreed to evacuate their army from the region once they equip Ethiopia's military force- a task mandated to the British Military Mission to Ethiopia (BMME). The BMME assisted the government of Ethiopia in organizing, training, and administration of its army until 1951. Haile-Selassie I Harar Military Academy was modeled after a British Military Academy called Sandhurst.

Britain did not, however, yield to Ethiopia's territorial demands during the negotiation for the 1944 Agreement. The Ethiopian government requested to annex Eritrea claiming that it was racially, culturally, and economically inseparable from Ethiopia and Ogaden. Both Eritrea and Ogaden were part of the Ethiopian empire before they fell into Italian hands in 1890 and 1936 respectively. But Ethiopia's claims to the two territories were met with little sympathy from the British. Britain insisted that Ogaden should be merged with the former Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland to form what they called "Greater Somalia". Similarly, the western and northern lowlands of Eritrea were intended by the British to be part of Sudan. Further, they wanted to integrate the Tigrigna-speaking highlands of Eritrea with Tigray to form a separate state. As a consequence, in September 1945 at the London conference of Allied powers Ethiopia's claims to Eritrea and Ogaden were rejected.

The territorial issues were resolved only after a decade. In 1948, the British left parts of Ogaden, and in 1954 they withdrew from the region. In Eritrea people were divided; those who wanted a union with Ethiopia rallied behind the Unionists. The Liberal

Progressive Party and later the Muslim League rallied people who sought for separation and independence. In 1948, the question of Eritrea was referred to the UN by Britain, France, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. The UN appointed a commission of five men from Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa to find out actual wishes of Eritreans. After a period of investigation, Guatemala and Pakistan recommended granting independence to Eritrea. While Norway recommended union with Ethiopia, South Africa and Burma recommended Federation. On December 2, 1950 UN Resolution 390V granted the Federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia which came into effect in 1952. However, this arrangement did not satisfy both unionists and the independence bloc; thus, sought to unmake the federation to fit their respective interests. On November 14 1962, the Ethiopian government abrogated the federation formula and placed Eritrea under the imperial umbrella.

Ethiopia and the U.S.A

The first official contacts between Ethiopia and the United States of America dates back to 1903 when the two countries signed a treaty of friendship and commerce. The relations between the two countries had been in the doldrums because of the tripartite domination of the Ethiopian diplomatic scene until the early 1940s. Following the Second World War, two super-powers, the Soviet Union and the United States emerged. In Ethiopia and the Horn, British pre-dominance in 1940s was replaced by the dominance of the United States in 1950s. In his efforts to modernize his country and consolidate his power, Haile-Selassie I turned towards the United States as a powerful ally than Britain. American interest in the region began to grow especially after they acquired a communication base in Asmara known as Radio Marina from the Italians. The radio station was later renamed Qagnew after the Ethiopian force that fought on the side of the Americans in the Korean War.

In 1943 the Ethiopian vice finance minister, Yilma Deressa, visited the US to request expertise especially in law, military, finance. In response, USA extended the Lend-Lease agreement with Ethiopia and sent a technical mission led by Perry Fellows in May 1944. Emperor Haile-Selassie I and the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, met in

Egypt and discussed recognition of an American Sinclair Company to prospect for oil in Ogaden at the beginning of 1945. The renewed contact between the two countries was concretized with the signing of two agreements in the 1950s. The first Point Four Agreement that enabled subsequent American assistance in education and public health was signed in 1952. The second Ethio-US Treaty that granted a continued American use of the Qagnew base in return for military assistance was signed in 1953. These two agreements in general but mostly the latter defined the Ethio-American partnership in the following decades.

Following the 1953 treaty, the US launched a military aid program named the American Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) to equip Ethiopia's armed forces. The MAAG was to train 60,000 Ethiopian soldiers in 3 separate squadrons namely the air force, the infantry and the cavalry. In the year between 1953 and 1968, over 2,500 Ethiopians received various forms of military training in the US. It was in the army and the air force that American military assistance and training was most noticeable. By 1970, 60% of US military aid to Africa went to Ethiopia. In the period between 1946 and 1972, US military aid was over \$180 million. Anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, naval craft, infantry weapons and some times even uniforms like field jackets were of American origin.

Civil aviation, road transport, and education were other spheres that the Americans took active part. From September 8 to December 15 1945, the founding conference of the UN was held at San Francisco. There, the Ethiopian delegation approached American delegates for assistance to form a civilian airline. Hence, an agreement was concluded with Transcontinental and Western World Airline (TWA) that established Ethiopian Air Lines (EAL) in 1946 with five C-47 warplanes that served during WWII and of which three were converted to passenger version DC-3. In 1962 EAL entered the jet age. Meanwhile the shortage of trained Ethiopian personnel slowed the progress towards the Ethiopianization of the EAL. For almost three decades since the signing of the agreement with the TWA in 1946, key management and executive posts of the Ethiopian airline were seized by expatriates notably Americans. EAL got its first indigenous pilot,

Alemayehu Abebe, in 1957 and Colonel Simeret Medhne became the first Ethiopian General Manager of EAL in 1971. The Imperial Board of Telecommunication was established with the help of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) organization between 1950 and 1952. In January 1951, with financial loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the Imperial High Way Authority (IHA) was set up based on the model of the US Bureau of Roads. It continued to be run by Americans until 1962. Together with ELA's domestic network the improvement of road transport along with communication services played important role in facilitating national integration and the speedy transport of such lucrative commodities as coffee. In the field of education, American presence was particularly evident in the university and high schools. A variety of American scholarship programs under USAID, African American Institute and African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD) with Peace Corps, offered opportunities for many Ethiopians to go to the United States for their second and third degrees.

Other foreign countries with significant presence in Imperial Ethiopia include Sweden and Norway whose advisors were entrusted to the Air force and navy successively. Germany and Israel trained and equipped the Police Force while the Swedes Imperial Bodyguard was supported by the Harar Military Academy was entrusted to British trained Indians. Italians built Qoqa Dam in 1956 and returned the Statue of Judah in 1972, which they had taken during their occupation of Ethiopia. Russians established good relations with Ethiopia through their exhibition, library around city hall, post office, mathematics and literature.

7.1.2. Socio-economic Developments

Ethiopia and the Horn is one of the regions in the world where early domestication of plants and animals took place. An indication of the antiquity of agriculture in the region is the production of different varieties of a particular crop naturally adapted to varied physical environments. In Ethiopia, the agricultural sector provided an agricultural surplus sufficiently large and reliable enough to support an exceptionally long history of

political centralization. In the mid-twentieth century, low industrialization meant that Agriculture was the leading economic sector in providing employment for about 90% of the population, generating about 70% of the national GDP and supplying almost 100% of the country's income from export trade. Therefore, the holding of land which was a primary means of production was vital.

Generally, peasants in the northern and central highland parts of Ethiopia held land in the form of *rist*. *Rist* was a communal use of a land which a peasant (*gebbbar*) could claim by virtue of birth from a real or imaginary founding father i.e. the first occupant. A hereditary claim to a *rist* land being inalienable, it was however subject to continuous division to accommodate claims of descendants from time to time. In the 1970s, more than 66 percent of the peasant farmers cultivated less than 0.5 hectares each. In the south, government grants were made for large plots and tenancy was widespread. The disparity of landownership between north and south Ethiopia by the middle of the twentieth century can be appreciated from the proportion of tenants to landed peasants. It was only minority religious and occupational castes who suffered from tenancy in the north while the tenant population as percentage of total rural population in newly incorporated regions varied from 37% in Sidamo to a staggering 73% in Illubabor and 75% in Hararghe, whereas tenancy in northern provinces averaged 11%. Tenants surrendered up to 60% of their produce to landlords who mostly lived in towns or the capital.

In addition to formal tributes, there were sundry payments that smallholder and landless farmers had to make, such as “voluntary” contributions to self-help funds for projects from which they rarely benefitted. Sharecrop tenancy arrangements in the country were so onerous that increasing production only increased the exploitation of peasants. Similarly, the extreme taxation to which smallholding peasants were subjected to was potent enough to discourage peasants from maximizing production beyond subsistence levels. From 1953 to 1974, the annual growth rate of agricultural production was 2.4% which was lower than the 2.5% population growth rate. As a consequence, Ethiopia ranked among the countries with very low per capita income.

The deteriorating condition of the country's economy posed a threat to the social and political stability of the country and thus, the regime's power. This coupled with external pressure from donors, induced the government to establish a land reform committee in 1961. This later became the Land Reform and Development Authority that grew to become the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration. Yet no meaningful reform was implemented because it would affect the vested economic and political interests of landlords who at that time had taken hold of government.

In 1960s and 1970s commercial agriculture was expanding especially in southern Shawa, the Setit-Humera region on the Sudan border, and in the Awash valley. The mechanization of farming in these areas led to eviction of tenants. Profitability of agriculture led some landlords to work the land by themselves. Sometimes they rented the land under their ownership to whoever offered them better price in cash (as opposed to the sharecropping tenancy practice); a price paid in advance and for longer periods. The effect of all these was the eviction of tenants.

Furthermore the government attempted to enhance the productivity of small farmers through launching comprehensive agricultural package programs. The most notable in this regard were the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU) and Wolamo [sic] Agricultural Development Unit (WADU). CADU was launched in 1967 through the initiative of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) while the World Bank supported WADU. The major objective of the package programs was demonstrating the effectiveness and efficiency of agricultural packages to pave the way for subsequent nationwide emulation of the intensive package approach. Nonetheless, the plan was conceived and implemented without undertaking the crucial task of land reform, thereby leaving the targeted population (small peasant producers) at a disadvantageous position vis-a-vis big landlords when it comes to the distribution of benefits. Although few participant small farmers gained real benefit, farmers with large land-holdings took the lion's share of the benefits accrued from these projects. CADU aggravated tenant eviction and was finally diverted to serve the interest of big landlords. The Wolamo [sic]

Agricultural Development Unit (WADU), initiated by the World Bank, was more successful in promoting re-settlement instead.

Since the 1950s the government formulated strategic plans for economic development and this came in a series of five-year plans. The First Five Year Plan (1957-1961) targeted the development of infrastructure. The Second (1962-1967) turned towards mining, manufacturing and electricity. The Plan also mentioned major constraints to the development of the agricultural sector, although in very general terms. The Third (1968-1972) gave priority to agricultural development and higher living standard. The package projects noted above were part of the third plan. Following these plans, the Ethiopian economy witnessed some progress particularly after 1950. Overall domestic output increased nearly three and a half times and even better progress was registered in manufacturing. The number of industrial enterprises grew to over four hundred and the industrial working force to nearly sixty thousand. There was a 24-fold increase in electricity supply and infrastructure expanded considerably. Road and air communication enabled linkage of parts of the country. The emergence of new towns and the development of city life hastened urbanization. Moreover, public revenue and expenditure both grew nine times and tenfold, respectively. Banking facilities expanded and the State Bank of Ethiopia was formed in 1942. In 1963 it was divided into the Commercial Bank and the National Bank of Ethiopia. Also a private bank, Addis Ababa Bank was established in 1963. The capital Addis Ababa became a continental capital when the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were established in 1958 and 1963 respectively. Overall, there was unprecedented level of modernization which was reflected in many facets of life: music, sports, cuisine and dress styles.

Yet, much of Ethiopia remained traditional with a low living standard and Ethiopia was a least developed country in global terms. While the manufacturing sector contributed less than 5% of the national income, industrialization was spatially limited in the capital and its vicinity in addition only to Asmara and Dire Dawa and it only produced light consumer goods. Moreover, industrial investment was also primarily of foreign origin.

For example, the Ethiopian share in capital was hardly more than 20% for Wonji-Shawa and Methara sugar factories which were largely Dutch-owned. Above all, the absence of meaningful land reform constrained the forces of production in the countryside where the majority of the population lived.

Consolidation of Autocracy

The post-liberation period witnessed the apogee of the emperor's power. As in the period before, at the center of post-1941 national policies was the state's enduring interest to curb the political and economic bases of the power of regional lords in favour of the monarch. After he was restored to the throne in May 1941, Emperor Haile-Selassie embarked on consolidating his power. This was made possible through the bureaucratization of government, the building of a national army and a centralized fiscal regime. First of all, in order to fill-in the expanding bureaucracy, education was promoted at both school and college levels. While primary schools had already been established prior to 1935, secondary schools were opened in the post 1941 period. The Haile-Selassie I Secondary School, founded in 1943, and the General Wingate School, established in 1946, became the two most popular and prestigious secondary schools. A significant number of the educated elites in the 1950s attended either of these two schools. In 1950, the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA) was inaugurated. This was followed by the Engineering and Building College in Addis Ababa, the College of Agriculture in Alamaya (Hararghe), and the Public Health College in Gondar. These various colleges were brought together to form the Haile-Selassie I University in 1961 which again was re-named Addis Ababa University after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1974.

The post-1941 political order was dominated by Haile-Selassie that both the state and the country came to be identified with the emperor. Significant urban landmarks such as schools, hospitals, theatre halls, stadiums, main avenues and squares in the country bore the name of the Emperor. It was common for students to chant songs praising the emperor who would then gift them with sweets or fruits on holidays such as Ethiopian

Christmas on January 7. The emperor's birthday and coronation day were national holidays where large sum of money was spent.

Yet another major pre-occupation of the imperial regime was the strengthening of the military and security apparatus. The ministries of Defense and Interior, in charge of maintaining public security, consistently received the highest budgetary allocations. For example, out of the country's total budget of ETB 38 million in 1944/5 fiscal year, nearly 11 million was allocated for the Ministry of Interior of which security absorbed almost 5 million and about 8 million went for war. Figures show over 80 million allocation for Ministry of Defense and nearly 60 million for Ministry of Interior, out of about 400 million ETB in 1967. Ironically although the emperor anticipated that the military that was composed mainly of the army, the police force and the Imperial Bodyguard would suppress opposition to the regime, they themselves rebelled more than once. It failed in 1960. It was more successful in 1974.

The traditional aristocracy although made to enjoy urban and rural property, had lost most of its political privileges. Based on the traditional *shum shir*, the emperor appointed and dismissed his ministers, most of whom had humble origins. In 1943, the emperor appointed eleven ministers to draft laws and appoint junior officials but their subservience to the monarch was stated in explicit terms. For example, it was only in 1966 that even the prime minister was allowed to select his cabinet members to be approved by the emperor. *Ras Bitweded Mekonnen Endalkachew* served as prime minister from 1943-57. Next to Mekonnen Habte-Wold (1949-58), whose brother, Aklilu, became the last prime minister of the imperial regime (1961-74), Yilma Deressa left the strongest mark on the Ministry of Finance. But the most powerful of the ministers in the post-1941 political order was *Tsehafe-Tizaz Wolde-Giorgis Wolde-Yohannis* who headed the strategic Ministry of Pen in the period 1941-55. Besides Wolde-Giorgis held the portfolios of Justice and Interior on various occasions that he was the defacto prime minister in the above stated period. Wolde-Giorgis' access to the emperor and the latter's trust in him made him so powerful. In general, members of royal family, leading nobility and the *Abun* still were members of the crown council, which was an advisory body to

the emperor. In 1959, the Emperor's private cabinet was set up as a high-level advisory body to the emperor and developed into agency doing intelligence.

In 1955, Haile-Selassie promulgated a new constitution, revising the first constitution issued in 1931. American advisers like John Spencer as well as *Tsehafe-Tizaz* Wolde-Giorgis Wolde-Yohannis and *Tsehafe-Tizaz* Aklilu Habte-Wold were in the drafting committee of the 1955 revised constitution. More than its predecessor, the 1955 revised constitution provided the basis for the consolidation of absolutism in Ethiopia. About 36 articles of the 1955 constitution dealt with the question of imperial succession and the emperor's privileges. The constitution clearly states the Emperor's personality as sacred, his dignity inviolable and his power indisputable. Some Human rights provisions like those of speech and press were accompanied by nullifying phrases like within law limits. However this constitution introduced universal adult suffrage and elected chamber of deputies for four years term and that of the senate six years with certain property qualification.

In the final analysis, however, neither the constitution nor the Parliament that it created put a limit to the autocratic power of the emperor. He was the head of the three branches of government: the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. The idea of a constitutional monarchy was never materialized. Human rights and civic liberties were restricted and violated. Regional identities, needs and feelings were ignored in the interest of centralization.

As the years progressed, the emperor started to dedicate his attention to foreign affairs. He played a significant role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the drive for African unity and this increased his international stature which finally resulted in the birth of the Organization of African Unity at the summit of heads of African states held in Addis Ababa in 1963. As the years progressed, the emperor started to dedicate his attention to foreign affairs. He played a significant role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the drive for African unity and this increased his international stature which finally resulted in the birth of the Organization of African Unity at the summit of heads of African states held in

Addis Ababa in 1963. But his preoccupation with international affairs detached the emperor from the domestic affairs that he became unmindful of the signs of trouble at home.

7.1.3. Opposition: Conspiracies, Revolts and the Downfall of the Monarchical Regime

Various sectors of the society opposed the imperial rule before the 1974 revolution broke out. Before the 1960s opposition to the regime took in the form of plots and conspiracies. After the 1960 Coup d'état, however, oppositions gained wider mass support and came out more open. Some leaders of the resistance movement against fascist rule were opposed to the restoration of the emperor to the throne for he fled the country when it needed him most whereas others wished for a republican government. Such misgivings combined with the privileges and rewards accorded to exiles and people who served the colonial administration exacerbated the resentment against the monarchy leading to rebellion against the system. One notable patriot who opposed the restoration of the emperor to the throne after his exile was *Dejazmach* Belay Zeleqe. The emperor made Belay governor of a southern province with the rank of *Ras* because he wanted to remove him from his base in Bichena in eastern Gojjam. Belay rejected the offer and was even more dissatisfied at dignified positions of *Ras* Haylu Belaw (governor general of Gojjam) and *Bitwoded* Mengesha Jembere (deputy governor general of Gojjam). In February 1943, forces from Debra-Marqos and Addis Ababa invaded Belay's district. After fighting for three months, Belay surrendered, was detained in Fiche from where he tried to escape and return to Gojjam a few months later, but was captured with his brother Ejigu. Taken back to the capital, Belay was finally hanged in public.

Bitwoded Negash Bezabih was a vice minister and senate president in the emperor's administration after liberation. He plotted to assassinate the emperor and proclaim a republic in 1951. In the process, some military officers like Beqele Anasimos were attracted to the plot, but *Dejach* Geresu Duki, another patriot, whom the plotters had unsuccessfully approached to recruit to their cause, exposed them. Finally, the plotters

were tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment after being arrested during one of their clandestine meetings.

The most fierce and sustained opposition to the emperor came from *Blatta* Takle Wolde-Hawaryat couched a plot in constitutionalist terms using Yohannis Iyasu as front and with the support of some contingents of the army. But the plot was uncovered and he was detained. In 1945, *Blatta* Takle Wolde-Hawaryat was released and appointed as deputy *Afe nigus*. Yet, he was involved in another plot in 1946 and was detained up to 1954. Upon his release, he once again became Vice Interior Minister and *Afe nigus*. He tried to assassinate the emperor on November 17 1969, but his final plot failed and he barricaded himself in his house and engaged in a shoot-out with the police in which he was killed.

The most serious challenge to the emperor's authority came in 1960 in the form of a coup attempt. The abortive Coup d'etat of 1960 was led by the Neway brothers, Brigadier General Mengistu and Girmame. Girmame attended Haile-Sellassie I Secondary School, and then the University of Wisconsin where he received his B.A and M.A. from Columbia. Girmame was also president of Ethiopian Students Association during his stay in the US. Upon his return to Ethiopia, Girmame became the president of a clandestine alumni association of his former school. As governor of Wolayta, Girmame's activities were alarming to the regime. He monitored police activities, introduced a settlement program in which he distributed government holdings to landless peasants and ordered written tenancy agreements. He was then summoned back to Addis Ababa for explanation. However, unable to criticize Girmame's intentions Haile-Selassie sent him to Jijiga where he continued as radical reformer. He oversaw the digging of new wells while improving the old, set up clinics and schools etc. But his actions were not liked by the regime which convinced Girmame of the need for change. Together with his brother Mengistu Neway, the head of the Imperial Bodyguard and others, the two brothers started detaining ministers and other members of the nobility when the emperor traveled to Brazil. They also took over the radio station and spoke about the backwardness of the country than other newly independent African states. The crown prince Asfawosen was said to be a salaried constitutional monarch. The prince delivered a speech on Radio

Addis explaining the rationale of the coup in which he promised the establishment of new factories, schools etc. On December 14 1960, a new government was declared that was to be headed by *Ras* Emiru Haile-Selassie. Major General Mulugeta Buli was chosen as chief of staff of the armed forces while Brigadier-General Tsige Debu was to lead the Imperial Bodyguard and the Police Force, and Colonel Workneh Gebeyehu was security chief.

However, the army and the air force refused to side with the rebels and with the support of the Americans and the blessing of the patriarch, the loyalists led by General Merid Mengesha, *Ras* Asrate Kassa etc attacked. The rebels asked for a ceasefire which the loyalists rejected. Finally, they had to run for their lives but only after killing the ministers and other dignitaries they had detained at Geneta L'uel palace. In the meantime the emperor entered the capital. Finally, Girmame died fighting in the outskirts of the capital and Mengistu was captured and hanged after trial. The regime made some concessions after the failed coup attempt, but failed to address the root causes that triggered the coup itself. Thus, opposition to the imperial regime was only to grow stronger leading to the outbreak of the 1974 revolution.

A. Peasant Rebellions

The post-liberation period also witnessed growing opposition among peasants in different parts of the country against Haile Selassie's regime thereby giving the opposition a broader dimension. Peasant revolts, although on a small scale, were especially numerous in the southern territories, where the imperial government had traditionally rewarded its supporters with land grants thereby reducing the indigenous peasantry into tenancy. It is not possible in the space of a brief essay such as this to discuss the numerous peasant rebellions in the entire country. But an effort will be made to canvas major eruptions in the country with the intent of showing some of the deficiencies of the system.

The Woyane Rebellion

The first peasant resistance against imperial rule took place in Tigray, known in history as the Woyane rebellion. A combination of long-running problems stemming from the inequities of the system and short-term factors caused the eruption. Peasants felt victimized by corruption and greed of the territorial army unit stationed in the region and general administrative inefficiency led to banditry of peasants who possessed armament left by Italians. This rebellion had the support of members of the nobility who perceived their position to be endangered by the expansion of central authority. The nobility took advantage of the popular discontent against government officials and their militias and put strong resistance against government forces thanks to the able leadership of *Blatta* Haile-Mariam Reda. Finally, the government's retribution against the Raya-Azebo on allegation of cattle raids on Afar territory sparked the general rebellion. As such, the Woyane rebellion was as a continuation of the government's punitive campaign against the region's peasants in the late 1920s. The dress rehearsal for the major confrontation took place on January 11 1942 where the imperial force was crushed and humiliated by Raya-Azebo peasants. On May 22 1943, the rebels scored an astounding victory fighting an even larger and well-equipped government army in Addi-Abun. Soon small towns around Meqelle like Qwiha and Enda-Iyyasus, and Meqelle itself on October 14, 1943 fell in rebel hands. They then expanded to Kilte-Awlalo, Wuqiro etc in central and eastern Tigray. Such initial advances of the rebel forces, however, did not last long. In October 1943, the imperial army under the command of Abebe Aregay with the support of the British Royal Air Force crushed the rebellion. The government exiled or imprisoned the leaders of the revolt. The emperor took reprisals against peasants suspected of supporting the Woyane.

The Yejju Rebellion

Overt dissidence of Yejju peasants in Wallo during Haile-Selassie's rule occurred three times. In 1948, peasants rose against the system after their appeal against land alienation was ignored by the government. With *Qegnasmach* Melaku Taye and Unda Muhammed in the forefront, peasants stormed and freed inmates held in Woldya prison. The *nech lebash* were called into quell the unrest and eventually the leaders were publicly flogged

on market day. Throughout the 1950s, localized skirmishes between government forces and peasants took place in Qobo, Hormat, Tumuga, Karra-Qore etc led by prominent figures like Ali Dullatti (*Aba Jabbi*). In 1970 peasants revolted against the introduction of mechanized agriculture that encroached on pastureland and killed *Qegnazmach* Abate Haylu who was a member of the local nobility and direct beneficiary of the new development. Finally the rising was suppressed by the local militia.

The Gojjam Peasant Rebellion

In 1968, another violent peasant uprising set off in Gojjam caused by the government's attempt to implement new tax on agricultural produce which the parliament adopted in November 1967. This rebellion was not, however, without its antecedents. The nobles of Gojjam refused to accept any limitation upon the prevailing land tenure system and successfully battled the regime over this issue. Although the expansion of central authority by appointed officials and the development of infrastructural works required a parallel increase in tax payments, it was fiercely resisted by the local gentry. Against this background, the then governor of Gojjam, *Dejach* Kebede Tesema, initiated land assessment and classification to determine taxation. He then raised tax rate from what it had been in pre-1935 period. In 1950, a revolt broke out in Mota, Qolla-Daga Damot and Mecha districts led by people like *Dejach* Abere Yimam. As a result tax rate was reduced by 1/3, Kebede was removed and replaced by Haylu Belew, a hereditary ruler of Gojjam. Later, Haylu's Shawan successor named Tsehayu Enqu-Selassie forced handouts to build the emperor's statue in Debra Marqos. Besides, peasants were ordered to pay tax arrears and register their arms with fees. Meanwhile, peasants were victimized by the ravages committed by the *nech lebash* in the pretext of eradicating banditry. With all the above unfolding, an attempt was made to introduce the new agricultural tax and this finally sparked the 1968 uprising led by veterans of the resistance period, who had taken titles for themselves such as *leul* and *fitawrari*. The government was forced to transfer Tsehayu to Kafa, declare amnesty, abandon the new tax, and cancel all tax arrears of taxation going back to 1950. Despite these concessions, the rebellion spread throughout Gojjam except Agaw-Midir and Metekel which alarmed the government. Finally the

rebellion was subdued by the combined forces of the army, police and *nech lebash* by the end of 1968.

The Gedeo Peasant Uprising

As in many parts of rural Ethiopia, the major source of peasant discontent in Gedeo was land alienation. The dispossession of land from the indigenous peasantry was unabated particularly following the introduction of land measurement in the 1920s. In the 1960s, the Gedeo witnessed an unprecedented level of land expropriation by members of the northern nobility who were vying for coffee farms. The major contender in this regard was the emperor's daughter Princess Tenagneworq. This coupled with the denigration of their culture exacerbated Gedeo's resentment against the system. Petitions and appeals to higher authorities to curb the continued land alienation proved futile. Then peasants refused to pay *erbo* (1/4 of agricultural produce payable to landlords), armed themselves with traditional weapons like spears, swords and arrows and clashed with the imperial army at Michille in 1960. Over a hundred peasants lost their lives in the fight while much of their property was destroyed. Finally, *Afe Nigus* Eshete Geda, fined the elders locally called the *hayicha* accused of supporting the rebellion.

The Bale Peasant Rebellion

The Bale peasant uprising, which lasted from 1963 to 1970, presented the most serious challenge to the Ethiopian government. The causes of the uprising were multifaceted. The indigenous peasants largely became tenants on their own land after the introduction of the *qalad* that initiated land measurement in 1951. Peasants also suffered from high taxation, religious and ethnic antagonism which reached to unprecedented level after the appointment of Warqu Enquselassie as governor of the territory in 1963. The predominantly Muslim population resented the imposition of alien rule from the northern and central highlands parts of the empire and thus, political and cultural domination by Christian settlers. Further, the Somali government extended material and moral support to the rebels as part of its strategy of reestablishing a "Greater Somalia".

The revolt broke out in El Kerre led by people like Kahin Abdi. Initially, rebel groups conducted hit-and-run raids against military garrisons and police stations separately. Soon, however, they tried to coordinate their military activities under an umbrella organization named the Liberation Front Western Somali, engaging in conventional wars against government forces. Haile Selassie tried to win loyalty of the people by developing alliances with notable Oromo leaders. Although this strategy enabled the emperor to recruit some members of local ruling houses in the service of the imperial system, it failed to contain the popular revolt. Instead, it quickly spread to Wabe, Dallo and Ganale under the able leadership of Waqo Gutu and others. In Gola-Abbadi forest, rebels went to the extent of attacking two government airplanes which campaigned against them with support from the Americans and Israeli. Further, the rebels killed *Girazmach* Beqele Haragu of Adaba and *Fitawrari* Wolde-Mika'el Bu'ii of Dodola in 1965 and 1966, respectively. In December 1966, the government put Bale under the martial rule of Wolde-Selassie Baraka, the head of the army's Fourth Division. In 1967, the army, police, territorials (*beherawi tor*), settler militia (*nech lebash*) and volunteers (*wedo zemach*) launched massive operations against the province. Meanwhile, the rebels lost Somali support after Mahammad Siad Barre took over the Somali government in 1969 and found it impossible to sustain their campaigns in southeastern Ethiopia. The rebellion ended in 1970s after some of its popular leaders including Waqo Gutu surrendered to government forces due to the mediation role played by General Jagama Kello.

B. Movements of Nations and Nationalities

On January 24 1963, the Mecha-Tulama Welfare Association (MTWA) was formed with the objective of improving the welfare of the Oromo through the expansion of educational, communication and health facilities in Oromo land. Founding members of the association included Colonels Alemu Qitessa and Colonel Qedida Guremessa, Lieutenant Mamo Mezemir, Beqele Nedhi, and Haile Mariam Gemed. In the next two years, the association attracted large number of Oromo elites, including such high-ranking military officers as Brigadier General Taddesse Birru.

Although the Mecha-Tulama Association had its root in the will and commitment of a few Oromo elites to mobilized support for the development Oromo inhabited territories, it soon transformed into a pan-Oromo movement coordinating countrywide peaceful resistance against the regime. This is evidenced by the successful rallies the association organized in Arssi, Gindeberet, and Dandi, Dera etc. The association raised contentious issues such as land and expressed its dissatisfaction with the condition of the Oromo in the society during mass rallies as well as in private meetings. Furthermore, the association styled as an umbrella organization of southern nationalities to end the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie I. Representatives of oppressed ethnic groups of the south attended the association's deliberations in Addis Ababa for liberation. The regime was alarmed by the activities of the association and determined to curb the movement before it crystalized into an organized liberation front.

Meanwhile, leaders of the association plotted to assassinate the emperor on the anniversary of his coronation in November 1966, but the was plot foiled by the security forces. This coupled with a bombing incident in one of the cinemas at the capital in which the association was implicated led the government to move swiftly and violently to ban the association's activities. Mecha-Tulama was dissolved in 1970 following the imprisonment and killing of its prominent leaders such as Mamo Mezemir and Hailemariam Gemmeda by the regime's forces. Brigadier General Taddasa Birru was captured while retreating to the bush and eventually sentenced to death. Later the death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was exiled to Gelemso where he stayed until the outbreak of the 1974 revolution. In 1975 the *Derg* executed Tadesse on allegation of instigating armed struggle.

The brutal suppression of the Mecha-Tulama Association, however, did not end the struggle of the Oromo for justice, equality and liberty. In 1971 an underground movement called the Ethiopian National Liberation Front (ENLF) was formed by Oromo elites, perhaps by former members of the association. The Front maintained contact with student circles and other opposition figures in and outside Addis Ababa. The aim was to

coordinate local resistance towards a common goal of liberation, although thwarted by the regime's security forces.

The regime's unwillingness to accommodate the legitimate and peaceful demands of various Oromo groups for equality within Ethiopia transformed Oromo nationalism into militancy for self-determination. In 1973, some members of the ENLF together with Oromo nationalists from Ethiopian Oppressed Peoples' Revolutionary Struggle (ECH'AT), Marxist Leninist Revolutionary Organization (MALERID) formed the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) with the aim of establishing an independent Democratic Republic of Oromia. The following year, OLF launched an offensive against the imperial regime in Hararghe. After the revolution, OLF increased its military activities because the *Derg* would not allow the Oromo to elect their rulers and use their language in schools and newspapers. Accordingly, the armed struggle which set off in the eastern part of Ethiopia extended to other Oromo inhabited areas such as Arssi and Wollaga.

But the biggest military challenge to the imperial regime came from Eritrea. As we have discussed above, Eritrea was integrated into the Ethiopian empire. The measure consolidated internal and external opposition to the union and led to the formation of liberation movements based in Eritrea and abroad. Although some liberation movements had taken shape as far back as the late 1940s, they did not seem to have much of an impact. In 1958, a number of Eritrean exiles had founded the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) in Cairo. This organization, however, soon was neutralized. In 1961, Hamid Idris Awate established Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) or Jabaha in Arabic. By 1966 the ELF challenged imperial forces throughout Eritrea. In June 1970 another liberation movement named the Popular Liberation Forces (PLF) was formed in the Red Sea area led by Osman Salah Sabbe. At the same time, Salfi Natsenet Eritrea (Front for Eritrean Independence) emerged under the leadership of Isayas Afeworqi. In early 1972, a new coalition of forces composed of Eritrean Liberation Front-Popular Liberation Front (ELF-PLF) led to the founding of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) or Sha'abiya in Arabic. After a long and bloody civil war, the EPLF was able to establish its

hegemony over the independence movement. And it was the EPLF that succeeded in achieving independence in 1991.

B. The Ethiopian Student Movement (ESM)

The regime was not only been challenged in the provinces. In fact, the Ethiopian student movement was building up in the center as a strong opposition against the regime. Although the movement started within the university, students had turned into a radical opposition and were already marching on the streets from 1965 onwards and by 1968, it was spreading to high schools. The parliament's rejection of tenancy reform bill in 1964 triggered student protest in the following year demanding "Land to the Tiller".

Factors that contributed to sharpening the students' ideology include the 1960 coup, students' increased awareness of the country's socio-economic and political conditions vis a vis other African countries which they learned from scholarship students from different parts of Africa, and the Ethiopian University Service (EUS). Launched in 1964, the EUS required the students to teach and offer other services to the community usually in the provinces. In 1964 the emergence of a radical group of students with Marxist-Leninist leanings known as "the Crocodiles" marked the increased militancy of the students.

Side by side with the radicalization of the movement, students formed the University College Union (UCU) to coordinate their activities in 1962 and then the National Union of Ethiopian University Students (NUEUS) 1963. In February 1965, the Main Campus Student Union (MCSU), and the University Student Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA) with its paper *Tagel* (Struggle) were established. Outside the country, students were organized under the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA) with its paper called Challenge and the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (ESUE) with its paper *Tateq* (Gird yourself) in the USA and Europe. ESUNA and gave ideological support to MCSU and USUAA.

Throughout the 1960s a rallying cry of student demonstrations was “land to the tiller”, but other local and global issues were also raised. For example, students protested against the minority white regime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1968, while at other times they expressed their solidarity with the people of Vietnam. In the national arena, students protested against Shola Destitute Concentration Relief Camp and fashion show and educational reform in 1966 and 1969 respectively. With the student’s demands of rights of nations and nationalities, the government was alarmed and started taking measures against leaders of the movement ranging from press campaigns to detentions and killings. Furthermore, the regime deported large number of students to the torrid Gibe river valley in 1972. Meanwhile, students’ opposition was aggravated to armed hijacking of Dc-aircraft.

By early 1970s, the student movement coupled with other underrunning issues such as rising inflation, growing discontent of urban residents, corruption and widespread and yet covered-up famine especially in Wallo all prepared a fertile ground for a revolution.

7.2. The Derg Regime (1974-1991)

The mass uprising that finally put an end to the old regime came in February 1974. From January 8 to 15 1974, soldiers and non-commissioned officers stationed at a frontier post Negele-Borana mutinied protesting their bad living conditions. In the process, they detained the commander of the ground forces who was sent to pacify the situation. The soldiers made the commander eat their food and drink their water so that he could witness the kind of life they were living. Also, soldiers of the Second Division in Asmara, the Fourth Division in Addis Ababa and the Air Force in Debre-Zeyt mutinied demanding salary increment and political and economic reforms. The various units then set up a coordinating committee which became a precursor of the later *Derg*, in order to coordinate their actions.

Teachers throughout the country protested against the implementation of an education reform program known as Sector Review, which they deemed was disadvantageous for

the poor and biased against them. Although the Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) had coordinated demonstrations against the program already in December 1973, it called for a general strike demanding a number of other social reforms on February 18, 1974. On the same day, taxi drivers went on strike demanding increase in transport fees (50%) due to rise of petrol prices that followed the Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur war of 1973. Students, workers and the unemployed youth joined the protests and vehicles particularly buses and luxury private automobiles were attacked.

The government responded by suspending the Sector Review, reducing petrol prices and raising the salaries of soldiers. In spite of this, the uprisings continued and on February 28 the cabinet of Prime Minister Aklilu Habte-Wold resigned. He was replaced by Endalkachew Mekonnen who was an Oxford-educated member of the aristocracy. Although Endalkachew seemed to gain the support of a group of officers within the army, promised to introduce reforms, including constitutional reform and included highly educated and progressive ministers into his cabinet, the protests continued. On March 8 the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) staged a successful general strike.

It was only a matter of time before the strikes and demonstrations spread to the provinces. A major popular demonstration was made on April 20 by about 100,000 Muslim residents of the capital and their Christian sympathizers who came out demanding religious equality.

In the meantime, the soldiers, through their various committees, were also taking their own measures. The coordinating committee of soldiers and NCOs set up in February had been joined by officers, such as Colonel Alem Zewd Tessema of the Airborne Brigade, who then became its leader. In April, the Committee, perhaps with an involvement of Endalkachew, arrested Aklilu and hundreds of other high-ranking officials of the regime. The Minister of Defense, Lt. General Abiy Abebe, who had noticed the growing power of the Committee as well as series of demonstrations and strikes, set up what was called the National Security Commission to restore order and respect for the authority of the government.

The leading opposition against the Endalkachaw cabinet were the students. Not only did they staged their own demonstrations against the cabinet but they also encouraged other sectors of society to join in the revolutionary tide. But the students were less organized to achieve their goals and eventually, the struggle was hijacked by the soldiers.

The *Derg* was officially formed on June 28 1974 when it held its first meeting at the headquarters of the Fourth Division. “*Derg*” a Ge’ez word for “Committee” was the shorter name given to the Coordinating Committee of representatives from various military units: the Armed Forces, the Police and the Territorial Army. However, officers above the rank of major were suspected of supporting the old regime and therefore were not included. Hence, Major Mengistu Haile-Mariam of the Third Division of Hararghe, and the vice-chairman, Major Atnafu Abate of the Fourth Division, came to be key figures.

For some time the *Derg* exercised power parallel with the Endalkachew’s cabinet and the emperor tied up in a dual state, trying to keep a balance between the two. However, on August 1, Endalkachew was imprisoned and replaced by *Lej* Mikael Emiru as prime minister. Meanwhile, the *Derg* continued arresting other members of the regime whom it considered obstacles to the revolution. The *Derg* also tried to define its ideology and declared the motto, “*Yaleminim Dam*” (“Without any bloodshed”) “*Ethiopia Tiqdam*” (“Ethiopia First”).

The *Derg* continued systematically working to isolate the emperor and removing the supports of his imperial power. A strong propaganda campaign was launched against the regime and the widespread corruption of government functionaries. Two enterprises, Anbessa Bus Company and the St. George Brewery in which the emperor and the imperial family had more 50% stake were nationalized. Moreover, a British documentary film disclosing the hidden horrors of the Wallo famine precisely served the awaited interest of the *Derg*. Finally, on September 12, Emperor Haile-Selassie I was deposed and detained at the Fourth Division headquarters.

The *Derg* then proclaimed itself the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and assumed full powers. All strikes and demonstrations were immediately banned. Very soon, civilian revolutionaries, who had started calling for the establishment of a provisional people's government, started gathering around the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU), the University teachers' group known as Forum, and the students. Sections of the military, the Army Engineers Corps, the First Division (the former Bodyguard), and the Army Aviation, also opposed what was to become a military government.

However, the *Derg* was not prepared to make compromise on any ground. Instead, it imprisoned the leaders of CELU and a leader of the Forum group. On October 7, the militant Engineers were violently crushed in a tank assault which took the lives of five soldiers and there was massive arrest afterwards. The motto of "Ethiopia First, without any bloodshed" thus failed as early as then.

On November 23, an even more violent phase commenced. Lieutenant General Aman Mikael Andom, chairman of the PMAC was shot dead after a disagreement within the *Derg* over the Issue of Eritrea. Aman Mikael Andom who was of Eritrean origin believed in peaceful approach against some radical members of the *Derg* particularly the First Vice-Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam, who advocated for a military solution. The killing continued and the *Derg* announced execution of some 52 prominent members of the old regime who had been detained and half a dozen other leaders of the military units who had opposed the *Derg* as a "political decision."

7.2.2. Attempts at Socio-Economic Reform

The *Derg* took a series of measures that aimed at fundamentally transforming the country. In December 1975, what was called the Development Through Co-operation Campaign (*Edget Behibiret Yetimihirt Ena Yesira Zemecha*) was inaugurated. In this campaign, all high school and university students and their teachers were to be sent to the countryside

to help transform the life of peasants through programs such as literacy campaigns and the implementation of the awaited land reform proclamation. However, the campaign was opposed by most of the civilian left as a system that the *Derg* designed to remove its main opponents from the center. To appease the oppositions, the *Derg* changed its slogan of “Ethiopia First” to “Ethiopian Socialism”. It also adopted slogans like Ethiopian Unity or Death, Revolutionary Motherland or Death, and later Every Thing to the War Front, Produce while Fighting or Fight While Producing etc

In 1975 banks and insurance companies were nationalized following a series of proclamations. Over seventy private commercial and industrial companies were then nationalized. Finally, in March 1975 the *Derg* made a radical land reform proclamation which abolished all private land ownership and set the upper limit on family holdings at ten hectares. The proclamation also provided the establishment of peasant associations which were to be implemented with the cooperation of the *zemach*. On July 26, 1975 another proclamation nationalized all urban lands and extra houses. In April 1976, PMAC proclaimed National Democratic Revolution Program and set up the Provisional Office for Mass Organization and Affairs (POMOA) with the objective of organizing and raising the political consciousness of the masses.

The campaigns showed *Derg*’s belief in mass mobilization to achieve a cause. There was the “Green Campaign” of 1978 aimed at bringing about rapid economic development, the literacy campaign aimed at irradiating illiteracy, and the “Red Star Campaign” of 1982 that aimed at solving the Eritrean problem. Of these campaigns, only the literacy campaign registered some degree of success. The land reform proclamation did put an end to landlord exploitation but it has failed to make the peasant master of his land because now the state took over as ultimate owner, with the peasant associations serving as its agents. The cooperatives only led to monopolistic government enterprises such as Agricultural Marketing Corporation (*Ersha Sebil Gebeya Dirijit*), resettlements and villagization.

On the other hand, nationalization killed private initiative and introduced a highly bureaucratized management of resources. The state, with its significant role and growing proportion now gained tremendous capacity to reward or penalize. The *Derg* used peasant associations to control the countryside and the urban dwellers' associations (*qebele*) to control the towns. The *qebele* became battleground when the struggle between the *Derg* and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) reached its bloodiest phase in 1976/7. The EPRP targeted *qebele* leaders and assassinated them while they in turn led the government's campaign of terror against the EPRP called the "Red Terror", as opposed to the "White Terror" of the EPRP.

Initially, the leftist opposition to *Derg* came from two main underground political organizations called the EPRP and the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement (in Amharic *Meison*) that was founded in Hamburg by Haile Fida, Dr. Nigist Adane, Dr. Kedir Mohammed, Tesfaye Gebre-Tsadiq, Daniel Tadesse and others. In October 1976 the Marxist Leninist Revolutionary Organization (OMLR) was formed with its first Secretariat being Tesfaye Makonin. Later, it was merged to form the Ethiopian Marxist Leninist Democratic Union (UMLO) but was purged by the military junta in June 1979. After the land reform proclamation, *Meison* ceased its opposition to the *Derg* by adopting what it called "critical support" and tactically formed an alliance with *Derg* which helped it gain more organizational strength.

In the meantime the *Derg* pushed by the dominant leftist political culture systematically abandoned "Ethiopian socialism" and embraced Marxism-Leninism. With the setting up of the POMOA, *Derg* proclaimed the National Democratic Revolution Program which was the Chinese model for socialist revolution and had identified feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism as the three main enemies of the people. In a few months, *Derg's* leftist political organization known as Revolutionary Flame (*Abyotawi Seded*) was launched.

In 1977 an alliance called the Union of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations (*Emaledah*) was established as prelude to the formation of one vanguard party. The

Emaledah was composed of *Meison*, Revolutionary Flame (*Abyotawi Seded*), (Workers League) Proletariat League (*Wazlig*) founded by a one-time president of the Ethiopian Students' Union in North America, Dr. Senay Like, the Ethiopian Marxist–Leninist organization (*Malerid*) and the Ethiopian Oppressed Masses Revolutionary Struggle (EORS) founded by Baro Tumsa, and the Ethiopian Oppressed Masses Revolutionary Struggle (*Ech'at*). That said, the *Emaledah* was beset by power struggle from the outset as each organization competed for supremacy instead of working together to realize the original objective of the organization.

Meanwhile, the struggle between the EPRP and the Derg and its allies had caused a civil war scenario since September 1976 when EPRP militants were arrested and executed by the *Derg* and supporters of the Derg were assassinated by EPRP squads. EPRP had also attempted to assassinate Mengistu himself in mid-September. In what followed, the Derg attacked EPRP with large-scale arrests of its members and sympathizers and massive search and destroy campaigns, particularly in Addis Ababa.

In late 1976, the Derg itself was ideologically divided and with the internal struggles, Mengistu had eliminated two powerful members of the *Derg* and potential rivals of his power and influence, Major Sisay Habte and Major Kiros Alemayehu. Many other key members of the *Derg* were accused of being EPRP members or sympathizers. On their parts, other members such as Lieutenant Alemayehu Hayle and Captain Moges Wolde-Mikael resented the growing dictatorial power of Mengistu and his alliance with *Meison* and other pro-Derg leftist organizations. With the help of the chairman, Brigadier General Teferi Benti, they then successfully re-organized the structure of the Derg in such a way that Mengistu was marginalized. On February 3 1977 though, Mengistu hit back with a coup against Teferi. Eventually, Teferi and other anti-Mengistu Derg members were executed. After the coup, Mengistu Haile-Mariam assumed the chairmanship of the Derg and the post of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He then filled the top positions in the Derg with his loyal supporters. Within just a year, the only remaining outstanding Derg member, Lt. Colonel Atnafu Abate, was charged of impeding the revolutionary process was executed.

Then Mengistu and his civilian left allies unleashed what they called the “Red Terror” initially targeting the EPRP and later including other opposition organizations, including EPLF and the TPLF (Tigray People’s Liberation Front) and *Meison* after its break up from the Derg. EPRP had to take its only option of turning to rural guerrilla warfare as internal split within it hastened its collapse.

In the meantime, the Derg faced another challenge. In the summer of 1977, Somalian government of Said Barre invaded Afder, Deghabour, Fiq, Gode, Kebridehar, Shinnille, Warder etc from Mogadishu. Within a couple of months, the cities of Harar and Dire Dawa were endangered. Yet, the government mobilized a force of about 100,000 peasant militia and other forces that were trained at Angetu, Didessa, Hurso, Tateq and Tolay in a short time with the help of USSR advisors and equipment. Finally, with 17, 000 Cuban troop and the help from Southern Yemen Democratic Republic the invaders were defeated at Kara Mara in Jijiga on March 4 1978. The Somali aggression had been checked. Overall the Somali invasion in a way made it possible for the Derg to rally the population to its side.

In early 1977 the Derg had severed relations with the USA as the American cultural and military institutions ended their operation in the country. This was preceded by the termination of the Ethio-USA 1953 mutual defense agreement. After a month, Mengistu concluded agreements with Moscow for economic, cultural and military co-operation. The relations between Ethiopia and the Soviet remained strong until the end of the military regime.

In the north, Eritrean insurgents had encircled Asmara while a pro-monarchy organization, the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), was marching inroads from the Sudan in the Satit-Humera region. Yet, by the end of 1978, the EPRP had been contained in the towns. And the Eritrean insurgents had been pushed back. Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) was crushed near the Ethio-Sudan borderland in places like Metema, Abder Raffi and Satit-Humera.

The Union of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations fell apart once *Meison* defected the Derg and its leaders were consequently either killed or arrested as they tried to retreat to the countryside. The other three member organizations *Ech'at*, *Wazlig*, and *Malerid* were successively expelled from *Emaledah* and their leaders and members executed or detained. It was only Mengistu's *Seded* that remained as the authentic Marxist-Leninist organization in the country. The strategy of merging political organizations for party formation was then replaced by recruitment of individuals loyal to Mengistu Haile-Mariam. In December 1979, the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was established with this motive. In September 1984, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia was inaugurated during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the coming of the Derg to power. It was given that Mengistu became the new party's secretary-general.

In order for the government to have a more direct societal control, there was the need for re-structuring of mass organizations which took place after the formation of the party. It started with workers who had challenged the Derg right from the start, and on January 6 1977, the CELU was replaced by a government-controlled All Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU) which was later re-named Ethiopian Trade Union (ETU). This was followed by the formation of the All Ethiopia Peasants' Association (AEPA) which ensured the government's control over peasants. Later AETU was renamed Ethiopia Peasants' Association (EPA). Established in 1980, the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association (REWA) and Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA) played similar role, rallying women and the youth behind the state.

It was when PMAC National Assembly (*Shengo*) proclaimed the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) in 1987 that such elaborate organizational set-up designed to ensure total control of society reached its peak. With the birth of the PDRE, the Derg officially ceased to exist. A typically Communist constitution already on its way, Comrade Mengistu had become President of PDRE, secretary general of WPE and Commander in chief of the national armed forces with Fiseha Desta as Vice President

while Fiqre-Sellassie Wegderes headed the Council of Ministers as Prime Minister with five deputies.

Finally it turned out that Mengistu could not stay in power more than four years after he was proclaimed president of PDRE. The dictator, who had maneuvered the urban left and had gone ruthless in the process, fell under the attack of rural-based guerrilla movements. Rural-based movements fighting for national self-determination thrived as liquidation of the urban-based multi-national movements like the EPRP and *Meison* intensified in the center. These included the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), active mainly in the Wollaga region, the Islamic Front for Liberation of Oromia, based in Hararghe, the Afar Liberation Front, the Sidama Liberation Front, the Beni Shangul Liberation Front and the Gambella Liberation Front. Some of these fronts appeared only in the last days of the Derg. The two significant liberation fronts which could be considered to have jointly brought about the downfall of the Derg were the EPLF and the TPLF.

In 1984/5 a more devastating famine than the one in 1973/4 indicated the failure of the *Derg's* economic policies especially in agricultural production and marketing. In the late 20th century, Ethiopia had experienced two major famines that had rose up national and international mobilization and created bad image on the country in international scene. These were the 1972-1974 and 1984-1985 famine, the causes of which were shortage of rain. The state responded to the latter by resettling the affected people in less affected areas of western Ethiopia. The government responded to the famine by ignoring the problem for some time and then only to introduce its controversial policy of massive resettlement of the affected peasants, mostly of Tigray and Wallo provinces, in south-western Ethiopia. The villagization program that followed the resettlement further alienated the majority of peasants. It was in this context that the guerrilla forces scored remarkable victories against the regime forces towards the end of the decade.

International politics too did not carry on serving Mengistu's interest as his ally, the Soviet Union ceased to be the source of his external support. Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost, (openness) in 1985 aimed at making Soviet

communism more efficient and humane was a failure and the Soviet Union collapsed as a major world power. Even worse, the United States who the Derg had never been friendly with, became the sole arbiter of international affairs. Although Mengistu now tried to improve relations with the Americans, they were more directed towards his opponents, the EPLF and the TPLF, who they believed had fully abandoned Marxism Leninism. In March 1990, the Derg proclaimed a mixed economy policy which seemed to come just late.

The government's military failure came when after crushing the Somali invaders, the Derg turned its forces to the north, with the rather too assured slogan that "The victory scored in the east will be repeated in the north." Initially the plan seemed to go well when the EPLF forces pulled back under the massive assault launched by the Derg which regained control over the rebel's major strongholds in 1976/7. However, the retreated EPLF forces were not driven out of their fortress at Naqfa in northern Eritrea. EPLF crushed its left wing, *Menka'e*, from its stronghold Naqfa-Raza and scored major victory at Afabet, north of Asmara, in March 1988. When in 1990, EPLF forces captured the port town of Massawa, it became only a matter of time before the capital, Asmara, also fell to them.

The final decisive blow to Mengistu's regime came to be administered by the TPLF. Tigray Peoples Liberation Front/TPLF, that had its origin in *Mehibere Gesgest Bihere Tigrai* set up in 1970, was founded in 1975 by a group of university students, who primarily intended to liberate their own region of Tigray. They enjoyed the support of the EPLF for which they strategically gave guard against the assault of the Derg. Before it turned to confront the Derg, the TPLF was engaged in a bloody struggle to drive the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army, EPRA, the armed wing of the EPRP and the EDU out of Tigray, where both had created bases for themselves. The Derg initially thought that TPLF was a mere creation of the EPLF to be vanished once EPLF was crushed and thus underestimated its potentials. This made it possible for TPLF to strengthen its forces and when the Derg opened offensives against it in the early 1980s, TPLF, which had built strong army was able to successfully fight back. In February 1989

TPLF scored its most decisive victory at Enda-Selassie, Western Tigray, after a series of other military successes. At the victory of Enda-Selassie, tens of thousands of government troops were captured and their commanders were either killed or captured. This resulted in the withdrawal of all government troops from Tigray. TPLF then took control of the whole of Tigray and then started marching into the neighboring provinces.

Meanwhile, the prevalent accumulated dissatisfaction with Mengistu's regime and the exhausting war in the north had been high especially in the higher echelons of the army. In May 1989, commanders of almost all military units, coordinated and led a coup against Mengistu when he left the country on a state visit to the German Democratic Republic, East Germany. However, the coup was poorly organized that loyal palace troops encircled the leaders before they could even announce their intentions to the public. Mengistu returned triumphantly to take his revenge which he did. The coup leaders were all imprisoned or executed.

TPLF, which after liberating Tigray, continued to move forward and made the necessary organizational adjustments forming a bigger front known as the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The member organizations were TPLF, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM), a fragment group of the EPRP which had begun to play a significant role in many of the military campaigns, the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Ethiopian Democratic Officers' Revolutionary Movement (EDORM). Other Liberation Fronts including the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Afar Liberation Front, Sidama Liberation Front, Gambella Liberation Front and Beni Shangul Liberation Front also became active.

In 1990 and 1991 in consecutive and stunning campaigns, EPRDF forces drove the Derg out of Gondar, Gojjam, and Wallo and parts of Wollaga and Shawa and approached the capital from the north and west. In 1990 Oromo forces dismantled the Derg army of the 131st Brigade in battle that liberated Asosa and Bambasi in the then Wollaga province. In the meantime, negotiations for a peaceful end to the conflict were underway between the government and the EPLF and the TPLF in Atlanta, Nairobi, and Rome. In May 1991,

while the last of these negotiations were going on in London, series of events put an end to the regime.

On May 21, Mengistu fled the country first to Nairobi and then to Harare (Zimbabwe). There remained no resistance left that the Derg troops could put. In London, the government delegation could not bargain anymore after the flight of the president. EPLF forces entered Asmara and Assab and announced the de facto independence of Eritrea. The PDRE Vice President, Lt General Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan appealed for an end to the civil war on May 23 1991. Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka left for the London peace conference mediated by the U.S.A's Foreign Affair African Service head Mr. Herman Cohen on May 27 1991. In the early hours of May 28 EPRDF forces triumphantly entered Addis Ababa.

7.3. Historical Developments, 1991-4

In July 1991, a National Conference of political and ethnic groupings created Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) for two-and-one-half years. The government consisted a president and a prime minister, a seventeen-member Council of Ministers, and an eighty-seven-member Council of Representatives. The Council of Representatives elected Meles Zenawi, former head of EPRDF, and Negasso Gidada (PhD) president and prime minister respectively. In the same year, EPLF set up Provisional Government of Eritrea. This was followed by a referendum to decide the future fate of Eritrea in which the majority of the population voted for independence from Ethiopia. In May 1993, the Government of Eritrea was formed with Isayas Afwerki becoming the first elected president of the country after independence. In December 1994, the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) was ratified, taking effect following federal elections in mid-1995. The constitution formalized the division of the country into 9 federated states based on identity, language, settlement patterns and people's consent. The federal arrangement was intended to rectify past injustices and imbalances perpetuated by an unrepresentative state through the decentralization of power to the federated states and by accommodating the country's various ethno-linguistic groups.

After the election Meles Zenawi assumed the premiership while Negasso Gidada became head of state.

Learning activities

- Explain the domestic challenges to the power of Emperor Haile Selassie I immediately after the expulsion of the Italians.
- Describe the reasons behind the opposition of prominent patriot leaders such as *Dejazmach* Belay Zeleqe against the emperor.
- What administrative and economic measures Emperor Haile Selassie took immediately after his reinstatement to the throne and how did those measures help to consolidate his power?
- Identify and discuss major socio-economic and political developments in post-1941 Ethiopia.
- What do we mean by *rist* and how is it different from *gult*?
- Discuss important manifestations of British and Americans' dominance in Ethiopia's domestic and foreign affairs in the 1940s and 1950s respectively.
- Assess the reactions of Eritreans regarding the future fate of their country in the 1940s and 1950s.
- What was the immediate context that led to the promulgation of the Revised 1955 Constitution of Ethiopia?
- Discuss the origin and development of the Ethiopian Student Movement.
- Explain the causes, course and consequences of the 1960 coup attempt.
- Discuss the causes for, and the consequences of, the Gojjam peasant uprising.
- Assess the causes, course and consequences of the Bale peasant uprising.
- Discuss the causes, course and consequences of the Woyane peasant rebellion.
- What commonalities did you observe among the peasant rebellions?
- Account for the causes, course and consequences of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution.
- Identify and discuss major socio-economic reforms of the Derg.
- Explain the main factors for the downfall of the Derg and the seizure of power by EPRDF forces.

- What similarities and differences did you observe between the EPLF and TPLF?
- Explain essential features of the EPRDF led government with reference to its measures shortly after coming to power.

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